NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL

HISTORY OF AMERICA

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Spanish
Explorations and Settlements
In America
FROM THE
Fifteenth to the Seventeenth
Century

NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL

HISTORY OF AMERICA

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CHAPTER V.

LAS CASAS, AND THE RELATIONS OF THE SPANIARDS TO THE INDIANS.

BY GEORGE EDWARD ELLIS,

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WHEN the great apostle of the new faith, on his voyage from Asia to Europe, was shipwrecked on a Mediterranean island, " the barbarous people" showed him and his company " no little kindness." On first acquaintance with their chief visitor they hastily judged him to be a murderer, whom, though he had escaped the sea, yet vengeance would not suffer to live. But afterward "they changed their minds, and said that he was a god."[1] The same extreme revulsion of feeling and judgment was wrought in the minds of the natives of this New World when the ocean-tossed voyagers from the old continent first landed on these shores, bringing the parted representatives of humanity on this globe into mutual acquaintance and intercourse. Only in this latter case the change of feeling and judgment was inverted. The simple natives of the fair western island regarded their mysterious visitors as superhuman beings; further knowledge of them proved them to be " murderers," rapacious, cruel, and inhuman, — fit subjects for a dire vengeance.

In these softer times of ours the subject of the present chapter might well be passed silently, denied a revival, and left in the pitiful oblivion which covers so many of the distressing horrors of " man's inhumanity to man." But, happily for the writer and for the reader, the title of the chapter is a double one, and embraces two themes. The painful narrative to be rehearsed is to be relieved by a tribute of admiring and reverential homage to a saintly man of signal virtues and heroic services, one of the grandest and most august characters in the world's history. Many of the obscure and a few of the dismal elements and incidents of long-passed times, in the rehearsal of them on fresh pages, are to a degree relieved by new light thrown upon them, by the detection and exposure of errors, and by readjustments of truth. Gladly would a writer on the subject before us avail himself of any such means to reduce or to qualify its repulsiveness. But advancing time, with the assertion of the higher instincts of humanity which have sharpened regrets and reproaches for all the enormities of the past, has not furnished any abatements for the faithful dealing with this subject other than that just presented.

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[1] *The Acts of the Apostles*, xxviii. 2–6.

It is a fact worthy of a pause for thought, that in no single instance since the discovery of our islands and continent by Europeans — to say nothing about the times before it — has any new race of men come to the knowledge of travellers, explorers, and visitors from the realms of so-called civilization, when the conditions were so fair and favorable in the first introduction and acquaintance between the parties as in that between Columbus and the natives of the sea-girt isle of Hispaniola. Not even in the sweetest idealizings of romance is there a more fascinating picture than that which he draws of those unsophisticated children of Nature, their gentleness, docility, and friendliness. They were not hideous or repulsive, as barbarians; they did not revolt the sight, like many of the African tribes, like Bushmen, Feejeans, or Hottentots; they presented no caricaturings of humanity, as giants or dwarfs, as Amazons or Esquimaux; their naked bodies were not mutilated, gashed, or painted; they uttered no yells or shrieks, with mad and threatening gestures. They were attractive in person, well formed, winning and gentle, and trustful; they were lithe and soft of skin, and their hospitality was spontaneous, generous, and genial. Tribes of more warlike and less gracious nature proved to exist on some of the islands, about the isthmus and the continental regions of the early invasion; but the first introduction and intercourse of the representatives of the parted continents set before the Europeans a race of their fellow-creatures with whom they might have lived and dealt in peace and love.

And what shall we say of the new-comers, the Spaniards, — the subjects of the proudest of monarchies, the representatives of the age of chivalry; gentlemen, nobles, disciples of the one Holy Catholic Church, and soldiers of the Cross of Christ? What sort of men were they, what was their errand, and what impress did they leave upon the scenes so fair before their coming, and upon those children of Nature whom they found so innocent and loving, and by whom they were at first gazed upon with awe and reverence as gods?

In only one score of the threescore years embraced in our present subject the Spaniards had sown desolation, havoc, and misery in and around their track. They had depopulated some of the best-peopled of the islands, and renewed them with victims deported from others. They had inflicted upon hundreds of thousands of the natives all the forms and agonies of fiendish cruelty, driving them to self-starvation and suicide as a way of mercy and release from an utterly wretched existence. They had come to be viewed by their victims as fiends of hate, malignity, and all dark and cruel desperation and mercilessness in passion. The hell which they denounced upon their victims was shorn of its worst terror by the assurance that these tormentors were not to be there.

Only what is needful for the truth of history is to be told here, while shocking details are to be passed by. And as the rehearsal is made to set forth in relief the nobleness, grandeur of soul, and heroism of a man whose nearly a century of years was spent in holy rebuke, protest, exposure, and attempted redress of this work of iniquity, a reader may avert his gaze from the narration of the iniquity and fix it upon the character and career of the "Apostle to the Indians."

There was something phenomenal and monstrous, something so aimless, reckless, wanton, unprovoked, utterly ruinous even for themselves, in that course of riot and atrocity pursued by the Spaniards, which leads us — while palliation and excuse are out of the question — to seek some physical or moral explanation of it. This has generally been found in referring to the training of Spanish nature in inhumanity, cruelty, contempt of human life, and obduracy of feeling, through many centuries of ruthless warfare. It was in the very year of the discovery of America that the Spaniards, in the conquest of Granada, had finished their eight centuries of continuous war for wresting their proud country from the invading Moors. This war had made every Spaniard a fighter, and every infidel an enemy exempted from all tolerance and mercy. Treachery, defiance of pledges and treaties, brutalities, and all wild and reckless stratagems, had educated the champions of the Cross and faith in what were to them but the accomplishments of the soldier and the fidelity of the believer. Even in the immunities covenanted to the subject-Moors, of tolerance in their old home and creed, the ingenuities of their implacable foes found the means of new devices for oppression and outrage. The Holy Office of the Inquisition, with all its cavernous secrets and fiendish processes, dates also from the same period, and gave its fearful consecration to all the most direful passions.

With that training in inhumanity and cruelty which the Spanish adventurers brought to these shores, we must take into view that towering, overmastering rapacity and greed which were to glut themselves upon the spoils of mines, precious stones, and pearls. The rich soil, with the lightest tillage, would have yielded its splendid crops for man and beast. Flocks would have multiplied and found their own sustenance for the whole year without any storage in garner, barn, or granary. A rewarding commerce would have enriched merchants on either side of well-traversed ocean pathways. But not the slightest thought or recognition was given during the first half-century of the invasion to any such enterprise as is suggested by the terms colonization, the occupancy of soil for husbandry and domestication. Spanish pride, indolence, thriftlessness regarded every form of manual labor as a demeaning humiliation. There was no peasantry among the new-comers. The humblest of them in birth, rank, and means was a gentleman; his hands could not hold a spade or a rake, or guide the plough. The horse and the hound were the only beasts on his inventory of values. Sudden and vast enrichment by the treasures of gold wrung from the natives, first in their fragmentary ornaments, and then by compulsory toil from the mines which would yield it in heaps, were the lure and passion of the invaders. The natives, before they could reach any conception of the Divine Being of the Catholic creed, soon came to the understanding of the real object of their worship: as a cacique plainly set forth to a group of his trembling subjects, when, holding up a piece of gold, he said, "This is the Spaniards' god." A sordid passion, with its overmastery of all the sentiments of humanity, would inflame the nerves and intensify all the brutal propensities which are but masked in men of a low range of development even under the restraints of social and civil life. We must allow for the utter recklessness and frenzy of their full indulgence under the fervors of hot climes, in the loosening of all domestic and neighborly obligations, in the homelessness of exile and the mad freedom of adventure. Under the fretting discomforts and restraints of the ocean-passage hither, the imagination of these rapacious treasure-seekers fed itself on visions of wild license of arbitrary power over simple victims, and of heaps of treasure to be soon carried back to Spain to make a long revel in self-indulgence for the rest of life.

"Cruelties" was the comprehensive term under which Las Casas gathered all the enormities and barbarities, of which he was a witness for half a century, as perpetrated on the successive scenes invaded by his countrymen on the islands and the main of the New World. He had seen thousands of the natives crowded together, naked and helpless, for slaughter, like sheep in a park or meadow. He had seen them wasted at the extremities by torturing fires, till, after hours of agony, they turned their dying gaze, rather in amazed dread than in rage, upon their tormentors. Mutilations of hands, feet, ears, and noses surrounded him with ghastly spectacles of all the processes of death without disease. One may well leave all details to the imagination; and may do this all the more willingly that even the imagination will fail to fill and fashion the reality of the horror.

Previous to the successful ventures on the western ocean, the Portuguese had been resolutely pursuing the work of discovery by pushing their daring enterprise farther and farther down the coast of Africa, till they at last turned the Cape.[1] The deportation of the natives and their sale as slaves at once became first an incidental reward, and then the leading aim of craving adventurers. It was but natural that the Spaniards should turn their success in other regions to the same account. Heathen lands and heathen people belonged by Papal donation to the soldiers of the Cross; they were the heritage of the Church. The plea of conversion answered equally for conquest and subjugation of the natives on their own soil, and for transporting them to the scenes and sharers of a pure and saving faith.

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[1] [See Chapter I. — ED.]

A brief summary of the acts and incidents in the first enslavement of the natives may here be set down. Columbus took with him to Spain, on his first return, nine natives. While on his second voyage he sent to Spain, in January, 1494, by a return vessel, a considerable number, described as Caribs, "from the Cannibal Islands," for "slaves." They were to be taught Castilian, to serve as interpreters for the work of "conversion" when restored to their native shores. Columbus pleads that it will benefit them by the saving of their souls, while the capture and enslaving of them will give the Spaniards consequence as evidence of power. Was this even a plausible excuse, and were the victims really cannibals? The sovereigns seemed to approve the act, but intimated that the "cannibals" might be converted at home, without the trouble of transportation. But Columbus enlarged and generalized sweepingly upon his scheme, afterward adding to it a secular advantage, suggesting that as many as possible of these cannibals should be caught for the sake of their souls, and then sold in Spain in payment for cargoes of live stock, provisions, and goods, which were much needed in the islands. The monarchs for a while suspended their decision of this matter. But the abominable traffic was steadily catching new agents and victims, and the slave-trade became a leading motive for advancing the rage for further discoveries. The Portuguese were driving the work eastward, while the Spaniards were keenly following it westward. In February, 1495, Columbus sent back four ships, whose chief lading was slaves. From that time began the horrors attending the crowding of human cargoes with scant food and water, with filth and disease, and the daily throwing over into the sea those who were privileged to die. Yet more victims were taken by Columbus when he was again in Spain in June, 1496, to circumvent his enemies. Being here again in 1498, he had no positive prohibition against continuing the traffic. A distinction was soon recognized, and allowed even by the humane and pious Isabella. Captives taken in war against the Spaniards might be brought to Spain and kept in slavery; but natives who had been seized for the purpose of enslaving them, she indignantly ordered should be restored to freedom. This wrong, as well as that of the *repartimiento* system, in the distribution of natives to Spanish masters as laborers, was slightly held in check by this lovable lady during her life. She died while Columbus was in Spain, Nov. 26, 1504. Columbus died at Valladolid, May 20, 1506. The ill that he had done lived after him, to qualify the splendor of his nobleness, grandeur, and constancy.

And here we may bring upon the scene that one, the only Spaniard who stands out luminously, in the heroism and glory of true sanctity, amid these gory scenes, himself a true soldier of Christ.

Bartholomew Las Casas was born at Seville in 1474. Llorente — a faithful biographer, and able editor and expositor of his writings, of whom farther on we are to say much more — asserts that the family was French in its origin, the true name being Casuas; which appears, indeed, as an alias on the titlepage of some of his writings published by the apostle in his lifetime.[1]

Antoine Las Casas, the father of Bartholomew, was a soldier in the marine service of Spain. We find no reference to him as being either in sympathy or otherwise with the absorbing aim which ennobled the career of his son. He accompanied Columbus on his first western voyage in 1492, and returned with him to Spain in 1493.

During the absence of the father on this voyage the son, at the age of eighteen, was completing his studies at Salamanca. In May, 1498,[2] at the age of about twenty-four, he went to the Indies with his father, in employment under Columbus, and returned to Cadiz, Nov. 25, 1500. In an address to the Emperor in 1542, Bartholomew reminded him that Columbus had given liberty to each of several of his fellow-voyagers to take to Spain a single native of the islands for personal service, and that a youth among those so transported had been intrusted to him. Perhaps under these favoring circumstances this was the occasion of first engaging the sympathies of Las Casas for the race to whose redemption he was to consecrate his life. Isabella, however, was highly indignant at this outrage upon the natives, and under pain of death to the culprits ordered the victims to be restored to their country. It would seem that they were all carried back in 1500 under the Commander Bobadilla, and among them the young Indian who had been in the service of Bartholomew. One loves to imagine that in some of the wide wanderings of the latter, amid the scenes of the New World, he may again have met with this first specimen of a heathen race who had been under intimate relations with himself, and who had undoubtedly been baptized.

We shall find farther on that the grievous charge was brought against Las Casas, when he had drawn upon himself bitter animosities, that he was the first to propose the transportation of negro slaves to the islands, in 1517. It is enough to say here, in anticipation, that Governor Ovando, in 1500, received permission to carry thither negro slaves "who had been born under Christian Powers." The first so carried were born in Seville of parents brought from Africa, and obtained through the Portuguese traffickers.

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[1] Llorente adds that he had a personal acquaintance with a branch of the family at Calahorra, his own birthplace, and that the first of the family went to Spain, under Ferdinand III., to fight against the Moors of Andalusia. He also traces a connection between this soldier and Las Cases, the chamberlain of Napoleon, one of his councillors and companions at St. Helena, through a Charles Las Casas, one of the Spanish seigneurs who accompanied Blanche of Castile when she went to France, in 1200, to espouse Louis VIII.

[2] There is a variance in the dates assigned by historians for the visits of both Las Casas and his father to the Indians. Irving, following Navarrete, says that Antoine returned to Seville in 1498, having become rich (*Columbus* iii. 415). He also says that Llorente is incorrect in asserting that Bartholomew in his twenty-fourth year accompanied Columbus in his third voyage, in 1498, returning with him in 1500, as the young man was then at his studies at Salamanca. Irving says Bartholomew first went to Hispaniola with Ovando in 1502, at the age of about twenty-eight. I have allowed the dates to stand in the text as given by Llorente, assigning the earlier year for the first voyage of Las Casas to the New World as best according with the references in writings by his own pen to the period of his acquaintance with the scenes which he describes.

On May 9, 1502, Las Casas embarked for the second time with Columbus, reaching San Domingo on June 29. In 1510 he was ordained priest by the first Bishop of Hispaniola, and was the first ecclesiastic ordained in the so-called Indies to say there his virgin Mass. This was regarded as a great occasion, and was attended by crowds; though a story is told, hardly credible, that there was then not a drop of wine to be obtained in the colony. The first Dominican monks, under their Bishop, Cordova, reached the islands in 1510. As we shall find, the Dominicans were from the first, and always, firm friends, approvers, and helpers of Las Casas in his hard conflict for asserting the rights of humanity for the outraged natives. The fact presents us with one of the strange anomalies in history, — that the founders and prime agents of the Inquisition in Europe should be the champions of the heathen in the New World.

The monks in sympathy with the ardent zeal of Las Casas began to preach vehemently against the atrocious wrongs which were inflicted upon the wretched natives, and he was sent as curate to a village in Cuba. The Franciscans, who had preceded the Dominicans, had since 1502 effected nothing in opposition to these wrongs. Utterly futile were the orders which came continually from the monarchs against overworking and oppressing the natives, as their delicate constitutions, unused to bodily toil, easily sank under its exactions. The injunctions against enslaving them were positive. Exception was made only in the case of the Caribs, as reputed cannibals, and the then increasing number of imported negro slaves, who were supposed to be better capable of hard endurance. Las Casas was a witness and a most keen and sensitive observer of the inflictions — lashings and other torturing atrocities — by which his fellow-countrymen, as if goaded by a demoniac spirit, treated these simple and quailing children of Nature, as if they were organized without sensitiveness of nerve, fibre, or understanding, requiring of them tasks utterly beyond their strength, bending them to the earth with crushing burdens, harnessing them to loads which they could not drag, and with fiendish sport and malice hacking off their hands and feet, and mutilating their bodies in ways which will not bear a description. It was when he accompanied the expedition under Velasquez for the occupation of Cuba, that he first drew the most jealous and antagonistic opposition and animosity upon himself, as standing between the natives and his own countrymen, who in their sordidness, rapacity, and cruelty seemed to have extinguished in themselves every instinct of humanity and every sentiment of religion. Here too was first brought into marked observation his wonderful power over the natives in winning their confidence and attachment, as they were ever after docile under his advice, and learned to look to him as their true friend. We pause to contemplate this wonderful and most engaging character, as, after filling his eye and thought with the shocking scenes in which his countrymen — in name the disciples of Jesus and loyal members of his Church — perpetrated such enormities against beings in their own likeness, he began his incessant tracking of the ocean pathways in his voyages to lay his remonstrances and appeals before successive monarchs. Beginning this service in his earliest manhood, he was to labor in it with unabated zeal till his death. with unimpaired faculties, at the age of ninety-two. He calls himself "the Clerigo." He was soon to win and worthily to bear the title of "Universal Protector of the Indians." Truly was he a remarkable and conspicuous personage,— unique, as rather the anomaly than the product of his age and land, his race and fellowship. His character impresses us alike by its loveliness and its ruggedness, its tenderness and its vigor, its melting sympathy and its robust energies. His mental and moral endowments were of the strongest and the richest, and his spiritual insight and fervor well-nigh etherealized him. His gifts and abilities gave him a rich versatility in capacity and resource. He was immensely in advance of his age, so as to be actually in antagonism with it. He was free alike from its prejudices, its limitations, and many of its superstitions, as well as from its barbarities. He was single-hearted, courageous, fervent, and persistent, bold and daring as a venturesome voyager over new seas and mysterious depths of virgin wildernesses, missionary, scholar, theologian, acute logician, historian, curious observer of Nature, the peer of Saint Paul in wisdom and zeal. Charles V. coming to the throne at the age of sixteen, when Las Casas was about forty, was at once won to him by profound respect and strong attachment, as had been the case with Charles's grandfather Ferdinand, whom Las Casas survived fifty years, while he outlived Columbus sixty years.

The Clerigo found his remonstrances and appeals to his own nominally Christian fellow-countrymen wholly ineffectual in restraining or even mitigating the oppressions and cruelties inflicted upon the wretched natives. There was something phenomenal, as has been said, in the license yielded to the ingenuity of Spanish barbarity. It combined all the devices of inquisitorial torturing with the indulgence of the bestial ferocities of the bull-fight. At times it seemed as if the heartless oppressors were seeking only for a brutal mirth in inventing games in which their victims should writhe and yell as for their amusement. Then, as opportunity suggested or served, a scheme of the most cunning treachery and malice would turn an occasion of revelry or feasting, to which the natives had been invited or been beguiled by their tormentors, into a riot of fury and massacre. The utter aimlessness and recklessness of most of these horrid enormities impress the reader in these days as simply the indulgence of a wanton spirit in giving free license in human passions to those mocking employments of grinning devils in the old church paintings as they inflict retributions on the damned spirits in hell. The forked weapons, the raging flames, and the hideous demoniac delights exhibited in paintings, with which the eyes of the Spaniards were so familiar, found their all-too-faithful counterparts in the tropical zones and valleys of our virgin islands. The only pretences offered, not for justifying but for inflicting such wanton barbarities on the natives, were such as these, — that they refused to make known or to guide their oppressors to rich mines, or to work beyond their powers of endurance, or to bear intolerable burdens, or to furnish food which they had not to give. Touching and harrowing it is to read of many instances in which the simple diplomacy of the natives prompted them to neglect the little labor of husbandry required to supply their own wants, in order that the invaders might with themselves be brought to starvation. Whenever the Clerigo accompanied a body of Spaniards on the way to an Indian village, he always made an effort to keep the two people apart by night and by day, and he employed himself busily in baptizing infants and little children. He could never be too quick in this service, as these subjects of his zeal were the victims of the indiscriminate slaughter. The only consolation which this tender-hearted yet heroic missionary could find, as his share in the enterprise of his people, was in keeping the reckoning on his tablets of the number of those born under the common heathen doom whom he had snatched, by a holy drop, from the jaws of hell.

Baffled in all his nearly solitary endeavors to check the direful havoc and wreck of poor humanity on the scenes which were made so gory and hateful, Las Casas returned again to Spain in 1515, buoyed by resolve and hope that his dark revelations and bold remonstrances would draw forth something more effective from the sovereign. He was privileged by free and sympathizing interviews with Ferdinand at Placentia. But any hope of success here was soon crushed by the monarch's death. Las Casas was intending to go at once to Flanders to plead with the new King, Charles I., afterward Emperor, but was delayed by sympathetic friends found in Cardinal Ximenes and Adrian, the Regents.

It may seem strange and unaccountable that Las Casas should have encountered near the Court of a benignant sovereign a most malignant opposition to all his endeavors from first to last in securing the simply humane objects of his mission. But in fact he was withstood as resolutely at home as abroad, and often by a more wily and calculating policy. He found enemies and effective thwarters of his influence and advice in the order of the Jeronymites. Of the grounds and methods of their harmful activity, as well as of some of the more ostensible and plausible of the motives and alleged reasons which made him personal enemies both in Spain and in the Indies, we must speak with some detail farther on. It may be well here to follow him summarily in his frequent alternation between his missionary fields and his homeward voyages, to ply his invigorated zeal with new and intenser earnestness from his fuller experiences of the woes and outrages which he sought to redress. With some, though insufficient, assurances of regal authority in support of his cause, he re-embarked for the Indies, Nov. 11, 1516, and reached Hispaniola in December, fortified with the personal title of the "Universal Protector of the Indians." He sailed again for Spain, May 7, 1517. His plainness of speech had in the interval increased the animosity and the efforts to thwart him of the local authorities on the islands, and had even induced coldness and lack of aid among his Dominican friends. He had many public and private hearings in Spain, stirring up against himself various plottings and new enemies. In each of these homeward visits Las Casas of course brought with him revelations and specific details of new accumulations of iniquity against the natives; and with a better understanding of himself, and also of all the intrigues and interests warring against him, his honest soul assured him that he must at last win some triumph in his most righteous cause. So he heaped the charges and multiplied the disclosures which gave such vehemence and eloquence to his pleadings. Having during each of his home visits met some form of misrepresentation or falsehood, he would re-embark, furnished as he hoped with some new agency and authority against the evil-doers. But his enemies were as ingenious and as active as himself. Perhaps the same vessel or fleet which carried him to the islands, with orders intended to advance his influence, would bear fellow-passengers with documents or means to thwart all his reinforced mission. He left Spain again in 1520, only to cast himself on a new sea of troubles soon inducing him to return. His sixth voyage carried him this time to the mainland in Mexico, in 1537. He was in Spain once more in 1539. While waiting here for the return of the Emperor, he composed six of his many essays upon his one unchanging theme, all glowing with his righteous indignation, and proffering wise and plain advice to the monarch. Yet again he crossed the now familiar ocean to America, in 1544, it being his seventh western voyage, and returned for the seventh and last time to Spain in 1547. Here were fourteen sea-voyages, with their perils, privations, and lack of the common appliances and comforts shared in these days by the rudest mariners. These voyages were interspersed by countless trips and ventures amid the western islands and the main, involving twofold, and a larger variety of harassments and risks, with quakings, hurricanes, and reefs, exposures in open skiffs, and the privilege of making one's own charts. But one year short of fifty in the count out of his lengthened life were spent by this man of noble ardor, of dauntless soul, and of loving heart in a cause which never brought to him the joy of an accomplished aim.

Las Casas shared, with a few other men of the most fervent and self-sacrificing religious zeal, an experience of the deepest inward conviction, following upon, not originally prompting to, the full consecration of his life to his devoutest aim. Though he had been ordained to the priesthood in 1510, he was afterward made to realize that he had not then been the subject of that profound experience known in the formulas of piety as true conversion. He dates this personal experience, carrying him to a deeper devotional consciousness than he had previously realized, to the influence over him of a faithful lay friend, Pedro de la Renteria, with whom he became intimate in 1514. To the devout conversation, advice, and example of this intimate companion he ascribed his better-informed apprehension of the radical influences which wrought out the whole system of wrong inflicted upon the natives. Las Casas himself, like all the other Spaniards, had a company of Indian servants, who were in effect slaves; and he put them to work, the benefit of which accrued to himself. A form of servitude which exceeded all the conditions of plantation slavery had been instituted by Columbus under the system of so-called *repartimientos.* It was founded on the assumption that the Spanish monarch had an absolute proprietary right over the natives, and could make disposals and allotments of their services to his Christian subjects, the numbers being proportioned to the rank, standing, and means of individuals, the meanest Spaniard being entitled to share in the distribution of these servitors. This allowance made over to men of the lowest grade of intelligence, character, and humanity, the absolute and irresponsible power over the life and death of the natives intrusted to the disposal of masters. Under it were perpetrated cruelties against which there were no availing remonstrances, and for which there was no redress. The domestic cattle of civilized men are to be envied above the human beings who were held under the system of *repartimientos,* — tasked, scourged, tormented, and hunted with bloodhounds, if they sank under toils and inflictions beyond their delicate constitutions, or sought refuge in flight.

The slavery which afterward existed in the British Colonies and in these United States had scarce a feature in common with that which originated with the Spanish invaders. Las Casas thinks that Ferdinand lived and died without having had anything like a full apprehension of the enormities of the system. This, however, was not because efforts were lacking to inform him of these enormities, or to engage his sovereign intervention to modify and restrain, if not positively to prohibit, them. As we shall see, the system was so rooted in the greed and rapacity of the first adventurers here, who were goaded by passion for power and wealth, that foreign authority was thwarted in every attempt to overrule it. The most favored advisers of Ferdinand endeavored at first to keep him in ignorance of the system, and then, as he obtained partial information about it, to lead him to believe that it was vitally indispensable to conversion, to colonization, and to remunerative trade. The Dominican missionaries had, as early as 1501, informed the monarch of the savage cruelties which the system imposed. All that they effected was to induce Ferdinand to refer the matter to a council of jurists and theologians. Some of these were even alleged to have personal interests in the system of *repartimientos;* but at any rate they were under the influence and sway of its most selfish supporters. As the result of their conference, they persuaded the monarch that the system was absolutely necessary, — as, first, the Spaniards themselves were incapable of bodily labor under a debilitating climate; and second, that the close and dependent relation under which the natives were thus brought to their masters could alone insure the possibility of their conversion to the true faith. Ferdinand was so far won over to the allowance of the wrong as to issue an ordinance in its favor; while he sought to limit, restrain, and qualify it by injunctions which, of course, were futile in their dictation, for operating at a distance, in islands where sordid personal interests were all on the side of a defiance of them.

The Clerigo affirms that his own conscience was more startlingly aroused to a full sense of the wrongs and iniquities of the system of the *repartimientos* by his religious friend Renteria. He had previously, of course, so far as he was himself made the master or guardian in this relation of any number of the natives, brought his humanity and his ardor for justice into full exercise. But he was quickened by his friend to the duty of private and also of bold public protest against the system, and most plainly to offenders in proportion to the number of the victims which they enthralled and to the cruelty inflicted upon them. It was not his wont to allow any timidity or personal regards or temporizing calculations to compel his silence or to moderate his rebukes. His infirmity rather led him to excess in impatience and passion in his remonstrances. His bold and denunciatory preaching — though it appears that in this, and, as we shall note, on other occasions of speech and writing, he restrained himself from using the name of conspicuous offenders — caused an intense consternation and excitement. His clerical character barely saved him from personal violence. He found his hearers obdurate, and utterly beyond the sway of his protests and appeals. Again, therefore, he turned his face toward Spain, sustained by the fond assurance that he could so engage the King's intervention by his disclosures and rehearsals, that the royal authority should at this time be effectually exerted against a giant iniquity. This was his homeward errand in 1515. That even his presence and speech had had some restraining influence in Cuba, is signified by the fact that after his withdrawal and during his absence all the wrongs and miseries of which the natives, wholly impotent to resist, were the victims, ran into wilder license. The Spaniards kept bloodhounds in training and in hunger, to scour the woods and thickets and wilderness depths for the despairing fugitives. Whole families of the natives took refuge in voluntary and preferred self-destruction.

Two Dominicans of like mind with Las Casas accompanied him on his errand. Pedro de Cordova, prelate of the Dominicans, was his stanch friend. The Clerigo reached Seville in the autumn of 1515, and at once addressed himself to Ferdinand. He found the monarch old and ailing. The most able and malignant opponent with whose support, enlisted upon the side of the wrong and of the wrongdoers, Las Casas had to contend, was the Bishop of Burgos, Fonseca, whose influence had sway in the Council for the Indies.[1] After the King's death, Jan. 23, 1516, Las Casas enjoyed the countenance, and had hope of the effectual aid, of the two Regents, previously mentioned, during the minority of Charles, the heir to the throne. The earnestness and persistency of the Clerigo so far availed as to obtain for him instructions to be carried to those in authority in the islands for qualifying the *repartimiento* system, and with penalties for the oppressions under it. Some Jeronymites were selected to accompany him on his return, as if to reinforce the objects of his mission, and to insure the efficacy of the title conferred upon him as the "Protector of the Indians." The Jeronymites, however, had been corrupted by the cunning and intrigues of the wily and exasperated enemies of Las Casas, who effected in secrecy what they could not or dared not attempt publicly against the courageous Clerigo and his purposes backed by authority. Already alienated during the voyage, they reached San Domingo in December, 1516. Perhaps candor may induce the suggestion that while the Jeronymites, from motives of prudence, temporized and qualified their activity in their errand, Las Casas was heady and unforbearing in his uncompromising demand for instant redress of wrong. At any rate he was wholly foiled in the exercise of his delegated authority; and so, with a fire in his blood which allowed no peace to his spirit, he was again in Spain in July, 1517. Here he found Cardinal Ximenes, his friendly patron, near to death. He was, however, encouraged with the hope and promise of patronage from high quarters. For a season his cause presented a favorable aspect. He had become sadly assured that upon the Spaniards in the islands, whose hearts and consciences were smothered by their greed and inhumanity, no influence, not even that of ghostly terrorism, which was tried in the refusal of the sacraments, would be of the least avail. His only resource was to engage what force there might be in the piety and humanity of the Church at

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[1] The administration of affairs in the Western colonies of Spain was committed by Ferdinand, in 1511, to a body composed chiefly of clergy and jurists, called "The Council for the Indies." Its powers originally conferred by Ferdinand were afterward greatly enlarged by Charles

V. These powers were full and supreme, and any information, petition, appeal, or matter of business concerning the Indies, though it had been first brought before the monarch, was referred by him for adjudication to the Council. This body had an almost absolute sway alike in matters civil and ecclesiastical, with supreme authority over all appointments and all concerns of government and trade. It was therefore in the power of the Council to overrule or qualify in many ways the will or purpose or measures of the sovereigns, which were really in favor of right or justice or humane proceedings in the affairs of the colonies. For it naturally came about that some of its members were personally and selfishly interested in the abuses and iniquities which it was their rightful function and their duty to withstand. At the head of the Council was a dignitary whose well-known character and qualities were utterly unfavorable for the rightful discharge of his high trust. This was Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, successively Bishop of Badajoz, Valencia, and Burgos, and constituted "Patriarch of the Indies." He had full control of colonial affairs for thirty years, till near his death in 1547. He bore the repute among his associates of extreme worldliness and ambition, with none of the graces and virtues becoming the priestly office, the duties of which engaged but little of his time or regard. It is evident also that he was of an unscrupulous and malignant disposition. He was inimical to Columbus and Cortés from the start. He tried to hinder, and succeeded in delaying and embarrassing, the second westward voyage of the great admiral. (Irving's *Columbus*, iii.; Appendix XXXIV.) He was a bitter opponent of Las Casas, even resorting to taunting insults of the apostle, and either openly or crookedly thwarting him in every stage and effort of his patient importunities to secure the intervention of the sovereigns in the protection of the natives. The explanation of this enmity is found in the fact that Fonseca himself was the owner of a *repartimiento* in Hispaniola, with a large number of native slaves.

home, in the sense of justice among high civil dignitaries, and in such sympathetic aid as he might draw from his countrymen who had no interest in the mining or the commerce sustained by the impositions upon the natives. The young King had wise councillors, and they made with him some good plans for means of relieving the natives from severities in their tasks of labor, from cruel inflictions in working the mines, and from exorbitant taxes exacting of them produce and commodities enormously exceeding their possible resources, however willing they might be in yielding. It was at this time and under its emergency, that Las Casas unfortunately gave something more than his assent, even his countenance and advice, to a proposition the effect of which was to root in pure and free soil an enormity whose harvesting and increase were a sum of woes. He certainly did advise that each Spaniard, resident in Hispaniola, should be allowed to import a dozen negro slaves. He did this, as he afterward affirmed and confessed, under the lure of a deep mist and delusion. So painful was the remorse which he then experienced for his folly and error, that he avows that he would part with all he had in the world to redress it. He says that when he gave this advice he had not at all been aware of the outrages perpetrated by the Portuguese dealers in entrapping these wretched Africans. Besides this, he had been promised by the colonists that if they might be allowed to have negroes, whose constitutions were stronger for endurance, they would give up the feeble natives. We may therefore acquit Las Casas in his confessed sin of ignorance and willing compromise in an alternative of wrongs. But he is wholly guiltless of a charge which has been brought against him, founded upon this admitted error, of having been the first to propose and to secure the introduction of African slavery into the New World. As has already been said, the wrong had been perpetrated many years before Las Casas had any agency in it by deed or word. While the young King was still in Flanders negro slaves had been sent by his permission to Hispaniola. The number was limited to a thousand for each of the four principal islands. As there was a monopoly set up in the sale of these doleful victims, the price of them was speedily and greatly enhanced.[1]

Las Casas devised and initiated a scheme for the emigration of laboring men from Spain. Thwarted in this purpose, he formed a plan for a colony where restrictions were to be enforced to guard against the worst abuses. Fifty Spaniards, intended to be carefully selected with regard to character and habits, and distinguished by a semi-clerical garb and mode of life, were his next device for introducing some more tolerable conditions of work and thrift in the islands. Ridicule was brought to bear, with all sorts of intrigues and tricks, to baffle this scheme. But the Clerigo persevered in meeting all the obstructions thrown in his way, and sailed for San Domingo in July, 1520. He established his little Utopian colony at Cumana; but misadventures befel it, and it came to a melancholy end. It seemed for a season as if the tried and patient Clerigo was at last driven to complete disheartenment. Wearied and exhausted, he took refuge in a Dominican convent in San Domingo, receiving the tonsure in 1522. Here he was in retirement for eight years, occupying himself in studying and writing, of which we have many results. During this interval the work of depopulation and devastation was ruinously advancing under Cortés, Alvarado, and Pizarro, in Mexico, Guatemala, and Peru. There is some uncertainty about an alleged presence of Las Casas at the Court in Spain in 1530. But he was in Mexico in 1531, in Nicaragua in 1534, and in Spain again in 1539, in behalf of a promising work undertaken in Tuzulutlan, from which all lay Spaniards were to be excluded. Having accomplished, as he hoped, the object of his visit, he would have returned at once to the American main; but was detained by the Council of the Indies as the person best able and most trustworthy to give them certain information which they desired. It was at this period that he wrote his remarkable work, *The Destruction of the Indies.* This bold and daring product of his pen and of the righteous indignation which had heretofore found expression from his eloquent and fervid speech, will soon be examined in detail. It may be said now that this work, afterward so widely circulated and translated into all the languages of Europe, — perhaps with some reductions from the original, — was not at first allowed to be published, but was submitted to the Emperor and his ministers. As the shocking revelations made in this book state in round numbers the victims of the Spaniards in different places, it is at once observable that there are over-statements and exaggerations. This, however, applies only to the numbers, not at all to the acts of barbarity and iniquity.[1] The book was published twelve years after it was written, and was dedicated to Philip, the heir to the throne.

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[1] There is an extended Note on Las Casas in Appendix XXVIII. of Irving's *Columbus*. That author most effectively vindicates Las Casas from having first advised and been instrumental in the introduction of African slavery in the New World, giving the dates and the advisers and agents connected with that wrong previous to any word on the subject from Las Casas. The devoted missionary had been brought to acquiesce in the measure on the plausible plea stated in the text, acting from the purest spirit of benevolence, though under an erroneous judgment. Cardinal Ximenes had from the first opposed the project.

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[1] As will appear farther on in these pages, Las Casas stands justly chargeable with enormous exaggerations of the number or estimate of the victims of Spanish cruelty. But I have not met with a single case in any contemporary writer, nor in the challengers and opponents of his pleadings at the Court of Spain, in which his hideous portrayal of the forms and methods of that cruelty, its dreadful and revolting tortures and mutilations, have been brought under question. Mr. Prescott's fascinating volumes have been often and sometimes very sharply censured, because in the glow of romance, chivalric daring, and heroic adventure in which he sets the achievements of the Spanish "Conquerors" of the New World he would seem to be somewhat lenient to their barbarities. In the second of his admirable works he refers as follows to this stricture upon him: "To American and English readers, acknowledging so different a moral standard from that of the sixteenth century, I may possibly be thought too indulgent to the errors of the Conquerors;" and he urges that while he has "not hesitated to expose in their strongest colors the excesses of the Conquerors, I have given them the benefit of such mitigating reflections as might be suggested by the circumstances and the period in which they lived" (Preface to the *Conquest of Mexico*).

It is true that scattered over all the ably-wrought pages of Mr. Prescott's volumes are expressions of the sternest judgment and the most indignant condemnation passed upon the

It may be as well here to complete the summary of the career of Las Casas. While detained by the Council he was engaged in the advice and oversight of a new code of laws for the government of the colonies and the colonists. Up to this time he had crossed the ocean to the islands or the main twelve times, and had journeyed to Germany four times to confer with the Emperor. He was offered the bishopric of Cusco, in Toledo, but was not thus to be withdrawn from his foreign mission. In order, however, to secure authority to enforce the new laws, he accepted the foreign bishopric of Chiapa, was consecrated at Seville in 1544, embarked on July 4, with forty-four monks, and arrived at Hispaniola. He bore the aversion and hate which his presence everywhere provoked, was faithful to the monastic habits, and though so abstemious as to deny himself meat, he kept the vigor of his body. He resolutely forbade absolution to be given to Spaniards holding slaves contrary to the provisions of the new laws. Resigning his bishopric, he returned to Spain for the last time in 1547,— engaging in his bold controversy with Sepulveda, to be soon rehearsed. He resided chiefly in the Dominican College at Valladolid. In 1564, in his ninetieth year, he wrote a work on Peru. On a visit to Madrid in the service of the Indians, after a short illness, he died in July, 1566, at the age of ninety-two, and was buried in the convent of "Our Lady of Atocha."

The most resolute and effective opponents which Las Casas found at the Spanish Court were Oviedo and Sepulveda, representatives of two different classes of those who from different motives and by different methods stood between him and the King. Oviedo had held high offices under Government both in Spain and in various places in the New World. He wrote a history of the Indies, which Las Casas said was as full of lies almost as of pages. He also had large interests in the mines and in the enslaving of the natives. Sepulveda[1] was distinguished as a scholar and an author.

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most signal enormities of these incarnate spoilers, who made a sport of their barbarity. But those who have most severely censured the author upon the matter now in view have done so under the conviction that cruelty unprovoked and unrelieved was so awfully dark and prevailing a feature in every stage and incident of the Spanish advance in America, that no glamour of adventure or chivalric deeds can in the least lighten or redeem it. The underlying ground of variance is in the objection to the use of the terms "Conquest" and "Conquerors," as burdened with the relation of such a pitiful struggle between the overmastering power of the invaders and the abject helplessness of their victims.

As I am writing this note, my eye falls upon the following extract from a private letter written in 1847 by that eminent and highly revered divine, Dr. Orville Dewey, and just now put into print: "I have been reading Prescott's *Peru.* What a fine accomplishment there is about it! And yet there is something wanting to me in the moral nerve. History should teach men how to estimate characters; it should be a teacher of morals; and I think it should make us *shudder* at the names of Cortez and Pizarro. But Prescott does not; he seems to have a kind of sympathy with these inhuman and perfidious adventurers, as if they were his heroes. It is too bad to talk of them as the soldiers of Christ; if it were said of the Devil, they would have better fitted the character" (*Autobiography and Letters of Orville Dewey, D.D.* p. 190).

[1] Juan Ginez de Sepulveda, distinguished both as a theologian and an historian, was born near Cordova in 1490, and died in 1573. He was of a noble but impoverished family. He availed himself of his opportunities for obtaining the best education of his time in the universities of Spain and Italy, and acquired an

Las Casas charges that his pen and influence were engaged in the interest of parties who had committed some of the greatest ravages, and who had personal advantages at stake. Sepulveda in his opposition to the Clerigo makes two points or "Conclusions," — 1. That the Spaniards had a right to subjugate and require the submission of the Indians, because of their superior wisdom and prudence; and that, therefore, the Indians were bound to submit and acquiesce. 2. That in case of their refusal to do so they might justly be constrained by force of arms. It was the proceeding on these assumptions that, as Las Casas pleaded, had led to the entire depopulation of vast territories. With high professions of loyalty Sepulveda urged that his motive in writing was simply to justify the absolute title of the King of Spain to the Indies. In offering his book to the Royal Council he importunately solicited its publication; and as this was repeatedly refused, he engaged the urgency of his friends to bring it about. Las Casas, well knowing what mischief it would work, strongly opposed the publication. The Council, regarding the matter as purely theological, referred Sepulveda's treatise for a thorough examination to the universities of Salamanca and Alcala. They pronounced it unsound in doctrine and unfit to be printed. Sepulveda then secretly sent it to Rome, and through his friend, the Bishop of Segovia, procured it to be printed. The Emperor prohibited its circulation in Spain, and caused the copies of it to be seized.

Las Casas resolved to refute this dangerous treatise, and Sepulveda was personally cited to a dispute, which was continued through five days. As a result, the King's confessor, Dominic de Soto, an eminent divine,

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eminent reputation as a scholar and a disputant, — not, however, for any elevation of principles or nobleness of thought. In 1536 he was appointed by Charles V. his historiographer, and put in charge of his son Philip. Living at Court, he had the repute of being crooked and unscrupulous, his influence not being given on the side of rectitude and progressive views. His writings concerning men and public affairs give evidence of the faults imputed to him. He was vehement, intolerant, and dogmatic He justified the most extreme absolutism in the exercise of the royal prerogative, and the lawfulness and even the expediency of aggressive wars simply for the glory of the State. Melchior Cano and Antonio Ramirez, as well as Las Casas, entered into antagonism and controversy with his avowed principles. One of his works, entitled *Democrates Secundus, seu de justis belli causis*, may be pronounced almost brutal in the license which it allowed in the stratagems and vengefulness of warfare. It was condemned by the universities of Alcala and Salamanca. He was a voluminous author of works of history, philosophy, and theology, and was admitted to be a fine and able writer. Erasmus pronounced him the Spanish Livy. The disputation between him and Las Casas took place before Charles in 1550. The monarch was very much under his influence, and seems to some extent to have sided with him in some of his views and principles. Sepulveda was one of the very few persons whom the monarch admitted to interviews and intimacy in his retirement to the Monastery at Yuste.

It was this formidable opponent — a personal enemy also in jealousy and malignity — whom Las Casas confronted with such boldness and earnestness of protest before the Court and Council. It was evidently the aim of Sepulveda to involve the advocate of the Indians in some disloyal or heretical questioning of the prerogatives of monarch or pope. It seemed at one time as if the noble pleader for equity and humanity would come under the clutch of the Holy Office, then exercising its new-born vigor upon all who could be brought under inquisition for constructive or latent heretical proclivities. For Las Casas, though true to his priestly vows, made frequent and bold utterances of what certainly, in his time, were advanced views and principles.

was asked to give a summary of the case. This he did in substance as follows: —

> "The prime point is whether the Emperor may justly make war on the Indians before the Faith has been preached to them, and whether after being subdued by arms they will be in any condition to receive the light of the Gospel, more tractable, more docile to good impressions, and ready to give up their errors. The issue between the disputants was, that Sepulveda maintained that war was not only lawful and allowable, but necessary; while Las Casas insisted upon the direct contrary, — that war was wholly unjust, and offered invincible obstacles to conversion. Sepulveda presented four arguments on his side: 1. The enormous wickedness and criminality of the Indians, their idolatry, and their sins against nature. 2. Their ignorance and barbarity needed the mastery of the intelligent and polite Spaniards. 3. The work of conversion would be facilitated after subjugation. 4. That the Indians treat each other with great cruelty, and offer human sacrifices to false gods. Sepulveda fortifies these arguments by examples and authorities from Scripture, and by the views of doctors and canonists, — all proceeding upon the assumed exceeding wickedness of the Indians. In citing *Deuteronomy* xx. 10–16, he interprets 'far-off cities' as those of a different religion. Las Casas replies that it was not simply as idolaters that the seven nations in Canaan were to be destroyed, — as the same fate, on that score, might have been visited upon all the inhabitants of the earth, except Israel,— but as intruders upon the Promised Land. The early Christian emperors, beginning with Constantine, did not make their wars as against idolaters, but for political reasons. He cites the Fathers as giving testimony to the effect of a good example and against violent measures. The Indians under the light of Nature are sincere, but are blinded in offering sacrifices. They are not like the worst kind of barbarians, to be hunted as beasts; they have princes, cities, laws, and arts. It is wholly unjust, impolitic, and futile to wage war against them as simply barbarians. The Moors of Africa had been Christians in the time of Augustine, and had been perverted, and so might rightfully be reclaimed."

The Royal Council, after listening to the dispute and the summary of its points, asked Las Casas to draw up a paper on the question whether they might lawfully enslave the Indians, or were bound to set free all who were reduced to bondage. He replied that the law of God does not justify war against any people for the sake of making them Christians; so the whole course of treatment of the Indians had been wrong from the start. The Indians were harmless; they had never had the knowledge or the proffer of Christianity: so they had never fallen away, like the Moors of Africa, Constantinople, and Jerusalem. No sovereign prince had authorized the Spaniards to make war. The Spaniards cannot pretend that their reason for making war was because of the cruelty of the Indians to each other. The slaughter of them was indiscriminate and universal. They were enslaved and branded with the King's arms. The monarch never authorized these execrable artifices and shocking atrocities, a long catalogue of which is specified.

The Clerigo then warms into an earnest dissertation on natural and Christian equity. He quotes some beautiful sentences from the will of Isabella, enjoining her own humanity on her husband and daughter. He makes a strong point of the fact that Isabella first, and then a council of divines and lawyers at Burgos, and Charles himself in 1523, had declared that all the inhabitants of the New World had been born free. Only Las Casas' earnestness, his pure and persistent purpose, relieve of weariness his reiteration of the same truths and appeals to the King. He insists over and over again that the delegating of any portion of the King's own personal authority to any Spaniard resident in the New World, or even to the Council of the Indies, opens the door to every form and degree of abuse, and that he must strictly reserve all jurisdiction and control to himself.

In a second treatise, which Las Casas addressed to Charles V., he states at length the practical measures needful for arresting the wrongs and disasters consequent upon the enslaving of the Indians. Of the twenty methods specified, the most important is that the King should not part with the least portion of his sovereign prerogative. He meets the objection artfully raised by Sepulveda, that if the King thus retains all authority to himself he may lose the vast domain to his crown, and that the Spaniards will be forced to return to Europe and give up the work of Gospel conversion.

Las Casas wrote six memorials or argumentative treatises addressed to the sovereigns on the one same theme. The sameness of the information and appeals in them is varied only by the increasing boldness of the writer in exposing iniquities, and by the warmer earnestness of his demand for the royal interposition. His sixth treatise is a most bold and searching exposition of the limits of the royal power over newly discovered territory, and within the kingdoms and over the natural rights of the natives. A copy of this paper was obtained by a German ambassador in Spain, and published at Spire, in Latin, in 1571. It is evident that for a considerable period after the composition — and, so to speak, the publication — of these successive protests and appeals of the Clerigo, only a very limited circulation was gained by them. Artful efforts were made, first to suppress them, and then to confine the knowledge of the facts contained in them to as narrow a range as possible. His enemies availed themselves of their utmost ingenuity and cunning to nullify his influence. Sometimes he was ridiculed as a crazy enthusiast, — a visionary monomaniac upon an exaggerated delusion of his own fancy. Again, he would be gravely and threateningly denounced as an enemy to Church and State, because he imperilled the vast interests of Spain in her colonies.

The principal and most important work from the pen of Las Casas, on which his many subsequent writings are based and substantially developed, bears (in English) the following title: *A Relation of the First Voyages and Discoveries made by the Spaniards in America. With an Account of their Unparalleled Cruelties on the Indians, in the Destruction of above Forty Millions of People; together with the Propositions offered to the King of Spain to prevent the further Ruin of the West Indies. By Don Bartholomew de las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa, who was an Eye-witness of their Cruelties.* It was composed in Spanish, and finished at Valencia, Dec. 8, 1542, near the beginning of the reign of Philip II., to whom it is dedicated. This was about fifty years after the discovery of America; and during the greater part of the period Las Casas had lived as an observer of the scenes and events which he describes. He makes Hispaniola his starting-point, as the navigators usually first touched there. The reader will at once be struck by the exaggeration, the effect of a high-wrought and inflamed imagination, so evident in the words of the title, which set the number of the victims of Spanish cruelty at forty millions. Of this weakness of Las Casas in over-estimate and exaggeration of numbers, we shall have to take special notice by and by. It is enough to say here that his license in this direction is confined to this one point, and is by no means to be viewed as discrediting his integrity, fidelity, and accuracy in other parts of his testimony. He certainly had been deeply impressed with the density of the population in some of the islands, for he says: "It seems as if Providence had amassed together the greatest part of mankind in this region of the earth." He tells us that his motives for writing and publishing his exposure of iniquities were, — the call made upon him by pious and Christian people thus to enlist the sympathies and efforts of the good to redress the wrong; and his sincere attachment to his King and Master, lest God should avenge the wrong on his kingdom. For this purpose he has followed the Court with his pleadings, and will not cease his remonstrances and appeals. At the time of completing his work savage cruelties were prevailing over all the parts of America which had been opened, slightly restrained for the time in Mexico, through the stern intervention of the King. An addition to his work in 1546 recognized many new ordinances and decrees made by his Majesty at Barcelona since 1542, and signed at Madrid in 1543. But nevertheless a new field for oppression and wickedness had been opened in Peru, with exasperations from civil war and rebellion among the natives; while the Spaniards on most frivolous pretexts defied the orders of the King, pretending to wait for his answers to their pleas in self-justification. The period was one in which the rapacity of the invaders was both inflamed and gratified by abundance of spoil, which sharpened the avarice of the earlier claimants, and drew to them fresh adventurers.

Las Casas gives a very winning description of the natives under his observation and in his ever-kindly and sympathetic relations with them. He says they are simple, humble, patient, guileless, submissive, weak, and effeminate; incapable of toil or labor, short-lived, succumbing to slight illnesses; as frugal and abstemious as hermits; inquisitive about the Catholic religion, and docile disciples. They were lambs who had encountered tigers, wolves, and lions. During the lifetime of Las Casas Cuba had been rendered desolate and a desert; then St. John and Jamaica; and in all thirty islands had come to the same fate. A system of deportation from one island to another had been devised to obtain new supplies of slaves. The Clerigo deliberately charges that in forty years the number of victims counted to fifty millions. Enslaving was but a protracted method of killing, — all in the greed for gold and pearls. The sight of a fragment of the precious metal in the hands of a native was the occasion for demanding more of him, as if he had hidden treasure, or for his guiding the Spaniards to some real or imagined mines. Las Casas follows his details and examples of iniquity through the islands in succession, then through the provinces of Nicaragua, New Spain, Guatemala, Pannco, Jalisco, Yucatan, St. Martha, Carthagena, the Pearl Coast, Trinidad, the River Yuya-pari, Venezuela, Florida, La Plata, and Peru, — being in all seventeen localities, — repeating the similar facts, hardly with variations. Against the Spaniards with their horses, lances, swords, and bloodhounds, the natives could oppose only their light spears and poisoned arrows. The victims would seek refuge in caves and mountain fastnesses, and if approached would kill themselves, as the easiest escape from wanton tortures. Las Casas says : " I one day saw four or five persons, of the highest rank, in Hispaniola, burned by a slow fire." Occasionally, he tells us, a maddened Indian would kill a Spaniard, and then his death would be avenged by the massacre of a score or a hundred natives. Immediately upon the knowledge of the death of Isabella, in 1504, as if her humanity had been some restraint, the barbarous proceedings were greatly intensified. The Spaniards made the most reckless waste of the food of the natives. Las Casas says : " One Spaniard will consume in a day the food of three Indian families of ten persons each for a month." He avows that when he wrote there were scarce two hundred natives left in St. John and Jamaica, where there had once been six hundred thousand. For reasons of caution or prudence — we can hardly say from fear, for never was there a more courageous champion — Las Casas suppresses the names of the greatest offenders. The following are specimens of his method: "Three merciless tyrants have invaded Florida, one after another, since 1510." "A Spanish commander with a great number of soldiers entered Peru," etc. "In the year 1514 a merciless governor, destitute of the least sentiment of pity or humanity, a cruel instrument of the wrath of God, pierced into the continent." "The fore-mentioned governor," etc. "The captain whose lot it was to travel into Guatemala did a world of mischief there." "The first bishop that was sent into America imitated the conduct of the covetous governors in enslaving and spoiling." "They call the countries they have got by their unjust and cruel wars their conquests." "No tongue is capable of describing to the life all the horrid villanies perpetrated by these bloody-minded men. They seemed to be the declared enemies of mankind." The more generous the presents in treasures which were made by some timid cacique to his spoilers, the more brutally was he dealt with, in the hope of extorting what he was suspected of having concealed. Las Casas stakes his veracity on the assertion : "I saw with my own eyes above six thousand children die in three or four months."

To reinforce his own statements the Clerigo quotes letters from high authorities. One is a protest which the Bishop of St. Martha wrote in 1541 to the King of Spain, saying that "the Spaniards live there like devils, rather than Christians, violating all the laws of God and man." Another is from Mark de Xlicia, a Franciscan friar, to the King, the General of his Order, who came with the first Spaniards into Peru, testifying from his eyesight to all enormities, in mutilations, cutting off the noses, ears, and hands of the natives, burning and tortures, and keeping famished dogs to chase them.

Las Casas follows up his direful catalogue of horrors into the "New Kingdom of Grenada," in 1536, which he says received its name from the native place of "the captain that first set his foot in it." Those whom he took with him into Peru were "very profligate and extremely cruel men, without scruple or remorse, long accustomed to all sorts of wickedness." The second "governor," enraged that his predecessor had got the first share of the plunder, though enough was left for spoil, turned informer, and made an exposure of his atrocities in complaints to the Council of the Indies, in documents which "are yet to be seen." The spoils were prodigious quantities of gold and precious stones, especially emeralds. The "governor" seized and imprisoned the cacique, or inca, Bogata, requiring him to send for and gather up all the gold within his reach ; and after heaps of it had been brought, put him to horrid torture in order to extort more.

There were published at Madeira certain "Laws and Constitutions" made by the King at Barcelona, in 1542, under the influence of Las Casas, as the result of a council at Valladolid. Strict orders to put a stop to the iniquitous proceedings were circumvented by agents sent in the interest of the authors of the outrages. The Clerigo petitioned the King to constitute all the natives his free subjects, with no delegated lordship over them, and enjoined upon him "to take an oath on the Holy Gospels, for himself and his successors, to this effect, and to put it in his will, solemnly witnessed." He insists that this is the only course to prevent the absolute extermination of the natives. He adds that the Spaniards in their covetousness combine to keep out priests and monks, not the slightest attempt being made to convert the natives, though the work would be easy, and they themselves crave it. "The Spaniards have no more regard to their salvation than if their souls and bodies died together, and were incapable of eternal rewards or punishments." Yet he admits that it would hardly be reasonable to expect these efforts for conversion of the heathen from men who are themselves heathen, and so ignorant and brutish that they "do not know even the number of the commandments." "As for your Majesty," the Clerigo says, with a keen thrust, "the Indians think you are the most cruel and impious prince in the world, while they see the cruelty and impiety your subjects so insolently commit, and they verily believe your Majesty lives upon nothing but human flesh and blood." He positively denies the imputations alleged to justify cruelty, — that the Indians indulged in abominable lusts against nature, and were cannibals. As for their idolatry, that is a sin against God, for Him, not for man, to punish. The monarchs, he insists, had been most artfully imposed upon in allowing the deportation of natives from the Lucay Islands to supply the havoc made in Hispaniola. The Clerigo goes into the most minute details, with specifications and reiterations of horrors, ascribing them to the delegated authority exercised by petty officers, under the higher ones successively intrusted with power. There is a holy fervor of eloquence in his remonstrances and appeals to his Majesty to keep the sole power in his own hands, as he reminds him that fearful retributive judgments from God may be visited upon his own kingdom. The Council of the Indies, he says, had desired him to write to the monarch about the exact nature of the right of the kings of Spain to the Indies; and he intimates that the zeal which he had shown in exposing iniquities under those whom the King had put in authority in the New World had been maliciously turned into a charge that he had questioned the royal title to those regions. As will appear, Las Casas, under the leadings of that intelligent search for the fundamentals of truth and righteousness which a quickened conscience had prompted, found his way to the principles of equity on this subject.

He had, therefore, previously sent to the King thirty well-defined and carefully stated "Propositions," which he regards as so self-evident that he makes no attempt to argue or prove them. His enemies have in view to cover up their iniquities by misleading the King. Therefore, for conscience' sake, and under a sense of obligation to God, he sets himself to a sacred task. Little foreseeing that his life and labor were to be protracted till he had nearly doubled his years, he says that, finding himself "growing old, being advanced to the fiftieth year of his age," and "from a full acquaintance with America," his testimony shall be true and clear.

His subtle enemies plead against him that the King has a right to establish himself in America by force of arms, however ruthless the process, — quoting the examples of Nimrod, Alexander, the old Romans, and the Turks. They allege also that the Spaniards have more prudence and wisdom than other peoples, and that their country is nearest to the Indies. He therefore announces his purpose to put himself directly before the King, and stand for his "Propositions," which he sends in advance in writing, suggesting that if it be his Majesty's pleasure, they be translated into Latin and published in that language, as well as in Spanish.

The "Propositions" may be stated in substance as follows; they were keenly studied and searched by those who were anxious to detect flaws or heresies in them: —

1. The Pope derives from Christ authority and power extending over all men, believers or infidels, in matters pertaining to salvation and eternal life. But these should be exercised differently over infidels and those who have had a chance to be believers.

2. This prerogative of the Pope puts him under a solemn obligation to propagate the Gospel, and to offer it to all infidels who will not oppose it.

3. The Pope is obliged to send capable ministers for this work.

4. Christian princes are his most proper and able helpers in it.

5. The Pope may exhort and even oblige Christian princes to this work, by authority and money, to remove obstructions and to send true workers.

6. The Pope and princes should act in accord and harmony.

7. The Pope may distribute infidel provinces among Christian princes for this work.

8. In this distribution should be had in view the instruction, conversion, and interests of the infidels themselves, not the increase of honors, titles, riches, and territories of the princes.

9. Any incidental advantage which princes may thus gain is allowable; but temporal ends should be wholly subordinate, the paramount objects being the extending of the Church, the propagation of the Faith, and the service of God.

10. The lawful native kings and rulers of infidel countries have a right to the obedience of their subjects, to make laws, etc., and ought not to be deprived, expelled, or violently dealt with.

11. To transgress this rule involves injustice and every form of wrong.

12. Neither these native rulers nor their subjects should be deprived of their lands for their idolatry, or any other sin.

13. No tribunal or judge in the world has a right to molest these infidels for idolatry or any other sins, however enormous, while still infidels, and before they have voluntarily received baptism, unless they directly oppose, refuse, and resist the publication of the Gospel.

14. Pope Alexander VI., under whom the discovery was made, was indispensably obliged to choose a Christian prince to whom to commit these solemn obligations of the Gospel.

15. Ferdinand and Isabella had especial claims and advantages for this intrustment by the Pope above all other Catholic princes, because they had with noble efforts driven out the infidels and Mohammedans from the land of their ancestors, and because they sent at their own charge Columbus, the great discoverer, whom they named the chief admiral.

16. As the Pope did right in this assignment, so he has power to revoke it, to transfer the country to some other prince, and to forbid, on pain of excommunication, any rival prince to send missionaries.

17. The kings of Castile and Leon have thus come lawfully to jurisdiction over the Indies.

18. This obliges the native kings of the Indies to submit to the jurisdiction of the kings of Spain.

19. Those native kings, having freely and voluntarily received the Faith and baptism, are bound (as they were not before) to acknowledge this sovereignty of the kings of Spain.

20. The kings of Spain are bound by the law of God to choose and send fit missionaries to exhort, convert, and do everything for this cause.

21. They have the same power and jurisdiction over these infidels before their conversion as the Pope has, and share his obligations to convert them.

22. The means for establishing the Faith in the Indies should be the same as those by which Christ introduced his religion into the world, — mild, peaceable, and charitable; humility; good examples of a holy and regular way of living, especially over such docile and easy subjects; and presents bestowed to win them.

23. Attempts by force of arms are impious, like those of Mahometans, Romans, Turks, and Moors: they are tyrannical, and unworthy of Christians, calling out blasphemies; and they have already made the Indians believe that our God is the most unmerciful and cruel of all Gods.

24. The Indians will naturally oppose the invasion of their country by a title of conquest, and so will resist the work of conversion.

25. The kings of Spain have from the first given and reiterated their orders against war and the ill-treatment of the Indians. If any officers have shown commissions and warrants for such practices, they have been forged or deceptive.

26. So all wars and conquests which have been made have been unjust and tyrannical, and in effect null; as is proved by proceedings on record in the Council against such tyrants and other culprits, who are amenable to judgment.

27. The kings of Spain are bound to reinforce and establish those Indian laws and customs which are good — and such are most of them — and to abolish the bad; thus upholding good manners and civil policy. The Gospel is the method for effecting this.

28. The Devil could not have done more mischief than the Spaniards have done in distributing and spoiling the countries, in their rapacity and tyranny; subjecting the natives to cruel tasks, treating them like beasts, and persecuting those especially who apply to the monks for instruction.

29. The distribution of the Indians among the Spaniards as slaves is wholly contrary to all the royal orders given by Isabella successively to Columbus, Bobadilla, and De Lares. Columbus gave three hundred Indians to Spaniards who had done the most service to the Crown, and took but one for his own use. The Queen ordered all except that one to be sent back. What would she have said to the present iniquities? The King is reminded that his frequent journeys and absences have prevented his fully informing himself of these facts.

30. From all these considerations it follows that all conquests, acquisitions, usurpations, and appropriations by officers and private persons have no legality, as contrary to the orders of the Spanish monarchs.

Here certainly is an admirable and cogent statement of the principles of equity and righteousness, as based upon natural laws and certified and fortified by the great verities and sanctions supposed to be held in reverence by professed Christians. Las Casas, in taking for his starting-point the Pope's supreme and inclusive right over half the globe, just brought to the knowledge of civilized men, seems to make a monstrous assumption, only greater than that of the Spanish kings' holding under and deriving dominion from him. But we may well pardon this assumption to so loyal a disciple of the Church, when we consider how nobly he held this Papal right as conditioned and limited, involving lofty duties, and balanced by an obligation to confer inestimable blessings. He had ever before him the contrast between fair scenes of luxurious Nature, ministering to the easy happiness of a gentle race of delicate and short-lived beings akin to himself, and the ruthless passions, lusts, and savagery of his own countrymen and fellow-Christians. We can well account for the opposition and thwarting of his efforts amid these scenes, but may need a further explanation of the resistance and ill-success which he encountered when pleading his cause before monarchs and great councillors at home, whose sympathies seem to have been generally on his side. He often stood wholly alone in scenes where these ravaging cruelties had full sweep, — alone in the humane sensitiveness with which he regarded them; alone in freedom from the mastering passions of greed and rapacity which excited them; and alone in realizing the appalling contrast between the spirit of blood and rapine which prompted them, and the spirit of that Gospel, the assumed championship of which at these ends of the earth was the blasphemous pretence of these murderers. Those ruthless tyrants, who here treated hundreds and thousands of the natives subject to them worse than even brutes from which useful service is expected, would not, of course, have the front to offer on the spot the pretence set up for them by their abetters at the Spanish Court, — that they were thus drawing the natives to them for their conversion; they laughed at the Clerigo when they did not openly thwart him.

Las Casas had many powerful and embittered opponents, and by the use of various means and artifices they were able to put impediments in his way, to qualify and avert what would seem to be the natural effects of his ardent appeals and shocking disclosures, and to keep him through his protracted life in what looked like a hopeless struggle against giant iniquities. Nor is it necessary that we go deeper than the obvious surface of the story to find the reasons for the opposition and discomfiture which he encountered. It may be that all those who opposed him or who would not co-operate with him were not personally interested in the iniquities which he exposed and sought to redress. Something may need to be said by and by concerning alleged faults of temper, over-ardor of zeal and over-statement, and wild exaggeration attributed to this bold apostle of righteousness. But that the substance of all his charges, and the specifications of inhumanity, cruelty, and atrocity which he set forth in detail, and with hardly enough diversity to vary his narrative, is faithful to the soberest truth, cannot be questioned. He spoke and wrote of what he had seen and known. He had looked upon sights of shocking and enormous iniquity and barbarity, over every scene which he had visited in his unresting travel. His sleep by night had been broken by the piteous shrieks of the wretched victims of slow tortures.

Much help may be derived by a reader towards a fuller appreciation of the character and life-work of Las Casas from the biography of him and the translation and editing of his principal writings by his ardent admirer, Llorente.[1] This writer refers to a previous abridged translation of the works of Las Casas, published in Paris in 1642. His own edition in French, in 1822, is more full, though somewhat condensed and reconstructed. He remarks justly upon the prolixity of Las Casas, his long periods, his repetitions, his pedantic quotations from Scripture and the Latin authors, as the results of his peripatetic training. His translator and editor credits to the magnanimity and nobleness of nature of Las Casas the omission of the names of great offenders in connection with the terrible wrongs done by them. This reserve of Las Casas has been already referred to. But Llorente, in seventeen critical notes, answering to the same number of divisions in the *Relation* of Las Casas, supplies the names of the leading criminals; and he also gives in a necrology the shocking or tragic elements and the dates of the death of these "men of blood." He adds to the "Remedies" which Las Casas had suggested to Charles V. the whole additional series of measures proposed up to 1572. Llorente says that, admitting that the starting-point in the Thirty Propositions of Las Casas,—namely, the assumption of the Papal prerogative as to new-discovered territory,—was in his day "incontestable," it is now recognized as a falsity. He furnishes an essay of his own upon the right and wrong of the claim; and he adds to that of Las Casas a treatise on the limits of the sovereign power of the King. Paw first, and then Raynal and Robertson, had brought the charge against Las Casas of having first introduced African slavery into the New World. As we have seen, the charge was false. Gregoire, bishop of Blois, read an *Apologie* before the Institute of France in 1801, in vindication of the Clerigo. This *Apologie* is given at length by Llorente. He adds, from manuscripts in the Royal Library of Paris, two inedited treatises of Las Casas, written in 1555–1564,—one against a project for perpetuating the *commanderies* in the New World; the other on the necessity of restoring the crown of Peru to the Inca Titus.[1]

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[1] Juan Antonio Llorente, eminent as a writer and historian, both in Spanish and French, was born near Calahorra, Aragon, in 1756, and died at Madrid in 1823. He received the tonsure when fourteen years of age, and was ordained priest at Saragossa in 1779. He was of a vigorous, inquisitive, and liberal spirit, giving free range to his mind, and turning his wide study and deep investigations to the account of his enlargement and emancipation from the limitations of his age and associates. He tells us that in 1784 he had abandoned all ultramontane doctrines, and all the ingenuities and perplexities of scholasticism. His liberalism ran into rational-

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ism. His secret or more or less avowed alienation from the prejudices and obligations of the priestly order, while it by no means made his position a singular or even an embarrassing one under the influences and surroundings of his time, does at least leave us perplexed to account for the confidence with which functions and high ecclesiastical trusts were committed to and exercised by him. He was even made Secretary-General of the Inquisition, and was thus put in charge of the enormous mass of records, with all their dark secrets, belonging to its whole history and processes. This charge he retained for a time after the Inquisition was abolished in 1809. It was thus by a singular felicity of opportunity that those terrible archives should have been in the care, and subject to the free and intelligent use, of a man best qualified of all others to tell the world their contents, and afterward prompted and at liberty to do so from subsequent changes in his own opinions and relations. To this the world is indebted for a *History of the Inquisition*, the fidelity and sufficiency of which satisfy all candid judgments. He was restive in spirit, provoked strong opposition, and was thus finally deprived of his office. After performing a variety of services not clerical, and moving from place to place, he went to Paris, where, in 1817–1818, he courageously published the above-mentioned *History*. He was interdicted the exercise of clerical functions. In 1822, the same year in which he published his Biography and French translation of the principal works of Las Casas, he published also his *Political Portraits of the Popes*. For this he was ordered to quit Paris, —a deep disappointment to him, causing chagrin and heavy depression. He found refuge in Madrid, where he died in the following year.

[1] Mr. Ticknor, however, says that these two treatises "are not absolutely proved" to be by Las Casas.—*History of Spanish Literature*, i. 566.

Llorente says it is not strange that the apostle Las Casas, like other great and noble men, met with enemies and detractors. Some assailed him through prejudice, others merely from levity, and without reflection. Four principal reproaches have been brought against him: —

1. He is charged with gross exaggeration in his writings, as by the Spanish writers Camporicanes, Nuix, and Muñoz, and of course by those interested in excusing the work of conquest and devastation, who cannot justify themselves without impeaching Las Casas as an impostor. His sufficient vindication from this charge may be found in a mass of legal documents in the Archives, in the Records of the Council for the Indies, and in Government processes against wrong-doers. Herrera, who had seen these documents, says: "Las Casas was worthy of all confidence, and in no particular has failed to present the truth." Torquemada, having personally sought for evidence in America, says the same. Las Casas, when challenged on this point, boldly affirmed: "There were once more natives in Hispaniola than in all Spain," and that Cuba, Jamaica, and forty other islands, with parts of Terra Firma, had all been wrecked and made desolate. He insists over and over again that his estimates are within the truth.

2. Another charge was of imprudence in his ill-considered proceedings with the Indians. Allowance is to be made on the score of his zeal, his extreme ardor and vehemence, — an offset to the apathy and hard-heartedness of those around him. He was in a position in which he could do nothing for the Indians if he kept silence. He witnessed the reckless and defiant disobedience of the positive instructions of the King by his own high officers.

3. The third charge was of *inconsistency* in condemning the enslaving of Indians, and favoring that of negroes. This has already been disposed of.

4. The final charge was that he was consumed by ambition. Only a single writer had the effrontery to ascribe to Las Casas the desperate purpose of seizing upon the sovereignty of a thousand leagues of territory. The whole foundation of the charge was his attempt to plant a particular colony in the province of Cumana, near St. Martha, on Terra Firma. So far from claiming sovereignty for himself, he even denied the right of the King to bestow such sovereignty.

He was, says Llorente, blameless; there is no stain upon his great virtues. Indeed, not only Spain, but all nations, owe him a debt for his opposition to despotism, and for his setting limits to royal power in the age of Charles V. and the Inquisition.

Then follows Llorente's translation into French of Las Casas' Memoir on the *Cruelties practised on the Indians*, with the Dedicatory Letter addressed to Philip II., 1552. The Spaniards at Hispaniola and elsewhere forgot that they were men, and treated the innocent creatures around them for forty-two years as if they were famished wolves, tigers, and lions. So that in Hispaniola, where once were three millions, there remained not more than two hundred. Cuba, Porto Rico, and Jamaica had been wholly depopulated. On more than sixty Lucayan islands, on the smallest of which were once five hundred thousand natives, Las Casas says, " my own eyes " have seen but eleven.

These appalling enumerations of the victims of Spanish cruelty during half a century from the first coming of the invaders to the islands and main of America, are set before the reader in the figures and estimates of Las Casas. Of course the instant judgment of the reader will be that there is obvious and gross exaggeration in them. It remains to this day a debated and wholly undecided question among archæologists, historians, and explorers best able to deal with it, as to the number of natives on island and continent when America was opened to knowledge. There are no facts within our use for any other mode of dealing with the question than by estimates, conjectures, and inferences. A reasonable view is that the southern islands were far more thickly peopled than the main, vast regions of which, when first penetrated by the whites, were found to be perfect solitudes. The general tendency now with those who have pursued any thorough investigations relating to the above question, is greatly to reduce the number of the aborigines below the guesses and the once-accepted estimates. Nor does it concern us much to attempt any argument as to the obvious over-estimates made by Las Casas, or to decide whether they came from his imagination or fervor of spirit, or whether, as showing himself incredible in these rash and wild enumerations, he brings his veracity and trustworthiness under grave doubts in other matters.

Las Casas says that near the Island of San Juan are thirty others without a single Indian. More than two thousand leagues of territory are wholly deserted. On the continent ten kingdoms, " each larger than Spain," with Aragon and Portugal, are an immense solitude, human life being annihilated there. He estimates the number of men, women, and children who have been slaughtered at more than fifteen millions. Generally they were tormented, no effort having been made to convert them. In vain did the natives, helpless with their feeble weapons, hide their women and children in the mountains. When, maddened by desperation, they killed a single Spaniard, vengeance was taken by the score. The Clerigo, as if following the strictest process of arithmetic, gives the number of victims in each of many places, only with variations and aggravations. He asserts that in Cuba, in three or four months, he had seen more than seven thousand children perish of famine, their parents having been driven off to the mines. He adds that the worst of the cruelties in Hispaniola did not take place till after the death of Isabella, and that efforts were made to conceal from her such as did occur, as she continued to demand right and mercy. She had done her utmost to suppress the system of *repartimientos*, by which the natives were distributed as slaves to masters.

An inference helpful to an approximate estimate of the numbers and extent of the depopulation of the first series of islands seized on by the

Spaniards, might be drawn from the vast numbers of natives deported from other groups of islands to replace the waste and to restore laborers. Geographers have somewhat arbitrarily distinguished the West Indies into three main groupings of islands, — the Lucayan, or Bahamas, of fourteen large and a vast number of small islands, extending, from opposite the coast of Florida, some seven hundred and fifty miles oceanward; the Greater Antilles, embracing Cuba, San Domingo, Porto Rico, Jamaica, etc., running, from opposite the Gulf of Mexico, from farther westward than the other groups; and the Lesser Antilles, or Carribean, or Windward Islands. The last-named, from their repute of cannibalism, were from the first coming of the Spaniards regarded as fair subjects for spoil, violence, and devastation. After ruin had done its work in the Greater Antilles, recourse was had to the Lucayan Islands. By the foulest and meanest stratagems for enticing away the natives of these fair scenes, they were deported in vast numbers to Cuba and elsewhere as slaves. It was estimated that in five years Ovando had beguiled and carried off forty thousand natives of the Lucayan Islands to Hispaniola.

The amiable and highly honored historian, Mr. Prescott, says in general, of the numerical estimates of Las Casas, that " the good Bishop's arithmetic came more from his heart than his head." [1]

From the fullest examination which I have been able to make, by the comparison of authorities and incidental facts, while I should most frankly admit that Las Casas gave even a wild indulgence to his dismay and his indignation in his figures, I should conclude that he had positive knowledge, from actual eyesight and observation, of every form and shape, as well as instance and aggregation, of the cruelties and enormities which aroused his lifelong efforts. Besides the means and methods used to discredit the statements and to thwart the appeals of Las Casas at the Court, a very insidious attempt for vindicating, palliating, and even justifying the acts of violence and cruelty which he alleged against the Spaniards in the islands and on the main, was in the charge that their victims were horribly addicted to cannibalism and the offering of human sacrifices. The number estimated of the latter as slaughtered, especially on great royal occasions, is appalling, and the rites described are hideous. It seems impossible for us now, from so many dubious and conflicting authorities, to reach any trustworthy knowledge on this subject. For instance, in Anahuac, Mexico, the annual number of human sacrifices, as stated by different writers, varies from twenty to fifty thousand. Sepulveda in his contest with Las Casas was bound to make the most of this dismal story, and said that no one of the authorities estimated the number of the victims at less than twenty thousand. Las Casas replied that this was the estimate of brigands, who wished thus to win tolerance for their own slaughterings, and that the actual number of annual victims did not exceed twenty.[1] It was a hard recourse for Christians to seek palliation for their cruelties in noting or exaggerating the superstitious and hideous rites of heathens!

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[1] *Conquest of Mexico*, i. 80, *n.* Of his *Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, this historian says: " However good the motives of its author, we may regret that the book was ever written. . . . The author lent a willing ear to every tale of violence and rapine, and magnified the amount to a degree which borders on the ridiculous. The wild extravagance of his numerical estimates is of itself sufficient to shake confidence in the accuracy of his statements generally. Yet the naked truth was too startling in itself to demand the aid of exaggeration." The historian truly says of himself, in his Preface to the work quoted: "I have not hesitated to expose in their strongest colors the excesses of the conquerors."

It is certain, however, that this plea of cannibalism was most effectively used, from the first vague reports which Columbus took back to Spain of its prevalence, at least in the Carribean Islands, to overcome the earliest humane protests against the slaughter of the natives and their deportation for slaves. In the all-too hideous engravings presented in the volumes in all the tongues of Europe exposing the cruelties of the Spanish invaders, are found revolting delineations of the Indian shambles, where portions of human bodies, subjected to a fiendish butchery, are exposed for sale. Las Casas nowhere denies positively the existence of this shocking barbarism. One might well infer, however, from his pages that he was at least incredulous as to its prevalence; and to him it would only have heightened his constraining sense of the solemn duty of professed Christians to bring the power of the missionary, rather than the maddened violence of destruction, to bear upon the poor victims of so awful a sin. Nor does the evidence within our reach suffice to prove the prevalence, to the astounding extent alleged by the opponents of Las Casas, of monstrous and bestial crimes against nature practised among the natives. Perhaps a parallel between the general morality respectively existing in the license and vices of the invaders and the children of Nature as presented to us by Columbus, as well as by Las Casas, would not leave matter for boasting to the Europeans. Mr. Prescott enters into an elaborate examination of a subject of frequent discussion by American historians and archæologists, — who have adopted different conclusions upon it, — as to whether venereal diseases had prevalence among the peoples of the New World before it was opened to the intercourse of foreigners. I have not noticed in anything written by Las Casas that he brings any charge on this score against his countrymen. Quite recent exhumations made by our archæologists have seemingly set the question at rest, by revealing in the bones of our prehistoric races the evidences of the prevalence of such diseases.

Sufficient means, in hints and incidental statements, have been furnished in the preceding pages from which the reader may draw his own estimate, as appreciative and judicious as he may be able to make it, of the character of Las Casas as a man and as a missionary of Christ. A labored analysis or an indiscriminating eulogium of that character is wholly uncalled for, and would be a work of supererogation. His heart and mind, his soul and body, his life, with all of opportunity which it offered, were consecrated;

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[1] Llorente, i. 365, 386.

his foibles and faults were of the most trivial sort, never leading to injury for others, and scarcely working any harm for himself.

It is a well-proved and a gladdening truth, that one who stands for the championship of any single principle involving the rights of humanity will be led by a kindled vision or a gleam of advanced wisdom to commit himself to the assumption of some great, comprehensive, illuminating verity covering a far wider field than that which he personally occupies. Thus Las Casas' assertion of the common rights of humanity for the heathen natives expanded into a bold denial of the fundamental claims of ecclesiasticism. It was the hope and aim of his opponents and enemies to drive him to a committal of himself to some position which might be charged with at least constructive heresy, through some implication or inference from the basis of his pleadings that he brought under question the authority of the Papacy. Fonseca and Sepulveda were both bent upon forcing him into that perilous attitude towards the supreme ecclesiastical power. To appreciate fully how nearly Las Casas was thought to trespass on the verge of a heresy which might even have cost him his life, but would certainly have nullified his personal influence, we must recognize the full force of the one overmastering assumption, under which the Pope and the Spanish sovereigns claimed for themselves supreme dominion over territory and people in the New World. As a new world, or a disclosure on the earth's surface of vast realms before unknown to dwellers on the old continents, its discovery would carry with it the right of absolute ownership and of rule over all its inhabitants. It was, of course, to be "conquered" and held in subjection. The earth, created by God, had been made the kingdom of Jesus Christ, who assigned it to the charge and administration of his vicegerent, the Pope. All the continents and islands of the earth which were not Christendom were heathendom. It mattered not what state of civilization or barbarism, or what form or substance of religion, might be found in any new-discovered country. The Papal claim was to be asserted there, if with any need of explanation, for courtesy's sake, certainly without any apology or vindication. Could Las Casas be inveigled into any denial or hesitating allowance of this assumption? He was on his guard, but he stood manfully for the condition, the supreme obligation, which alone could give warrant to it. The papal and the royal claims were sound and good; they were indeed absolute. But the tenure of possession and authority in heathendom, if it were to be claimed through the Gospel and the Church, looked quite beyond the control of territory and the lordship over heathen natives, princes, and people, — it was simply to prompt the work and to facilitate, while it positively enjoined the duty of, conversion, — the bringing of heathen natives through baptism and instruction into the fold of Christ. Fonseca and Sepulveda were baffled by the Clerigo as he calmly and firmly told the monarchs that their prerogative, though lawful in itself, was fettered by this obligation. In asserting this just condition, Las Casas effectually disabled his opponents.

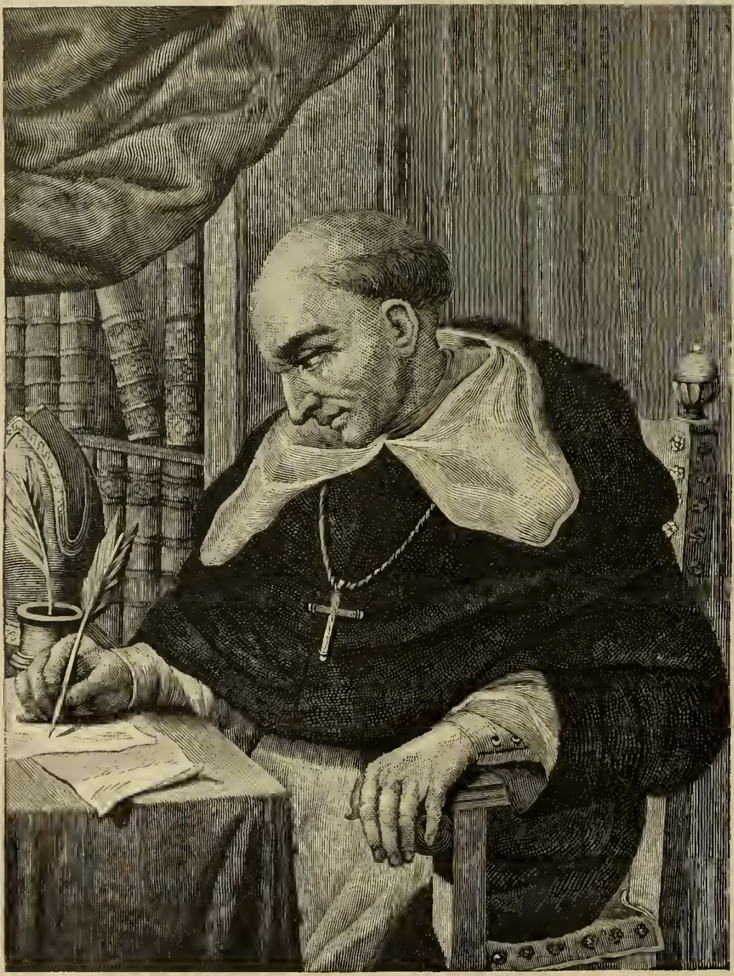
The following are the closing sentences of the Reply of Las Casas to Sepulveda: —

> "The damages and the loss which have befallen the Crown of Castile and Leon will be visited also upon the whole of Spain, because the tyranny wrought by these desolations, murders, and slaughters is so monstrous that the blind may see it, the deaf may hear it, the dumb may rehearse it, and the wise judge and condemn it after our very short life. I invoke all the hierarchies and choirs of angels, all the saints of the Celestial Court, all the inhabitants of the globe, and chiefly all those who may live after me, for witnesses that I free my conscience of all that has transpired; and that I have fully exposed to his Majesty all these woes; and that if he leaves to Spaniards the tyranny and government of the Indies, all of them will be destroyed and without inhabitants, — as we see that Hispaniola now is, and the other islands and parts of the continent for more than three thousand leagues, without occupants. For these reasons God will punish Spain and all her people with an inevitable severity. So may it be!"

It is grateful to be assured of the fact that during the years of his last retirement in Spain, till the close of his life at so venerable an age, Las Casas enjoyed a pension sufficient for his comfortable subsistence. Allowing only a pittance of it for his own frugal support, he devoted it mostly to works of charity. His pen and voice and time were still given to asserting and defending the rights of the natives, not only as human beings, but as free of all mastery by others. Though his noble zeal had made him enemies, and he had appeared to have failed in his heroic protests and appeals, he had the gratification of knowing before his death that restraining measures, sterner edicts, more faithful and humane officials, and in general a more wise and righteous policy, had abated the rage of cruelty in the New World. But still the sad reflection came to qualify even this satisfaction, that the Spaniards were brought to realize the rights of humanity by learning that their cruelty had wrought to their own serious loss in depopulating the most fertile regions and fastening upon them the hate of the remnants of the people. The reader of the most recent histories, even of the years of the first quarter of this century, relating to the Spanish missions in the pueblos of Mexico and California, will note how some of the features of the old *repartimiento* system, first introduced among the Greater Antilles, survived in the farm-lands and among the peons and converts of the missionaries.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE subject of this chapter is so nearly exclusively concerned with the personal history, the agency, and the missionary work of Las Casas, both in the New World and at the Court of Spain, that we are rather to welcome than to regret the fact that he is almost our sole authority for the statements and incidents with which we have had to deal. Giving due allowance to what has already been sufficiently recognized as his intensity of spirit, his wildness of imagination, and his enormous overstatement in his enumeration of the victims of Spanish cruelty, he must be regarded as the best authority we could have for the use which he serves to us.[1] Free as he was from all selfish and sinister motives, even the daring assurance with which he speaks out before the monarch and his councillors, and prints on his titlepages the round numbers of these victims, prompts us to give full credit to his testimony on other matters, even if we substitute thousands in place of millions. As to the forms and aggravations of the cruel methods in which the Spaniards



LAS CASAS.

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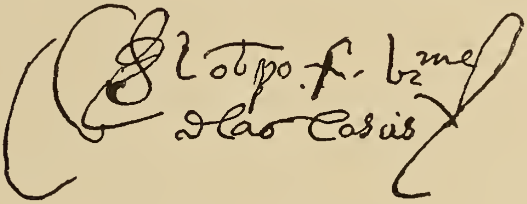
[1] [Helps (*Spanish Conquest*) says: "Las Casas may be thoroughly trusted whenever he is speaking of things of which he had competent knowledge." Ticknor (*Spanish Literature*, ii. 31) calls him "a prejudiced witness, but on a point of fact within his own knowledge one to be believed." H. H. Bancroft (*Early American Chroniclers*, p. 20; also *Central America*, i. 274, 309; ii. 337) speaks of the exaggeration which the zeal of Las Casas leads him into; but with due abatement therefor, he considers him "a keen and valuable observer, guided by practical sagacity, and endowed with a certain genius." — Ed.]

dealt with the natives, the recklessness and ingenuity of the work of depopulation, — which was as naturally the consequence of the enslaving of the Indians as of their indiscriminate slaughter, — Las Casas' revelations seem to have passed unchallenged by even his most virulent enemies.

Sepulveda may be received by us as the representative alike in spirit and in argument of the opposition to Las Casas. He was an acute and able disputant, and would readily have availed himself of any weak points in the positions of the apostle. It is observable that, instead of assailing even the vehement and exaggerated charges alleged by Las Casas against the Spanish marauders for their cruelty, he rather spends his force upon the maintenance of the abstract rights of Christian champions over the heathen and their territory. The Papal and the Royal prerogatives were, in his view, of such supreme and sweeping account in the controversy, as to cover all the incidental consequences of establishing them. He seemed to argue that heathens and heathenism invited and justified conquest by any method, however ruthless; that the rights of the Papacy and of Christian monarchs would be perilled by allowing any regards of sentiment or humanity to stand in the way of their assertion; and that even the sacred duty of conversion was to be deferred till war and tyranny had obtained the absolute mastery over the natives.

The eight years spent by Las Casas in retirement in the Dominican convent at San Domingo were used by him in study and meditation. His writings prove, in their references and quotations from the classics, as well as from Scripture, that his range was wide, and that his mind was invigorated by this training.



AUTOGRAPH OF LAS CASAS.

In 1552–1553, at Seville, Las Casas printed a series of nine tracts, which are the principal source of our information in relation to his allegations against the Spanish oppressors of the Indians. It is only necessary to refer the reader to the bibliographies[1] for the full titles of these tracts, of which we simply quote enough for their identification, while we cite them in the order in which they seem to have been composed, following in this the extensive Note which Field has given in his *Indian Bibliography :* —

1. *Breuissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias . . . año* 1552; 50 unnumbered leaves.

The series of tracts is usually cited by this title, which is that of the first tract,[2] for there is no general printed designation of the collection. Four folios appended to this, but always reckoned as a distinct tract, are called, —

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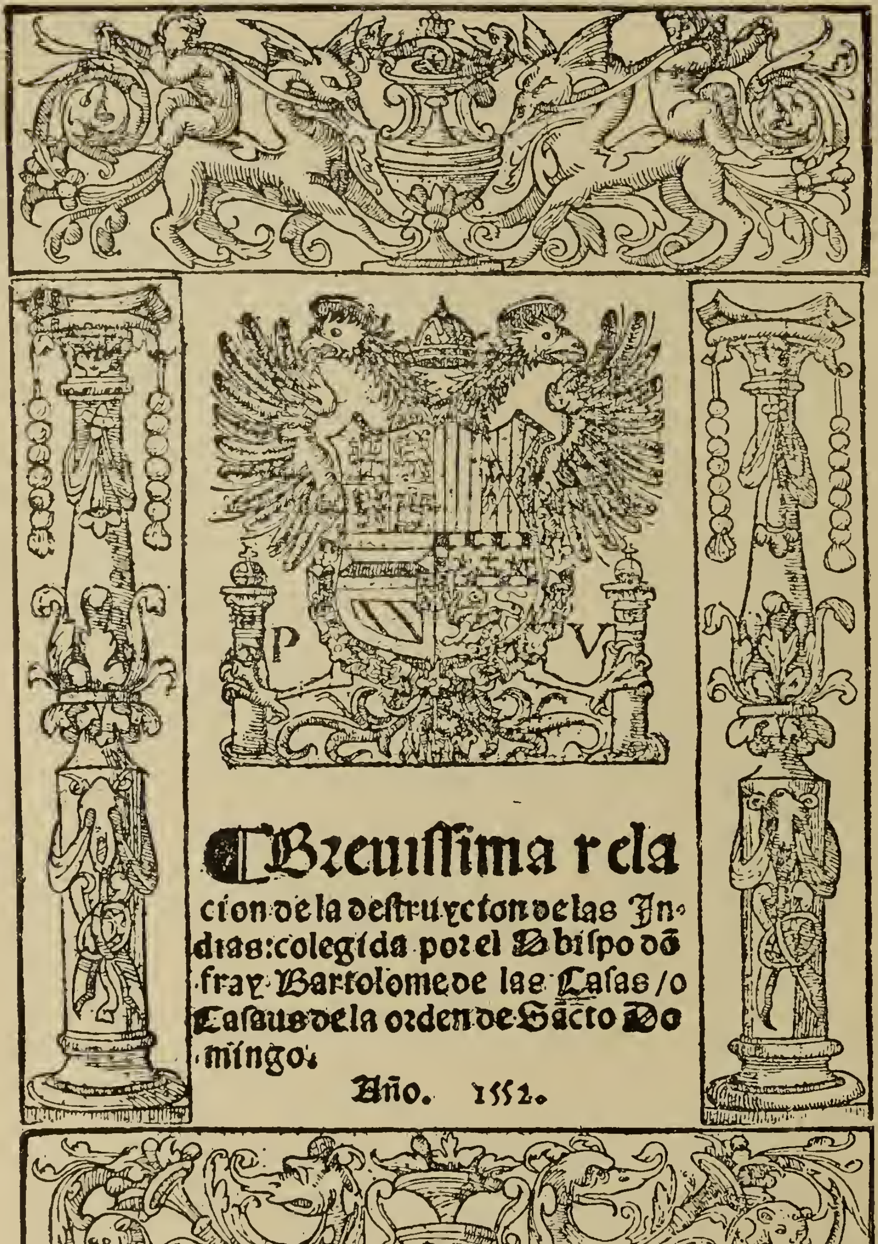
[1] Sabin's *Works of Las Casas,* and his *Dictionary,* iii. 388–402, and x. 88–91; Field's *Indian Bibliography; Carter-Brown Catalogue;* Harrisse's *Notes on Columbus,* pp. 18–24; the *Huth Catalogue; Brunet's Manuel,* etc.

[2] [Field says it was written in 1540, and submitted to the Emperor in MS.; but in the shape in which it was printed it seems to have been written in 1541–1542. Cf. Field, *Indian Bibliography,* nos. 860, 870; Sabin, *Works of Las Casas,* no. 1; *Carter-Brown Catalogue,* i. 164; Ticknor, *Spanish Literature,* ii. 38; and *Catalogue,* p. 62. The work has nineteen sections on as many provinces, ending with a summary for the year 1546. This separate tract was reprinted in the original Spanish in London, in 1812, and again in Philadelphia, in 1821, for the Mexican market, with an introductory essay on Las Casas. Stevens, *Bibliotheca historica,* 1105; cf. also *Coleccion de documentos inéditos* (*España*), vol. vii.

The *Cancionero spiritual,* printed at Mexico in 1546, is not assigned to *Bartholomew* Las Casas in Ticknor's *Spanish Literature,* iii. 44, but it is in Gayangos and Vedia's Spanish translation of Ticknor. Cf. also Sabin, vol. x. no. 39,122; Harrisse, *Bib. Am. Vet., Additions,* No. 159. — ED.]



⁋Breuiſſima relacion
de la deſtruycion de las Indias:
colegida por el Obiſpo dõ
fray Bartolome de las Caſas / o
Caſaus de la orden de Sãcto Domingo.
Año. 1552.

TITLE OF FIRST TRACT.

2. *Lo que se sigue es vn pedaço de vna carta*, etc. It records the observations of a Spanish traveller upon the enormities practised on the natives.[1]

3. *Entre los remedios . . . para reformaciō de las Indias*; 1552; 53 unnumbered leaves. It gives the eighth of the proposed remedies, assigning twenty reasons against the enslaving of the natives.[2]

4. *Aqui se cõtienẽ vnos auisos y reglas para los confessores*, etc; 1552; 16 unnumbered leaves. It gives the rules for the confessors of his bishopric of Chiapa to deny the offices of the Church to such as held *repartimientos*.[3]

5. *Aqui se contiene vna disputa . . . entre el obispo . . . y el doctor Gines de Sepulueda;* 1552; 61 unnumbered leaves. This strong enunciation of Las Casas' convictions grew out of his controversy with Sepulveda.[4] It contains, first, a summary by Domingo de Soto of the differences between the two disputants; second, the arguments of Sepulveda; and third, the replies of Las Casas, — twelve in all.

6. *Este es vn tratado . . . sobre la materia de los Yndios, que se han hecho en ellas esclauos;* 1552; 36 unnumbered leaves. This contains reasons and judicial authorities on the question of the restitution of the natives to freedom.[5]

7. *Aqui se cõtienẽ treynta proposiciones . . .;* 1552; 10 leaves. These are the Propositions, mentioned on a preceding page, as Las Casas' reply to those who objected to the rigor of his rules for his confessors.[6]

8. *Principia quedā ex quibus procedendum*, etc; 1552; 10 leaves. This gives the principles on which he conducts his defence of the rights of the natives.[7]

9. *Tratado cōprobatorio del imperio soberano*, etc.; 80 unnumbered leaves. The title-date is 1552, but that in the colophon is 1553. The purpose is "to prove the sovereign empire and universal dominion by which the kings of Castile and Leon hold the West Indies."[8]

Complete sets of these tracts have become very rare, though it is not uncommon to find, in current catalogues, single copies of some of those less scarce.[9]

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[1] [Field does not give it a date; but Sabin says it was written in 1552. Cf. Field, nos. 860, 870, *note;* Sabin, no. 2; Carter-Brown, i. 165; *Ticknor Catalogue*, p. 62. — Ed.]

[2] [Field says it was written "soon after" no. 1; Sabin places it in 1543. Cf. Field, no. 862, 870, *note;* Carter-Brown, i. 166; Sabin, 3; Stevens, *Bibl. Geog.*, no. 595; *Ticknor Catalogue*, p. 62. — Ed.]

[3] [Sabin says it was written in America in 1546–1547. Field, nos. 863, 870, *note;* Carter-Brown, i. 167; Sabin, no. 6. — Ed.]

[4] [There seems, according to Field (nos. 864, 865), to have been two distinct editions in 1552, as he deduces from his own copy and from a different one belonging to Mr. Brevoort, there being thirty-three variations in the two. Quaritch has noted (no. 11,855, priced at £6 6*s*.) a copy likewise in Gothic letter, but with different woodcut initials, which he places about 1570. Cf. Field, p. 217; Carter-Brown, i. 168; Sabin, no. 8; *Ticknor Catalogue*, p. 62.

The initial work of Sepulveda, *Democrates Secundus*, defending the rights of the Crown over the natives, was not published, though he printed his *Apologia pro libro de justis belli causis*, Rome, 1550 (two copies of which are known), of which there was a later edition in 1602; and some of his views may be found in it. Cf. Ticknor, *Spanish Literature*, ii. 37; Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 24, and *Bib. Amer. Vet.*, no. 303; and the general histories of Bancroft, Helps, and Prescott. The *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, no. 173, shows a MS. copy of Sepulveda's book. It is also in Sepulveda's *Opera*, Cologne, 1602, p. 423; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 15. — Ed.]

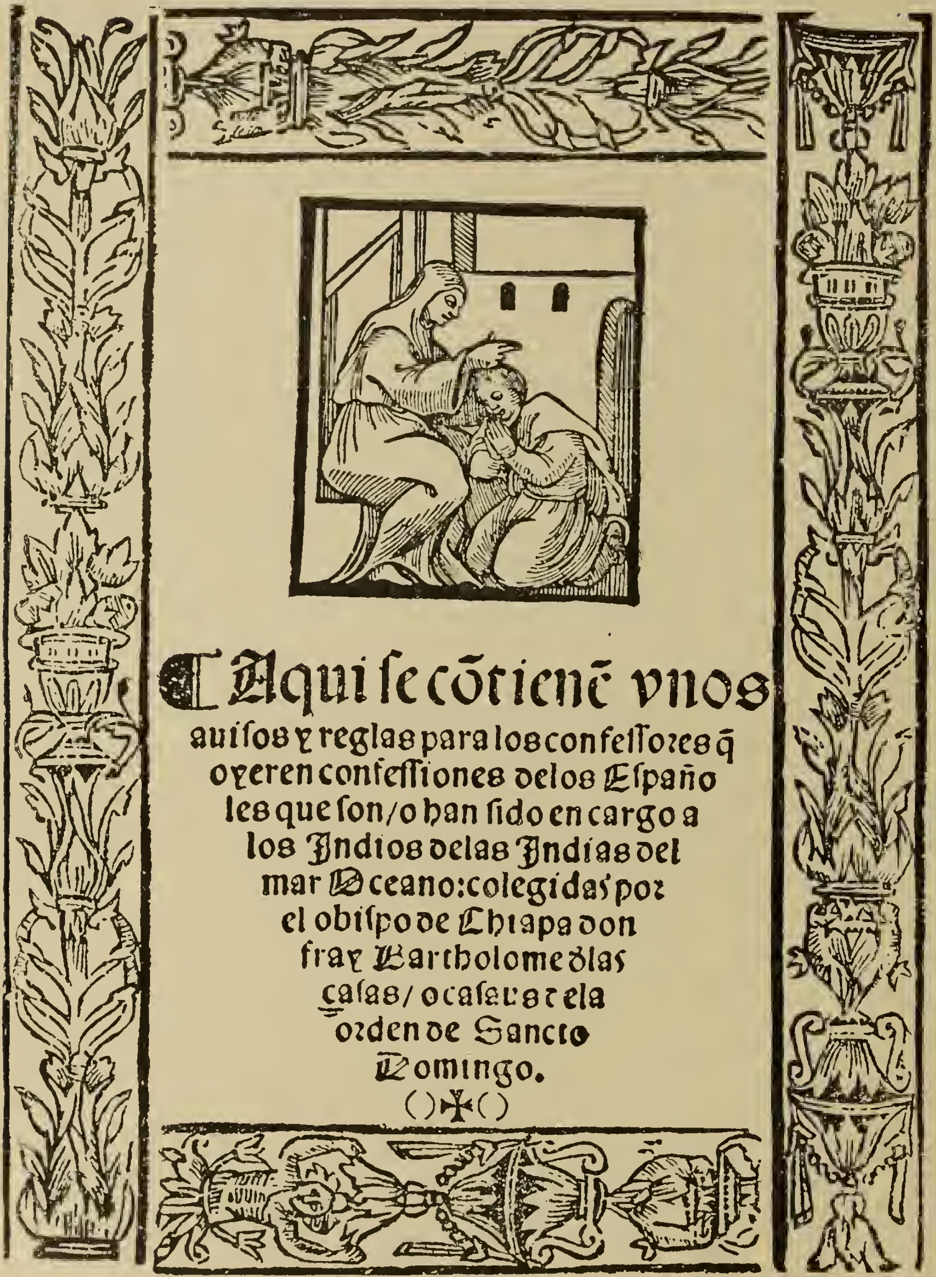
[5] [Sabin dates it in 1543. Cf. Field, nos. 866, 870, *note;* Sabin, no. 4; Carter-Brown, i. 170. — Ed.]

[6] [Sabin says it was written in Spain in 1548. Cf. Field, nos. 867, 870, *note;* Sabin, no. 7; Carter-Brown, i. 171. — Ed.]

[7] [Field, nos. 868, 870, *note;* Sabin, no. 9; Carter-Brown, i. 169. — Ed.]

[8] [This is the longest and one of the rarest of the series. Sabin says it was written about 1543. There were two editions of the same date, having respectively 80 and 84 leaves; but it is uncertain which is the earlier, though Field supposes the fewer pages to indicate the first. Field, nos. 869, 870, *note;* Sabin, no. 5; Carter Brown, i. 172. — Ed.]

[9] [It is only of late years that the entire series has been described. De Bure gives only five of the tracts; Dibdin enumerates but seven; and Llorente in his edition omits three, as was done in the edition of 1646. Rich in 1832 priced a



Aqui ſe cõtienē vnos
auiſos y reglas para los confeſſores q̃
oyeren confeſſiones delos Eſpaño
les que ſon/o han ſido en cargo a
los Indios delas Indias del
mar Oceano: colegidas por
el obiſpo de Chiapa don
fray Bartholome d'las
caſas/ o caſaus: f̃ ela
orden de Sancto
Domingo.
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TITLE OF THE FOURTH TRACT.[1]

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[1] [From the copy in Harvard College Library. — ED.]

In 1571, five years after Las Casas' death, what is sometimes called a tenth part was printed at Frankfort, under the title of *Explicatio questionis utrum Reges vel Principes jure aliquo . . . Cives ac subditos a regia corona alienare?* This further showing of the arguments of Las Casas is even rarer than its predecessors.[1] Its authorship, without much reason, has been sometimes denied.[2] It is translated, however, in Llorente's edition, as is also a letter of Las Casas which he wrote in 1555 to the Archbishop of Toledo, protesting against the contemplated sale of *Encomiendas* in perpetuity, which, being communicated to the King, led to the prohibition of the plan.

In 1854 Henry Stevens printed, in a style corresponding to that of the tracts of 1552, a series of six papers from original manuscripts in his possession, interesting as contributions to the history of Las Casas and his work;[3] and there is also a letter of Las Casas in the volume a few years since printed by the Spanish Government as *Cartas de Indias*. There is an enumeration of thirteen other treatises, noted as still in manuscript, which is to be found in Sabin's *Dictionary* or in his separate *Works of Las Casas;* but Mr. Field is inclined for one reason or another to reduce the number to five, in addition to the two which were published by Llorente.[4] There are also two manuscripts recorded in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue*.[5]

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set at £12 12*s*. A full set is now worth from $100 to $150; but Leclerc (nos. 327, 2,556) has recently priced a set of seven at 700 francs, and a full set at 1,000 francs. An English dealer has lately held one at £42. Quaritch has held four parts at £10, and a complete set at £40. Single tracts are usually priced at from £1 to £5. Recent sales have been shown in the Sunderland (no. 2,459, 9 parts); Field (no. 1,267); Cooke (vol. iii. no. 369, 7 parts); Stevens, *Hist. Coll.* (no. 311, 8 parts); Pinart (no. 536); and Murphy (no. 487) catalogues. The set in the Carter-Brown Library belonged to Ternaux; that belonging to Mr. Brevoort came from the Maximilian Library. The Lenox Library and Mr. Barlow's Collection have sets. There are also sets in the Grenville and Huth collections.

The 1646 reprint, above referred to, has sometimes a collective title, *Las Obras*, etc., but most copies, like the Harvard College copy, lack it. As the titles of the separate tracts (printed in this edition in Roman) retained the original 1552 dates, this reprint is often called a spurious edition. It is usually priced at from $15 to $30. Cf. Sabin, no. 13; Field, p. 216; Quaritch, no. 11,856; Carter-Brown, i. 173; ii. 584; Stevens, *Hist. Coll.*, i. 312; Cooke, iii. 370.

Some of the Tracts are included in the *Obras escogidas de filósofos*, etc. Madrid, 1873. — ED.]

[1] [Field, no. 870, and *note;* Sabin, no. 11; the Carter-Brown Collection lacks it. It was reprinted at Tübingen, and again at Jena, in 1678. It has never been reprinted in Spain, says Stevens (*Bibl. Hist.*, no. 1,096). — ED.]

[2] ["Not absolutely proved to be his," says Ticknor (*Spanish Literature*, ii. 37). — ED.]

[3] [There were a hundred copies of these printed. They are: —

1. *Memorial de Don Diego Colon sobre la conversion de las gentes de las Yndias.* With an Epistle to Dr. Reinhold Pauli. It is Diego Colon's favorable comment on Las Casas's scheme of civilizing the Indians, written at King Charles's request. Cf. Stevens, *Hist. Coll.*, i. 881.

2. *Carta*, dated 1520, and addressed to the Chancellor of Charles, in which Las Casas urges his scheme of colonization of the Indians. Mr. Stevens dedicates it to Arthur Helps in a letter. Cf. Stevens, *Hist. Coll.*, i. 882; the manuscript is described in his *Bibl. Geog.*, no. 598.

3. *Paresçer o determinaciō de los señores theologos de Salamanca*, dated July 1, 1541. This is the response of the Faculty of Salamanca to the question put to them by Charles V., if the baptized natives could be made slaves. Mr. Stevens dedicates the tract to Sir Thomas Phillipps. Cf. Stevens, *Hist. Coll.* i. 883.

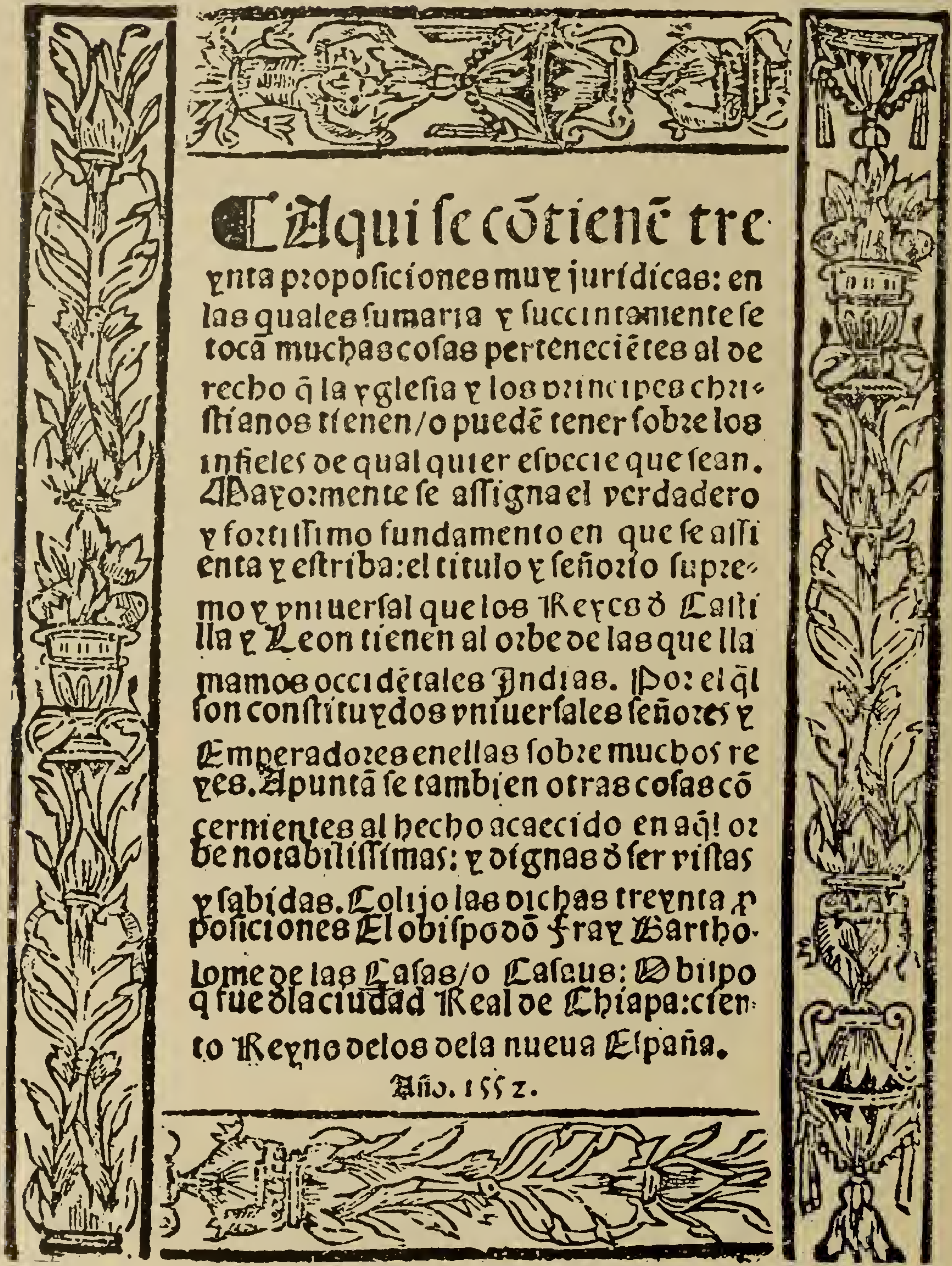
4. *Carta de Hernando Cortés.* Mr. Stevens, in his Dedication to Leopold von Ranke, supposes this to have been written in 1541–1542. It is Cortes' reply to the Emperor's request for his opinions regarding *Encomiendas*, etc., in Mexico. Cf. Stevens, *Hist. Coll.*, i. 884.

5. *Carta de Las Casas*, dated Oct. 22, 1545, with an abstract in English in the Dedication to Colonel Peter Force. It is addressed to the Audiencia in Honduras, and sets forth the wrongs of the natives. Cf. Stevens, *Hist. Coll.*, i. 885. The manuscript is now in the Huth Collection, *Catalogue*, v. 1,681.

6. *Carta de Las Casas* to the Dominican Fathers of Guatemala, protesting against the sale of the reversion of the *Encomiendas*. Mr. Stevens supposes this to have been written in 1554, in his Dedication to Sir Frederick Madden. Cf. Stevens, *Hist. Coll.*, i. 886. A set of these tracts is worth about $25. The set in the Cooke Sale (vol. iii. no. 375) is now in Harvard College Library; another set is shown in the *Murphy Catalogue*, no. 488, and there is one in the Boston Public Library. — ED.]

[4] Field, p. 219.

[5] Vol. i. p. 160.



¶Aqui ſe cõtienẽ tre
ynta pꝛopoſiciones muy juridicas: en
las quales ſumaria y ſuccintamente ſe
tocã muchas coſas perteneciẽtes al de
recho q̃ la ygleſia y los pꝛincipes chꝛi-
ſtianos tienen/o puedẽ tener ſobꝛe los
infieles de qualquier eſpecie que ſean.
Mayoꝛmente ſe aſſigna el verdadero
y foꝛtiſſimo fundamento en que ſe aſſi
enta y eſtriba: el titulo y ſeñoꝛio ſupꝛe-
mo y vniuerſal que los Reyes ð Caſti
lla y Leon tienen al oꝛbe de las que lla
mamos occidẽtales Indias. Poꝛ el q̃l
ſon conſtituydos vniuerſales ſeñoꝛes y
Emperadoꝛes en ellas ſobꝛe muchos re
yes. Apuntã ſe tambien otras coſas cõ
cernientes al hecho acaecido en aq̃l oꝛ
be notabiliſſimas: y dignas ð ſer viſtas
y ſabidas. Colijo las dichas treynta ꝓ
poſiciones El obiſpo dõ Fray Bartho-
lome de las Caſas/o Caſaus: Obiſpo
q fue ðla ciudad Real de Chiapa: cien-
to Reyno delos dela nueua Eſpaña.
Año. 1552.

TITLE OF THE SEVENTH TRACT.[1]

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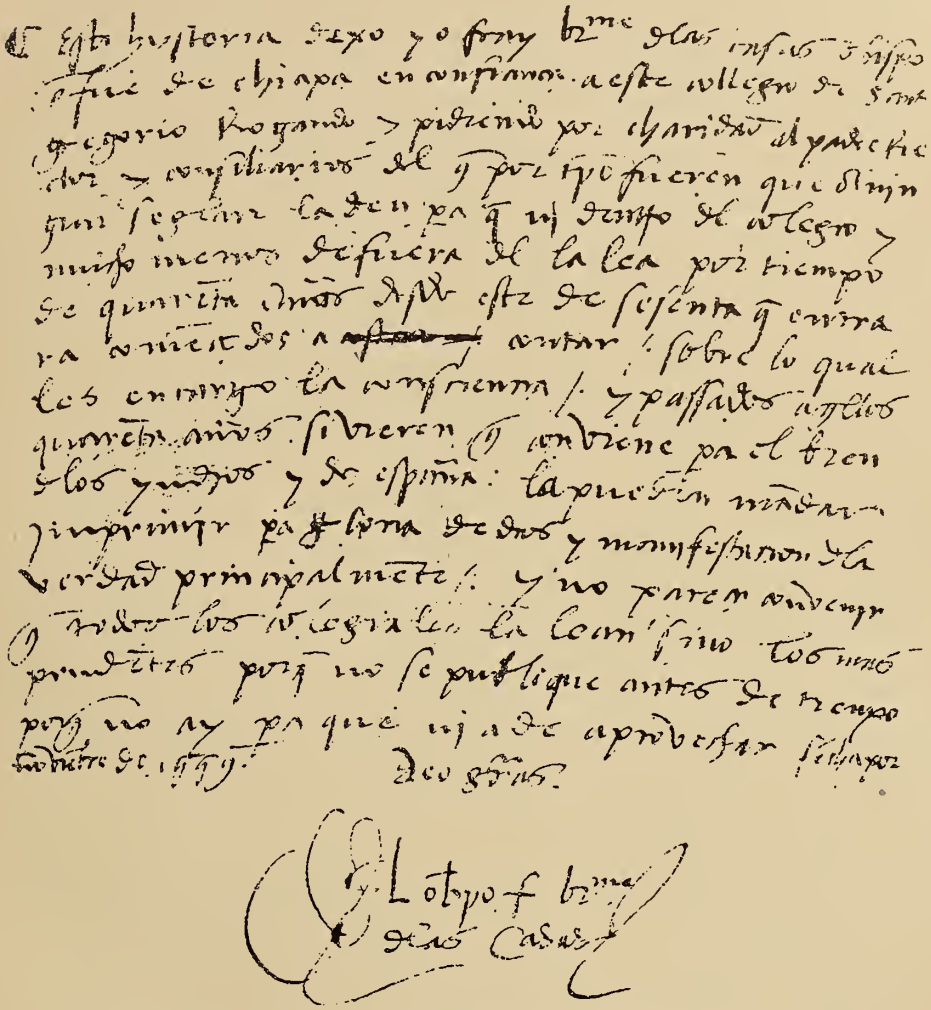
[1] [From a copy in Harvard College Library. — ED.]

The most labored of Las Casas' books was his *Historia de las Indias*, — the original manuscript of which is still preserved, according to Helps, in the library of the Academy of History at Madrid.[1] Las Casas began this work while in his convent in 1527,[2] and seems to have worked upon it, without finishing it, up to 1561. It has all the fervor and vigor of his nature; and so far as it is the result of his own observation, its character is unimpeachable. It is in large part, as Helps has remarked, autobiographic; but it does



Esta historia dexo yo fray bar.me de las casas obispo
que fue de chiapa en confiança a este collegio de sant
gregorio Rogando y pidiendo por charidad al padre Re-
ctor y consiliarios del que por tiempo fueren que a nin-
gun seglar la den para que ni dentro del collegio y
mucho menos de fuera del la lea por tiempo
de quarenta años desde este de sesenta que comença-
ra contados a ~~[illegible]~~ contar / sobre lo qual
les encargo la conçiencia / y passados aquellos
quarenta años si vieren que conviene para el bien
de los yndios y de españa: la pueden mandar
imprimir para gloria de dios y manifestaçion de la
verdad principalmente / y no pareçe convenir
que todos los collegiales la lean sino los mas
prudentes porque no se publique antes de tiempo
porque no ay para que ni a de aprovechar fecha por
noviembre de 1559. deo gracias.

El obispo fray bar.me
de las Casas

LAS CASAS' INDORSEMENT ON THE MANUSCRIPT OF HIS "HISTORIA."[3]

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[1] [Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, says volumes i. and ii. are in the Academy; but volume iii. is in the Royal Library. Cf., however, the "Advertencia preliminar" of the Madrid (1875) edition of the *Historia* on this point, as well as regards the various copies of the manuscript existing in Madrid. — ED.]

[2] [Such is Quintana's statement; but Helps failed to verify it, and says he could only fix the dates 1552, 1560, 1561 as those of any part of the writing. *Life of Las Casas*, p. 175. — ED.]

[3] [This is slightly reduced from the facsimile given in vol. iii. of the 1875 (Madrid) edition of the *Historia*. — ED.]

not bring the story down later than 1520. Its style is characteristically rambling and awkward, and more or less confused with extraneous learning, the result of his convent studies, and interjected with his usual bursts of a somewhat tiresome indignation. Outside of his own knowledge he had large resources in documents, of which we have no present knowledge. He seems to have had a prescience of the feelings in his countrymen which would long keep the manuscript from the printing-office, for he left instructions at his death that no one should use it for forty years. The injunction did not prevent Herrera having access to it; and when this latter historian published his book in 1601, the world got a large part of Las Casas' work, — much of it copied by Herrera *verbatim*, — but extracted in such a way that Las Casas could have none of his proper effect in ameliorating the condition of the Indians and exposing the cruelty of their oppression. In this way Las Casas remained too long eclipsed, as Irving says, by his copyist. Notwithstanding the publication of the book was prohibited, various manuscript copies got abroad, and every reputable historian of the Spanish rule has made use of Las Casas' labors.[1] Finally, the Royal Academy of History at Madrid undertook the revision of the manuscript; but that body was deterred from putting their revision on the press by the sentiments, which Spanish scholars had always felt, adverse to making public so intense an arraignment of their countrymen.[2] At last, however, in 1875–1876, the Academy finally printed it in five volumes.[3] The *Historia* was of course not included, nor were two of the tracts of the issues of 1552 (nos. 4 and 8) embraced, in the edition of Las Casas' *Obras* which Llorente issued in Paris in 1822 in the original Spanish, and also in the same year in a French translation, *Œuvres de Las Casas*.[4] This work is dedicated "Au modèle des virtues héréditaires, A. M. le Comte de las Casas." Sufficient recognition has been made in the preceding narrative of this work of Llorente. As a Spaniard by birth, and a scholar well read in the historical literature of his own country, as one trained and exercised in the priestly office, though he had become more or less of a heretic, and as a most ardent admirer of the virtues and the heroic services of the great Apostle to the Indians, he had the attainments, qualifications, and motives for discharging with ability and fidelity the biographical and editorial task which he undertook. It is evident from his pages that he devoted conscientious labor in investigation, and a purpose of strict impartiality to its discharge. He is not an undiscriminating eulogist of Las Casas, but he penetrates with a true sympathetic admiration to the noble unselfishness and the sublime constancy of this sole champion of righteousness against powerful forces of iniquity.

The number of versions of all or of part of the series of the 1552 tracts into other languages strikingly indicates the interest which they created and the effect which they produced throughout Europe. None of the nations showed more eagerness to make public these accusations against the Spaniards by one of their own number, than the Flemings and Dutch. The earliest of all the translations, and one of the rarest of these publications, is the version of the first tract, with parts of others, which appeared in the dialect of Brabant, in 1578, — the precursor of a long series of such testimonies, used to incite the Netherlanders against the Spanish rule.[1] The French came next with their *Tyrannies et cruautéz des Espagnols*, published at Antwerp in 1579, in which the translator, Jacques de Miggrode, softened the horrors of the story with a due regard for his Spanish neighbors.[2] A somewhat bolder venture was a new version, not from the originals, but from the Dutch translation, and set out with all the horrors of De Bry's seventeen engravings, which was supplied to the French market with an Amsterdam imprint in 1620. It is a distorted patchwork of parts of the three of the 1552 tracts.[3] In a brief preface, the translator says that the part relating to the Indies is derived from the original, printed at Seville by Sebastian Trugillo in 1552, the writer "being Las Casas, who seems to be a holy man and a Catholic." There were still other French versions, printed both in France and in Holland.[4] The earliest English translation is a version signed by M. M. S., entitled *The Spanish Colonie, or Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and Gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies, called the Newe Worlde, for the Space of XL. Yeeres*, issued in London in 1583.[5] The best-known of the English versions is *The Tears of the Indians*, "made English by J. P.," and printed in London in 1656.[6] "J. P." is John Phillips, a nephew of John Milton. His little book, which contains a terse translation of Las Casas's "Cruelty," etc., without his controversy with Sepulveda, is dedicated to Oliver Cromwell. It is prefaced by a glowing appeal "To all true Englishmen," which rehearses the proud position they hold in history for religion, liberty, and human rights, and denounces the Spaniards as

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[1] [I trace no copy earlier than one Rich had made. Prescott had one, which was probably burned in Boston (1872). Helps used another. There are other copies in the Library of Congress, in the Lenox Library, and in H. H. Bancroft's Collection. — Ed.]

[2] [Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, p. 119, says the purpose of the Academy at one time was to annotate the manuscript, so as to show Las Casas in a new light, using contemporary writers. — Ed.]

[3] [It is worth from $30 to $40. It is called *Historia de las Indias, ahora por primera vez dada á luz por el Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle y José Sancho Rayon.* It contains, beginning in vol. v. at p. 237, the *Apologética historia* which Las Casas had written to defend the Indians against aspersions upon their lives and character. This latter work was not included in another edition of the *Historia* printed at Mexico in two volumes in 1877–1878. Cf. Vigel, *Biblioteca Mexicana.* Parts of the *Apologética* are given in Kingsborough's *Mexico*, vol. viii. Cf. on the *Historia*, Irving's *Columbus*, App.; Helps's *Spanish Conquest* (Am. ed.), i. 23, and *Life of Las Casas*, p. 175; Ticknor, *Spanish Literature*, ii. 39; Humboldt's *Cosmos* (Eng. tr.), ii. 679; H. H. Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 309; Prescott's *Mexico*, i. 378; Quintana's *Vidas*, iii. 507. — Ed.]

[4] [Llorente's version is not always strictly faithful, being in parts condensed and paraphrastic. Cf. Field, no. 889; Ticknor, *Spanish Literature*, ii. 38, and *Catalogue*, p. 62; Sabin, nos. 14, 50; H. H. Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 309. This edition, besides a life of Las Casas, contains a necrology of the Conquerors, and other annotations by the editor. — Ed.]

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[1] [This earliest version is a tract of 70 leaves, printed probably at Brussels, and called *Seer cort Verhael vande destructie van d'Indien*. Cf. Sabin, no. 23; Carter-Brown, i. 320; Stevens, *Bibl. Hist.*, no. 1,097. The whole series is reviewed in Tiele's *Mémoire bibliographique* (who gives twenty-one editions) and in Sabin's *Works of Las Casas* (taken from his *Dictionary*); and many of them are noted in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue* and in Muller's *Books on America*, 1872 and 1877. This 1578 edition was reissued in 1579 with a new title, *Spieghel der Spaenscher Tirannije*, which in some form continued to be the title of subsequent editions, which were issued in 1596, 1607, 1609, 1610, 1612 (two), 1620 (two), 1621, 1627 (?), 1634, 1638, 1663, 1664, etc. Several of these editions give De Bry's engravings, sometimes in reverse. A popular chapbook, printed about 1730, is made up from Las Casas and other sources. — ED.]

[2] [This included the first, second, and sixth of the tracts of 1552. In 1582 there was a new edition of the *Tyrannies*, etc., printed at Paris; but some copies seem to have had a changed title, *Histoire admirable des horribles insolences*, etc. It was again reissued with the original title at Rouen in 1630. Cf. Field, 873, 874; Sabin, nos. 41, 42, 43, 45; Rich (1832); Stevens, *Bibl. Hist.*, no. 1,098; Leclerc, nos. 334, 2,558; Carter-Brown, i. 329, 345, 347; O'Callaghan, no. 1,336; a London catalogue (A. R. Smith, 1874) notes an edition of the *Histoire admirable des horribles Insolences, Cruautez et tyrraines exercées par les Espagnols*, etc., Lyons, 1594. — ED.]

[3] [Sabin, no. 44; Leclerc, no. 335; Field, no. 876; Carter-Brown, ii. 236; O'Callaghan, no. 1,337. It is a rare book, and is sometimes quoted at £15 or thereabout. It is called *Le miroir de la tyrannie Espagnole*. — ED.]

[4] [One printed at Lyons in 1642 is called *Histoire des Indes occidentales*, which Graesse says follows a Paris edition of 1635. Cf. Field, pp. 222, 223; Carter-Brown, ii. 498; Sabin, no. 46; Muller (1877), no. 1797. Rich says this translation was made by the Abbé de Bellegarde, who tempered the rougher parts, as his predecessors had done. The text is much abbreviated from Las Casas, using, however, only a part of his tracts. This version was reissued, according to Graesse, in 1692; but most bibliographers cite as the same with it, *La découverte des Indes occidentales*, Paris, 1697 and 1701, and the *Relation des voyages . . . dans les Indes occidentales*, Amsterdam, 1698. Cf. Sabin, nos. 47, 48, 49; Carter-Brown, ii. 1,510, 1,527; O'Callaghan, nos. 1,340, 1,342. — ED.]

[5] [It is a tract of sixty-four leaves in Gothic letter, and is very rare, prices being quoted at £20 and more. Cf. Sabin, no. 61; Carter-Brown, i. 351; Stevens, *Bibl. Geog.*, 596; *Huth Catalogue*, i. 271. Cf. William Lightfoote's *Complaints of England*, London, 1587, for English opinion at this time on the Spanish excesses (Sabin, vol. x. no. 41,050), and the *Foreign Quarterly Review* (1841), ii. 102. — ED.]

[6] [Field, p. 877; Carter-Brown, ii. 804; Sabin, no. 60. The first tract is translated in Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, iv. 1,569. — ED.]

"a Proud, Deceitful, Cruel, and Treacherous Nation, whose chiefest Aim hath been the Conquest of this Land," etc., closing with a call upon them to aid the Protector in the threatened contest for the West Indies.

While Phillips places the number of the slaughtered Indians at twenty millions, these are reckoned at forty millions by the editor of another English version, based upon the French *Tyrannies et cruautéz*, which was printed at London, in 1699, as *A Relation of the First Voyages and Discoveries made by the Spaniards in America.*[1] The earliest German edition appeared, in 1597, as *Newe Welt: warhafftige Anzeigung der Hispanier grewlichen . . . Tyranney.*[2] The Latin edition appeared at Frankfort, in 1598, as *Narratio regionum Indicarvm per Hispanos qvosdam deuastatarum verissima.*[3] This Latin translation has a brief introduction, mainly a quotation from Lipsius, commenting on these atrocities. The version is spirited and faithful, covering the narrative of Las Casas and his discussion with Sepulveda. The engravings by De Bry are ghastly and revolting, and present all too faithfully the shocking enormities related in the text. It is a fearful parody of deception and truth which introduces a hooded friar as holding a crucifix before the eyes of one under torment by fire or mutilation. We can scarcely regret that the circumstances under which the indiscriminate slaughter was waged but rarely allowed of this desecration of a sacred symbol. The artist has overdrawn his subjects in delineating heaps of richly wrought and chased vessels as brought by the hounded victims to appease their tormentors.

To close this list of translations, it is only necessary to refer to the sundry ways in which Las Casas was helped to create an influence in Italy, the Italian text in these publications usually accompanying the Spanish.[4]

George E. Ellis.

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[1] [Some copies read, *Account of the First Voyages*, etc. Cf. Field, no. 880; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,556; Sabin, no. 63; Stevens, *Bibl. Geog.*, no. 603; and *Prince Library Catalogue*, p. 34. Another English edition, London, 1689, is called *Popery truly display'd in its Bloody Colours*. Cf. Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,374; Sabin, no. 62. Another London book of 1740. *Old England for Ever*, is often called a Las Casas, but it is not his. Field, no. 888. — Ed.]

[2] [Sabin, no. 51; Carter-Brown, i. 510; Stevens, *Hist. Coll.*, i. 319. It has no place. Muller calls a *Warhafftiger Bericht* of 1599, with no place, the earliest German edition, with De Bry's, engravings, — which were also in the Oppenheim edition of 1613, *Warhafftiger und gründlicher Bericht*, etc. Cf. Sabin, no. 54; Carter-Brown, ii. 146. A similar title belongs to a Frankfort edition of 1597 (based on the Antwerp French edition of 1579), which is noted in Sabin, no. 52, and in *Bib. Grenvilliana*, ii. 828, and was accompanied by a volume of plates (Sabin, no, 53).

There seem to be two varieties of the German edition of 1665, *Umbständige warhafftige Beschreibung der Indianischen Ländern*. Cf. Carter-Brown, ii. 957; Sabin, no. 55; Field, no. 882. Sabin (no. 56) also notes a 1790 and other editions. — Ed.]

[3] [It followed the French edition of 1579, and was reissued at Oppenheim in 1614. Cf. Field, p. 871; Carter-Brown, i. 453, 524; ii. 164; Sabin, nos. 57, 58.

The Heidelberg edition of 1664, *Regionum Indicarum per Hispanos olim devastatarum descriptio*, omits the sixteen pages of preliminary matter of the early editions; and the plates, judging from the Harvard College and other copies, show wear. Sabin, no. 59; Carter-Brown, ii. 944. — Ed.]

[4] [As in the *Istoria ò brevissima relatione*, Venice, 1626, 1630, and 1643, a version of the first tract of 1552, made by Castellani. It was later included in Marmocchi's *Raccolta di viaggi*. Cf. Sabin, nos. 16, 17, 18; Carter-Brown, ii. 311, 360, 514; Leclerc, no. 331; Field, no. 885; Stevens, *Hist. Coll.*, i. 315; *Bibl. Hist.*, no. 1,100. The sixth tract was translated as *Il supplice schiavo Indiano*, and published at Venice in 1635, 1636, and 1657. Cf. Carter-Brown, ii. 434, 816; Field, no. 886; Sabin, nos. 20, 21. It was reissued in 1640 as *La libertà pretesa*. Sabin, no. 19; Field, no. 887; Carter-Brown, ii. 473. The eighth and ninth tracts appeared as *Conquista dell' Indie occidentali*, Venice, 1645. Cf Field, no. 884; Sabin, no. 22; Carter-Brown, ii. 566. — Ed.]

EDITORIAL NOTE.

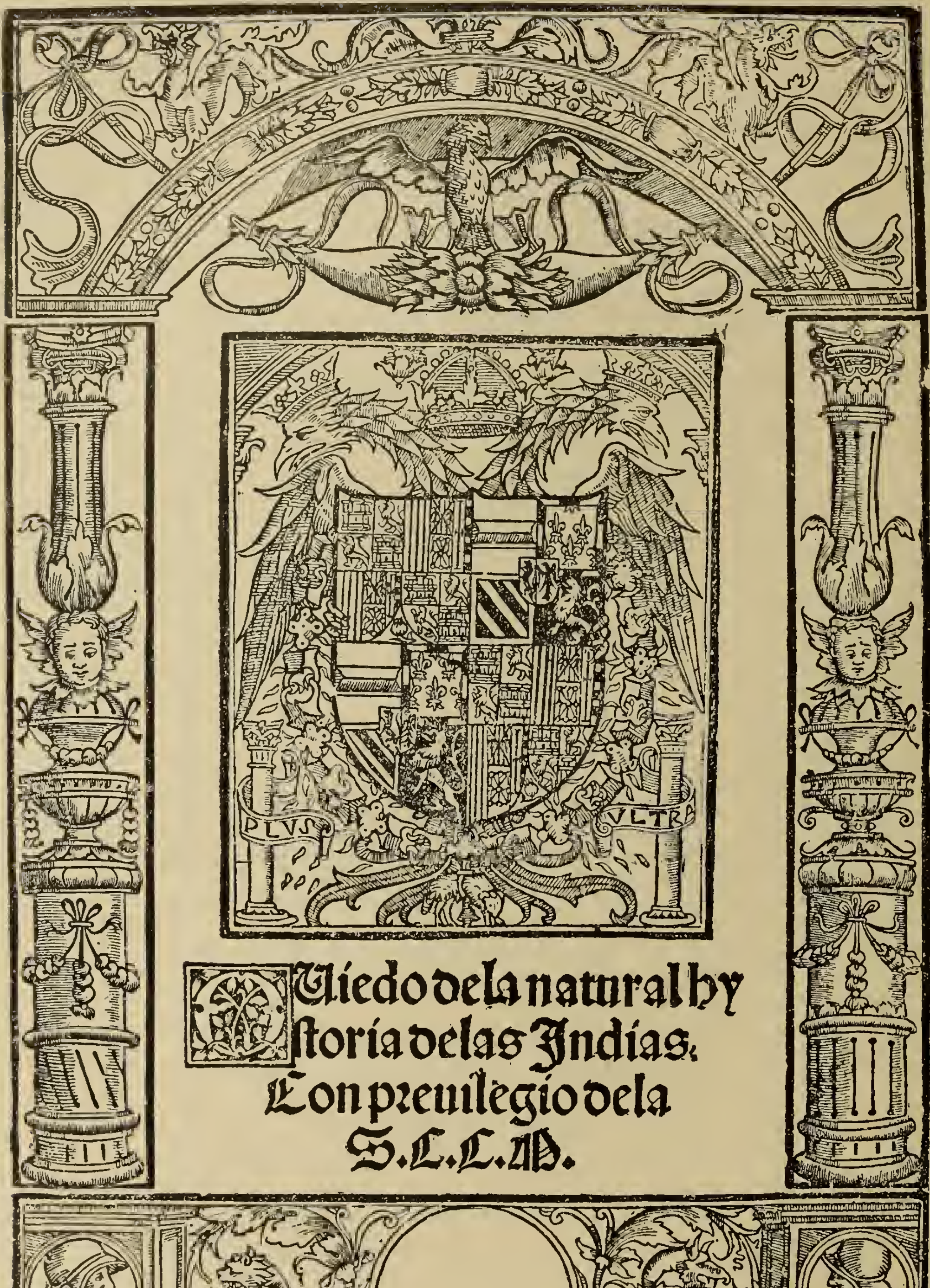
THE most important distinctive lives of Las Casas are those of Llorente, prefixed to his edition of Las Casas' *Œuvres*; that which Quintana (born, 1772; died, 1857) gives in his *Vidas de Españoles célebres*, vol. iii., published at Madrid in 1833, and reprinted, with Quintana's *Obras*, in the *Biblioteca de autores Españoles* in 1852; and the *Vida y escritos de Las Casas* of A. M. Fabié, published at Madrid in 1879, in two volumes, with a large number of unpublished documents, making vols. 70 and 71 of the *Documentos inéditos* (*España*). The life which was constructed mainly by the son of Arthur Helps out of *The Spanish Conquest in America* by the father, is the most considerable account in English. The larger work was written in a spirit readily appreciative of the character of Las Casas, and he is made such a centre of interest in it as easily to favor the excision of parts of it to form the lesser book. This was hardly possible with the broader connections established between Las Casas and his times which accompany the portrayal of his career in the works of Prescott and H. H. Bancroft. The great friend of the Indian is mainly, however, to be drawn from his own writings.

Las Casas was by no means alone in his advocacy of the rights of the natives, as Harrisse (*Bibl. Am. Vet. Add.*, p. 119) has pointed out; naming Julian Garces, Francis of Vittoria, Diego de Avendaño, Alonzo de Noreña, and even Queen Isabel herself, as evinced by her will (in Dormer, *Discursos varios*, p. 381). The fame of Las Casas was steadfastly upheld by Remesal in his *Historia de Chyapa*, etc., 1619 (cf. Bancroft, *Central America*, ii. 339); and the great apostle found a successor in his labors in Juan de Palafox y Mendoça, whose appeal to the King, printed about 1650, and called *Virtudes del Indio, é naturaleza y costumbres de los Indios de Nueva España*, has become very rare. (Cf. Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 691.) Brasseur de Bourbourg, in the fourth volume of his *Nations civilisées du Mexique*, set forth in all their enormity the barbarities of the Spanish conquerors; but he seeks to avoid all imputations of exaggeration by shunning the evidence drawn from Las Casas.

The opponents of Las Casas — who became in due time the best-hated man in the Spanish colonies — were neither few nor powerless, as the thwarting of Las Casas' plans constantly showed. The Fray Toribio Motolinia took issue with Las Casas, and Ramirez, in his Life of Motolinia contained in Icazbalceta's *Coleccion*, undertakes to show (p. lvii) the difference between them. Cf. B. Smith's *Coleccion*, p. 67.

The most conspicuous of his fellow-observers, who reached conclusions constantly quite at variance with Las Casas, was Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes, — to give his full name, though Oviedo is the one by which he is usually cited. Oviedo was but a few years younger than Las Casas. He had seen Columbus' triumph at Barcelona, and had come to America with Pedrarias ten years after Las Casas, and spent thirty-four of the next forty years in the New World, holding part of the time the office of inspector of the gold-smeltings at Darien, and latterly living at Hispaniola. He is thought to have begun his historical studies as early as 1520, and he published his first book, usually called the *Sumario*, in 1526, on his return from his second voyage. It is a description of the West Indies and its natives. Returning to Spain in 1530, he was after a while made the official chronicler of the Indies, and in 1535 began the publication of his great *Historia de las Indias*. On this chief labor Ticknor (*Spanish Literature*, ii. 33) traces him at work certainly as late as 1548, and he may have added to it down to 1555. He had the royal direction to demand of the various governors whatever document and aid he might need as he went on. Ticknor calls him the first authorized chronicler of the New World, —"an office," he adds, "which was at one time better paid than any other similar office in the kingdom, and was held at different times by Herrera, Tamayo, Solis, and other writers of distinction, and ceased (he believed) with the creation of the Academy of History." Oviedo was a correspondent of Ramusio, and found the acquaintance helpful. He knew Cortes, and exchanged letters with him. Ticknor, after speaking of the scope of the *Historia* as taxing the powers of Oviedo beyond their strength, still accounts the work of great value as a vast repository of facts, and not wholly without merit as a composition. In the

fray toribio
motolinia



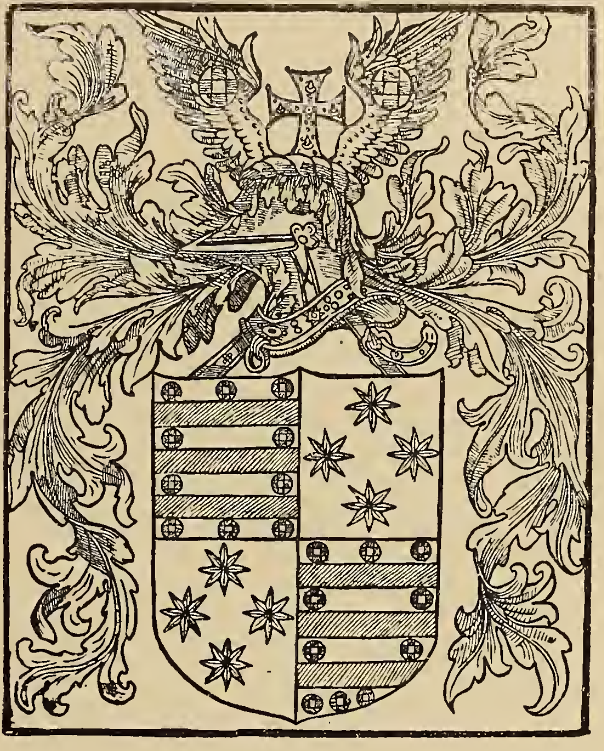
Oviedo dela natural hy
storia delas Indias.
Con preuilegio dela
S.C.C.M.

TITLE OF OVIEDO, 1526, REDUCED.

estimates commonly made of Oviedo there is allowed him but scant scholarship, little power of discrimination, — as shown in his giving at times as much weight to hearsay evidence as to established testimony, — a curious and shrewd insight, which sometimes, with his industry, leads him to a better balance of authorities than might be expected from his deficient judgment. His resources of material were uncommon; but his use of them is generally tedious, with a tendency to wander from his theme. Ternaux sees in him the prejudices of his times, — and these were not certainly very friendly to the natives. Las Casas could no more endure him than he could bear with the average *conquistador*. The bishop charges the historian with constantly bearing false witness against the Indians, and with lying on every page. Oviedo died at Valladolid in 1557. (Cf. Prescott's *Mexico*, ii. 283; Irving's *Columbus*, App. xxviii.; H. H. Bancroft, *Chroniclers*, p. 20, and *Central America*, i. 309, 463–467.)

The bibliography of Oviedo deserves to be traced. His initial publication, *De la natural hystoria de las Indias*, was printed at Toledo in 1526, — not in 1525, as the Real Academia says in their reprint, nor 1528, as Ticknor gives it. It is often cited as Oviedo's *Sumario*, since that is the first word of the secondary title. (Cf. Sabin, *Dictionary*, vol. xiv. no. 57,987; Harrisse, *Notes on Columbus*, p. 12; and *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 139; Ternaux, no. 35; Rich, 1832, no. 6, £12 12*s.*; Carter-Brown, i. 89.) There are also copies in the Library of Congress and Harvard College. The Spanish text is included in Barcia's *Historiadores primitivos* and in Vedia's *Hist. prim. de Indias*, 1858, vol. i. It is in large part translated into English in Eden's *Decades of the New World*, 1555 (chap. 18), and this version is condensed in Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, iv. 5. There is an Italian version in Ramusio's *Viaggi*, iii. 44.

The publication of Oviedo's great work, which is quite different from the 1526 book, was begun at Seville, in 1535, under the title of *Historia general de las Indias.* In this he gave the first nineteen books, and ten chapters of book 20. At the end is a *carta missiva*, to which the author usually attached his own signature, and that annexed is taken (slightly reduced) from the copy in Harvard College Library. (Cf. Sabin, vol. xiv. no. 57,988; Harrisse, *Bibl. Am. Vet.*, no. 207; Murphy, nos. 1886–87; Carter-Brown, i. 114, with fac-simile of title.) Ramusio translated these nineteen books. In 1547, what purports to be a summary, but is in fact a version, of Xeres by Jacques Gohory, appeared in Paris as *L'histoire de la terre neuve du Péru en l'Inde occidentale.* (Cf. *Bib. Am. Vet.*, no. 264; Ternaux, no. 52; Sabin, vol. xiv. no. 57,994.)



ARMS OF OVIEDO.[1]

In 1547 a new edition of the Spanish, somewhat increased, appeared at Salamanca as *Coronica de las Indias; la hystoria general de las Indias agora nueuamente impressa, corregida, y emendada.* Sometimes it is found in the same cover with the *Peru* of Xeres, and then the title varies a little. The book is rare and costly. Rich, in 1832 (no. 17), priced it at £10 10*s.*; it has been sold recently at the Sunderland sale for £61, and in the library of an old admiral (1883, no. 340) for £40; Quaritch has priced it at £63, and Maisonneuve (Leclerc, no. 432), at 1,000 francs. There is a copy in Harvard College Library. (Cf. Sabin, vol. xiv. no. 57,989; Carter-Brown, i. 145; *Bibl. Am. Vet.*, no. 278; *Additions*, no. 163; and Murphy, no. 1885.)

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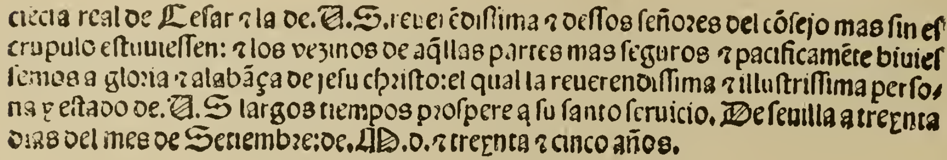
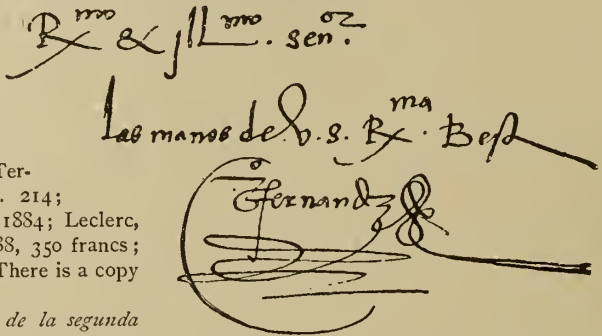
[1] Reduced from the cut at the end of the edition of Oviedo, 1535.

A full French translation of ten books, made by Jean Poleur, appeared in Paris under the title of *Histoire naturelle et généralle des Indes*, without the translator's name in 1555, and with it in 1556. (Cf. Sabin, vol. xiv. no. 57,992–93; Ternaux, no. 47; Carter-Brown, i. 214; Beckford, iii. 342; Murphy, no. 1884; Leclerc, no. 434, 130 francs, and no. 2,888, 350 francs; Quaritch, no. 12,313, £7 10*s.*) There is a copy in Harvard College Library.



ciẽcia real de Ceſar ⁊ la de. V.S. reuerẽdiſſima ⁊ dellos ſeñoꝛes del cõſejo mas ſin eſcrupulo eſtuuieſſen: ⁊ los vezinos de aq̃llas partes mas ſeguros ⁊ pacificamẽte biuieſſemos a gloꝛia ⁊ alabãça de jeſu chꝛiſto: el qual la reuerendiſſima ⁊ illuſtriſſima perſona y eſtado de. V.S largos tiempos pꝛoſpere q̃ ſu ſanto ſeruicio. De ſeuilla a treynta dias del mes de Setiembꝛe: de. M.D. ⁊ treynta ⁊ cinco años.



R^{mo} & Ill^{mo}. sen^{or}

las manos de V. S. R^{ma}. Besa

Fernandz

The twentieth book, *Libro xx de la segunda parte de la general historia de las Indias* appeared for the first time and separately at Valladolid in 1557; the death of the author while his book was in press prevented the continuance of its publication. (Cf. Rich, 1832, no. 34, £6 6*s.*; Sabin, vol. xiv. no. 57,991; Carter-Brown, i. 219.)

The fate of the remaining parts of the manuscript was for a while uncertain. Rich, in 1832, said that books xxi. to xxviii., which were in the printer's hands at Oviedo's death, were not recovered, while he knew of manuscript copies of books xxix. to xlviii. in several collections. Irving says he found a copy of the unprinted parts in the Colombina Library at Seville. Harrisse (*Notes on Columbus* and *Bibl. Am. Vet.*, no. 207) says the manuscript was scattered, but was brought together again after some vicissitudes. Another statement places it in the Casa de la Contratacion after Oviedo's death; whence it was transferred to the Convent of Monserrat. Meanwhile sundry manuscript copies were taken. (Cf. *Notes on Columbus*, p. 17.) In 1775 the publication of it was ordered by Government; but it was not till 1851–1855 that the Real Academia de la Historia at Madrid issued the fifty books, complete in four volumes folio, under the editing of José Amador de los Rios, who added to the publication several maps, a bibliography, and the best Life of Oviedo yet written. (Cf. Sabin, vol. xiv. no. 57,990; the set is worth about $20. See further, Brunet, iv. 299; Ternaux, no. 46; Panzer, vii. 124; Stevens, *Nuggets*, ii. 2,067.) Ternaux had already, in 1840, published in French, as a *Histoire de Nicaragua* (in his second series, vol. iii.) thirteen chapters of book xlii.

There was an Italian traveller in the Spanish provinces between 1541 and 1556 who, while he thought that Las Casas mistook his vocation in attempting to administer a colony, bears evidence to the atrocities which Las Casas so persistently magnified. This wanderer was a Milanese, Girolamo Benzoni, who at the early age of twenty-two had started on his American travels. He did not altogether succeed in ingratiating himself with the Spaniards whom he encountered, and perhaps his discontent colored somewhat his views. He was not much of a scholar, yielded not a little to credulity, and picked up mere gossip indeed, but of a kind which gives us much light as to the conditions both of the Europeans and natives. (Cf. Field, *Indian Bibliography*, no. 117; Bancroft, *Central America*, ii. 232; Admiral Smith's Introduction to the Hakluyt Society edition.) After his return he prepared and published — prefixing his own likeness, as shown here in fac-simile — the results of his observations in his *Historia del Mondo Nuovo*, which was issued at Venice in 1565. It became a popular book, and spread through Europe not only in the original Italian, but in French and Latin versions. In Spanish it never became current; for though it so greatly concerns that people, no one of them ventured to give it the help of a translation into their vernacular; and as he had not said much in praise of their American career, it is not altogether strange.

The bibliography of the book merits explanation. It is treated at length in Sabin's *Dictionary*, vol. ii. no. 4,791, and in the *Studi biog. e bibliog. della Società Geografica Italiana*, i. 293 (1882). The original Italian edition, *La Historia del Mondo Nuovo, laqual tratta dell' Isole & Mari nuovamente ritrovati, & delle nuove Citta da lui proprio vedute, per acqua & per terra in quattordeci anni*, was published at Venice in 1565. There are copies in Harvard College, Cornell University, and the Carter-Brown libraries. Cf. Rich (1832), no. 43 — £1 1*s*. 0*d*.; Leclerc (1878), no. 59 — 120 francs; A. R. Smith (1874), £2 2*s*. 0*d*.; Brinley, no. 10; Carter-Brown, i. 253; Huth, i. 132; Field, *Indian Bibliography*, no. 117; Sparks, no. 240; Stevens (1870), no. 171. A second Italian edition — *Nuovamente ristampata . . . con la giunta d'alcune cose notabile dell' Isole di Canaria* — was issued at Venice in 1572. Cf. Rich (1832), no. 49, £1 1*s*. 0*d*.; Carter-Brown, i. 289; Stevens, no. 172; Muller (1877), no. 285; Sunderland, no. 1,213; H. C. Murphy, no. 2,838; Huth, i. 132; J. J. Cooke, nos. 219, 220.

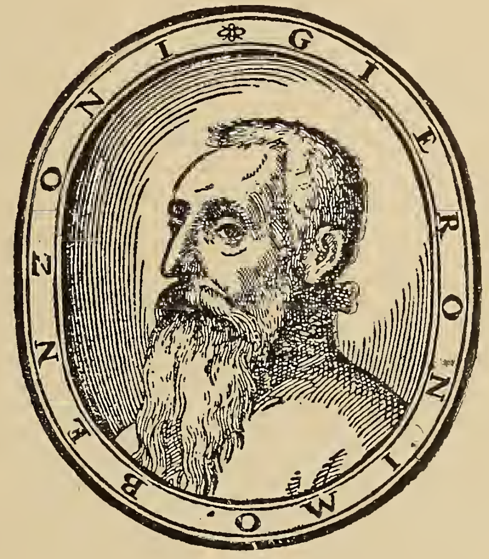
The first Latin edition *Novæ Novi Orbis Historiæ*, translated by Urban Chauveton (who added an account of the French expedition to Florida), was published at Geneva in 1578; followed by a second in 1581; a third in 1586, with Lery's book on Brazil added; others in 1590 (no place); 1598 and 1600 (Geneva); (Coloniæ Allobrogum), 1612, with three other tracts; and at Hamburg in 1648. Besides these the Latin version appeared in De Bry, parts iv., v., and vi., printed at Frankfort in 1592, 1593, 1594, 1595, and at Oppenheim in 1617. Cf. Carter-Brown, i. 318, 338, 365; ii. 123, 629; Stevens, *Nuggets* 2,300; *Bibl. Hist.*, no. 173-174; Muller (1872), nos. 78, 79; (1877), 287; Sunderland, no. 1,214; Cooke, nos. 218, 222; Pinart, no. 97; Huth, i. 132; Field, p. 119. There are copies of the 1578 edition in the Boston Public and Harvard College libraries.

The French editions were issued at Geneva in 1579 and 1589. The notes are different from those of the Latin editions; and there are no notes to book iii., as in the Latin. Cf. Carter-Brown, i. 326; Cooke, no. 221; Court, no. 32.

There are two German versions. The first was by Nicholas Höniger, and was printed at Basle, in 1579, as *Der Newenn Weldt*. It was reissued, with tracts of Peter Martyr and others, in 1582. The version of Abel Scherdigers was issued at Helmstadt in 1590, 1591, again at Frankfort in 1595, and at Wittenberg in 1606. There were in addition some later imprints, besides those included in De Bry and in Saeghman's *Voyagien*. Cf. Rich, no. 61; Carter-Brown, i. 344, 388, ii. 44, 917; Muller (1872), nos. 80, 1880, (1877), 286.

The first Dutch edition appeared at Haarlem in 1610; there was an abridged issue at Amsterdam in 1663. Cf. Tiele, nos. 276, 277; Muller (1872), nos. 81, 82; Carter-Brown, ii. 97.

Purchas gave an abstract in English; but there was no complete English version till Admiral Smith's was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1857. This has fac-similes of the cuts of the 1572 edition; and De Bry also followed the early cuts.



In 1542 and 1543 Las Casas largely influenced the royal decrees relating to the treatment of the Indians, which were signed by the monarch, Nov. 20, 1542, and June 4, 1543, and printed at Alcala in 1543 as *Leyes y Ordenanças*. This book stands as the earliest printed ordinances for the New World, and is rare. Rich in 1832 (no. 13) priced it at £21. (Cf. *Bib. Am. Vet.*, no. 247; Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 130; Sabin, vol. x. p. 320.) There were later editions at Madrid in 1585,[1] and at Valladolid in 1603. Henry Stevens, in 1878, issued a fac-simile edition made by Harris after a vellum copy in the Grenville Collection, accompanied by a translation, with an historical and bibliographical introduction.

The earliest compilation of general laws for the Indies, entitled *Provisiones, cedulas, instrucciones de su Magestad*, was printed in Mexico in 1563. This is also very rare; Rich priced it in

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[1] In Harvard College Library, with also the *Ordenanzas reales del Conseio de las Indias*, of the same date.

1832 at £16 16*s*. It was the work of Vasco de Puga, and Helps calls it "the earliest summary of Spanish colonial law." The Carter-Brown copy (*Catalogue*, i. 242) was sent to England for Mr. Helps's use, there being no copy in that country, so far as known.

The next collection was *Provisiones, cédulas*, etc., arranged by Diego de Encinas, and was printed at Madrid in 1596. The work early became scarce, and Rich priced it at £5 5*s*. in 1832 (no. 81). It is in Harvard College and the Carter-Brown Library (*Catalogue*, vol. i. no. 502). The bibliography of the general laws, particularly of later collections, is sketched in Bancroft's *Central America*, i. 285, and *Mexico*, iii. 550; and in chap. xxvii. of this same volume the reader will find an examination of the administration and judicial system of the Spaniards in the New World;[1] and he must go chiefly to Bancroft (*Central America*, i. 255, 257, 261, 285; *Mexico*, ii. 130, 516, 563, etc.) and Helps (*Spanish Conquest* and *Life of Las Casas*) for aid in tracing the sources of the subject of the legal protection sought to be afforded to the natives, and the attempted regulation of the slavery which they endured. Helps carefully defines the meaning and working of the *encomienda* system, which gave in effect a property value to the subjection of the natives to the Conquerors. Cf. *Spanish Conquest* (Am. ed.), iii. 113, 128, 157, 212.

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[1] There are convenient explanations and references respecting the functions of the Casa de la Contratacion, the Council of the Indies, the Process of the Audiencia, and the duties of an Alcalde, in Bancroft's *Central America*, vol. i. pp. 270, 280, 282, 297, 330.

CHAPTER VI.

CORTÉS AND HIS COMPANIONS.

BY JUSTIN WINSOR,

The Editor.

GRIJALVA had returned in 1518 to Cuba from his Western expedition,[1] flushed with pride and expectant of reward. It was his fate, however, to be pushed aside unceremoniously, while another was sent to follow up his discoveries. Before Grijalva had returned, the plan was formed; and Hernando Cortés distanced his competitors in suing for the leadership of the new expedition. Cortés was at this time the *alcalde* of Santiago in Cuba, and about thirty-three years old, — a man agile in mind, and of a frame well compacted for endurance; with a temper to please, and also to be pleased, if you would but wait on his wishes. He had some money, which Velasquez de Cuellar, the Governor, needed; he knew how to decoy the intimates of the Governor, and bait them with promises: and so the appointment of Cortés came, but not altogether willingly, from Velasquez.

Cortés was born in Spain,[2] of humble, respectable stock. Too considerable animal spirits had made him an unprofitable student at Salamanca, though he brought away a little Latin and a lean store of other learning. A passion for the fairer sex and some military ardor, dampened with scant income all the while, characterized the following years; till finally, in 1504, he sailed on one of the fleets for the New World. Here he soon showed his quality by participating in the suppression of an Indian revolt. This got him a small official station, and he varied the monotony of life with love intrigues and touches of military bravado. In 1511, when Diego Columbus sent Velasquez on an expedition to Cuba, Cortés joined it as the commander's executive officer. A certain adroitness turned a quarrel which he had with Velasquez (out of which grew his marriage with a fair Catalina) to his advantage with the Governor, who made him in the end the *alcalde* of Santiago, — a dignity which mining and stock-raising luckily enabled the adventurer to support. He was in this condition when all schemes worked happily, and Velasquez was induced to commission him commander-in-chief of the new expedition. The Governor gave him

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[1] See chap. iii. p. 203, *ante*.

[2] At Medellin, in Estremadura, in 1485.

El Adelantado DON DIEGO VELASQUES de
Cuellar Autor del descrubrimienta
de nueva España.

VELASQUEZ.[1]

instructions on the 23d of October, 1518. Cortés understood, it turned out, that these were to be followed when necessary and disregarded when desirable. There seemed, indeed, to have been no purpose to confine the business of the expedition to exploration, as the instructions set forth.[2] Cortés put all his substance into ships and outfits. He inveigled his friends into helping him. Velasquez converted what Government resources he could to the purpose of the expedition, while at the same time he seems to have cunningly sold to Cortés his own merchandise at exorbitant prices.

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[1] Fac-simile of an engraving in Herrera, i. 298. It is lithographed in Cabajal's *México*, ii. 21.

[2] They are given in Pacheco's *Coleccion*, xii. 225, Prescott's *Mexico*, app. i., and elsewhere. Cf. H. H. Bancroft, *Mexico*, i. 55.

Twenty thousand ducats apparently went into somebody's pockets to get the expedition well started.[1] Three hundred men, including some of position, joined him. The Governor's jester, instigated, as is supposed, by Velasquez' relatives, threw out a hint that Cortés was only preparing to proclaim his independence when he reached the new domain. The thought worried the Governor, and seems in part to have broken the spell of the admiration which he entertained for Cortés; yet not so much so but he could turn a cold shoulder to Grijalva when he arrived with his ships, as happened at this juncture.

Cortés could not afford to dally; and secret orders having been given for all to be in readiness on the evening of the 17th of November, on the next morning the fleet sailed.[2] There were six vessels composing it, and a seventh later joined them. At Trinidad (Cuba) his force was largely augmented with recruits from Grijalva's men. Here messengers arrived from Velasquez, ordering the authorities to depose Cortés and put another in command. Cortés had, however, too strongly environed himself; and he simply took one of the messengers into his service, and sent back the other with due protestations of respect. Then he sailed to San Cristóbal (Havana), sending a force overland to pick up horses. The flagship met a mishap on the way, but arrived at last. Cortés landed and displayed his pomp. Letters from Velasquez still followed him, but no one dared to arrest him. He again sailed. His fleet had now increased to twelve vessels, the largest measuring one hundred tons; his men were over six hundred, and among them only thirteen bore firelocks; his artillery consisted of ten guns and four falconets. Two hundred natives, men and women, were taken as slaves. Sixteen horses were stowed away on or below deck.[3] This was the force that a few days later, at Guaguanico, Cortés passed in review, while he regaled his men with a specious harangue, steeped in a corsair's piety. On the 18th of February they steered boldly away on the mission which was to become famous.

Looking around upon his officers, Cortés could discover, later if not then, that he had some stanch lieutenants. There was Pedro de Alvarado, who had already shown his somewhat impetuous quality while serving under Grijalva. There was Francisco de Montejo, a good administrator as well as a brave soldier. Names not yet forgotten in the story of the Conquest were those of Alonso de Avila, Cristóbal de Olid, and the youngest of all, Gonzalo de Sandoval, who was inseparable from his white stallion Motilla. Then there were Velasquez de Leon, Diego de Ordaz, and others less known to fame.

The straggling vessels gathered again at Cozumel Island, near the point of Yucatan. Cortés sent an expedition to discover and ransom some

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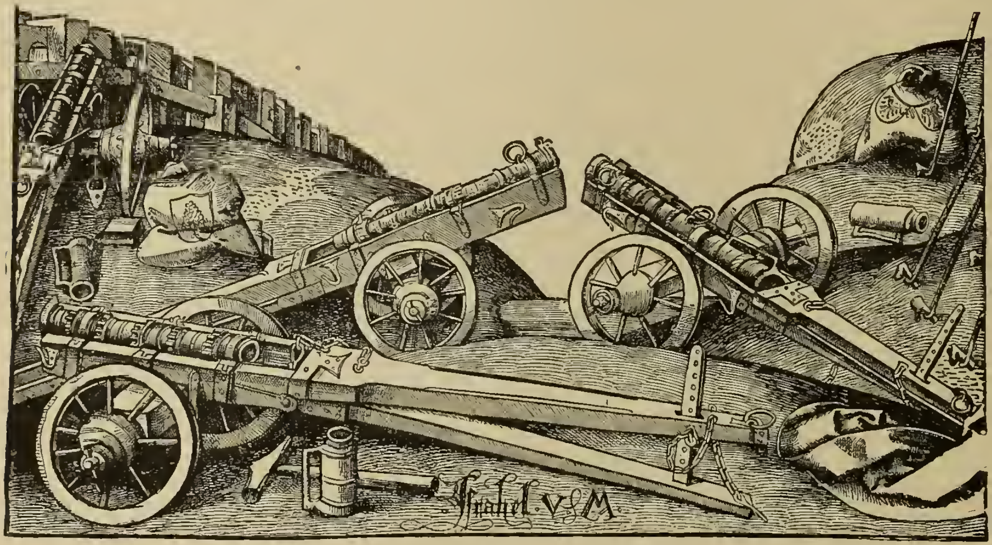
[1] There is much conflict of testimony on the respective share of Cortés and Velasquez in equipping the expedition. H. H. Bancroft (*Mexico*, i. 57) collates the authorities.

[2] Prescott makes Cortés sail clandestinely; Bancroft makes his departure a hurried but open one; and this is Helps's view of the authorities.

[3] The authorities are not in unison about all these figures. Cf. H. H. Bancroft, *Mexico*, i. 70.

Christians who were in the interior, as he heard. The mission failed; but a single one of the wanderers, by some other course, found the Spaniards, and was welcomed as an interpreter. This man reported that he and another were the sole survivors of a ship's company wrecked on the coast eight years before.

Early in March the fleet started to skirt the Yucatan shore, and Cortés had his first fight with the natives at Tabasco, — a conflict brought on for no reason but that the town would not supply provisions. The stockade was forced, and the place formally occupied. A more signal victory was required; and the Spaniards, getting on shore their horses and artillery, encountered the savage hordes and dispersed them, — aided, as the veracious story goes, by a spectral horseman who shone upon the field. The native king only secured immunity from further assaults by large presents. The Spaniards then re-embarked, and next cast anchor at San Juan de Ulloa.



CANNON OF CORTÉS' TIME.[1]

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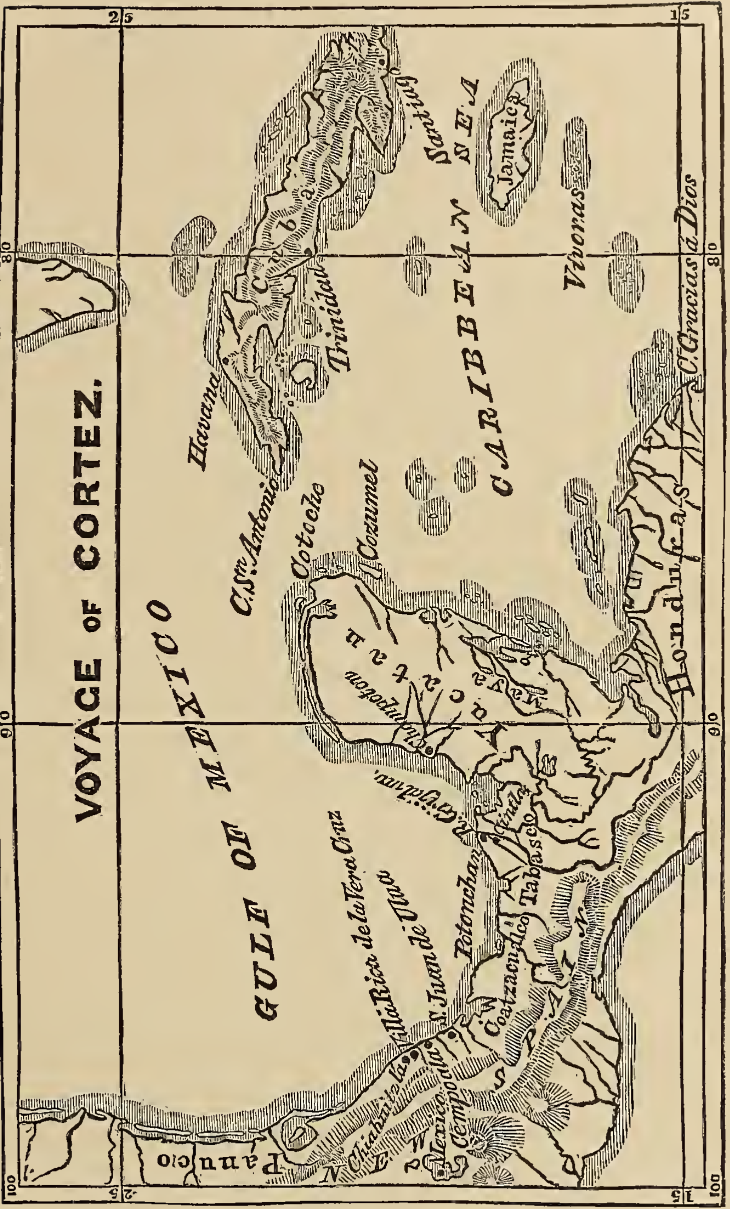
[1] As represented in a cut by Israel van Mecken, which is here reduced from a fac-simile in A. O. Essenwein's *Kulturhistorischer Bilder Atlas*, ii., *Mittelalter* (Leipsic, 1883), pl. cxv. It will be observed that the pieces have no trunnions, and are supported in a kind of trough. They were breech-loaders by means of chambers, three of which, with handles, are seen (in the cut) lying on the ground, and one is in place, in the gun on the right. In the Naval Museum at Annapolis there are guns captured in the Mexican war, that are supposed to be the ones used by Cortés. A search of the records of the Ordnance Department at Washington, instituted for me by Commodore Sicard, at the suggestion of Prof. Charles E. Munroe of the Naval Academy, has not, however, revealed any documentary evidence; but a paper in the *Army and Navy Journal*, Nov. 22, 1884, p. 325, shows such guns to have been captured by Lieutenant Wyse in the "Darien." The guns at Annapolis are provided with like chambers, as seen in photographs kindly sent to me. Similar chambers are now, or were recently, used in firing salutes on the Queen's birthday in St. James's Park. Cf. Stanley's *De Gama's Voyages* (Hakluyt Society), p. 227.



CORTÉS' VOYAGE TO MEXICO.[2]

Meanwhile the rumors of the descent of the Spaniards on the coast had certainly hurried to Montezuma at his capital; and his people doubtless rehearsed some of the many portents which are said to have been regarded.[1] We read also of new temples erected, and immense sacrifices of war-captives made, to propitiate the deities and avert the dangers which these

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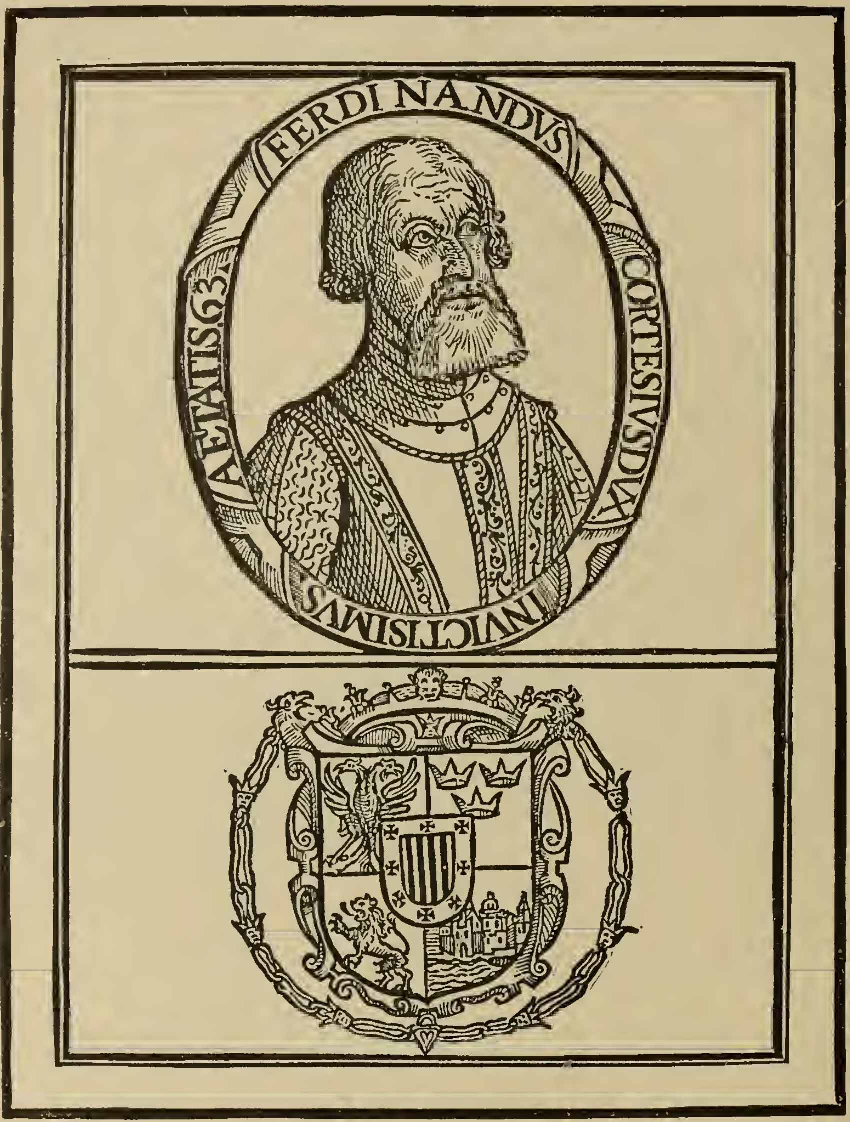
[1] See the long note comparing some of these accounts in H. H. Bancroft's *Mexico*, i. 102, etc.

[2] This is a reproduction of the map in Arthur Helps's *Spanish Conquest*, ii. 236.



CORTÉS AND HIS ARMS.[1]

portents and forebodings for years past had indicated to the believing. The men of Grijalva had already some months earlier been taken to be similar woful visitants, and one of Montezuma's officers had visited Grijalva's vessel, and made report of the wonders to the Mexican monarch.

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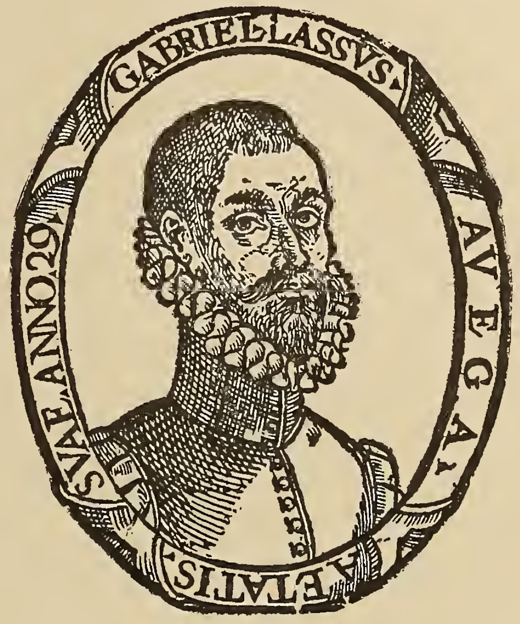
[1] Copied from a cut in Gabriel Lasso de la Vega's *Cortés valeroso*, — a poem published at Madrid in 1588. There is a copy in Harvard College Library; cf. Carter-Brown, i. 377. The same cut is also used in the edition published in 1594, then called *Mexicana*.

Studied offices of propitiation had been ordered, when word came back that the ship of the bearded men had vanished.

The coming of Cortés was but a dreaded return. While his ship lay at Juan de Ulloa, two canoes came from the main, and their occupants climbed to his deck. No one could understand them. The rescued Spaniard who had been counted on as an interpreter was at a loss. At last a female slave, Marina by name, taken at Tabasco, solved the difficulty. She could understand this same Spaniard, and knew also Aztec.[1] Through this double interpretation Cortés now learned that the mission of his visitors was one of welcome and inquiry. After the usual interchange of gifts, Cortés sent word to the cacique that he would soon confer with him. He then landed a force, established a camp, and began to barter with the natives. To a chief, who soon arrived, Cortés announced his intention to seek the presence of Montezuma and to deliver the gifts and messages with which he was charged as the ambassador of his sovereign. Accordingly, bearing such presents as Cortés cared to send forward, native messengers were sent to Montezuma to tell tales of the sights they had seen,—the prancing horses and the belching cannon. The Mexican king sought to appease the eagerness of the new-comers by returning large stores of fabrics and gold, wishing them to be satisfied and to depart. The gold was not a happy gift to produce such an end.



GABRIEL LASSO DE LA VEGA.[2]

Meanwhile Cortés, by his craft, quieted a rising faction of the party of Velasquez which demanded to be led back to Cuba. He did this by seeming to acquiesce in the demand of his followers in laying the foundations of a town and constituting its people a municipality competent to choose a representative of the royal authority. This done, Cortés resigned his commission from Velasquez, and was at once invested with supreme power by the new municipality. The scheme which Velasquez had suspected was thus brought to fruition. Whoever resisted the new captain was conquered by force, persuasion, tact, or magnetism; and Cortés became as popular as he was irresistible.

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[1] Marina did more. She impressed Cortés, who found her otherwise convenient for a few years; and after she had borne him children, married her to one of his captains. What purports to be a likeness of her is given in Cabajal's *México*, ii. 64.

[2] Fac-simile of the portrait in *Cortés valeroso*.

At this point messengers presented themselves from tribes not far off who were unwilling subjects of the Aztec power. The presence of possible allies was a propitious circumstance, and Cortés proceeded to cultivate the friendship of these tribes. He moved his camp day by day along the shore, inuring his men to marches, while the fleet sailed in company. They reached a large city, and were regaled. Each chief told of the tyranny of Montezuma, and the eyes of Cortés glistened. The Spaniards went on to another town, slaves being provided to bear their burdens. Here they found tax-gatherers of Montezuma collecting tribute. Emboldened by Cortés' glance, his hosts seized the Aztec emissaries and delivered them to the Spaniards. Cortés now played a double game. He propitiated the servants of Montezuma by secretly releasing them, and added to his allies by enjoining every tribe he could reach to resist the Aztec collectors of tribute.

The wandering municipality, as represented in this piratical army, at last stopped at a harbor where a town (La Villa Rica de Vera Cruz) sprang up, and became the base of future operations.[1]

Montezuma and his advisers, angered by the reports of the revolt of his subjects, had organized a force to proceed against them, when the tax-gatherers whom Cortés had released arrived and told the story of Cortés' gentleness and sympathy. It was enough; the rebellion needed no such active encounter. The troops were not sent, and messengers were despatched to Cortés, assuring the Spanish leader that Montezuma forbore to chastise the entertainers of the white strangers. Cortés now produced other of the tax-gatherers whom he had been holding, and they and the new embassy went back to Montezuma more impressed than before; while the neighboring people wondered at the deference paid by Montezuma's lieutenants to the Spaniards. It was no small gain for Cortés to have instigated the equal wonder of two mutually inimical factions.

The Spanish leader took occasion to increase his prestige by despatching expeditions hither and thither. Then he learned of efforts made by Velasquez to supplant him. To confirm his rule against the Cuban Governor he needed the royal sanction; and the best way to get that was to despatch a vessel with messages to the Emperor, and give him earnest of what he might yet expect in piles of gold thrown at his feet. So the flagship sailed for Spain; and in her in command and to conduct his suit

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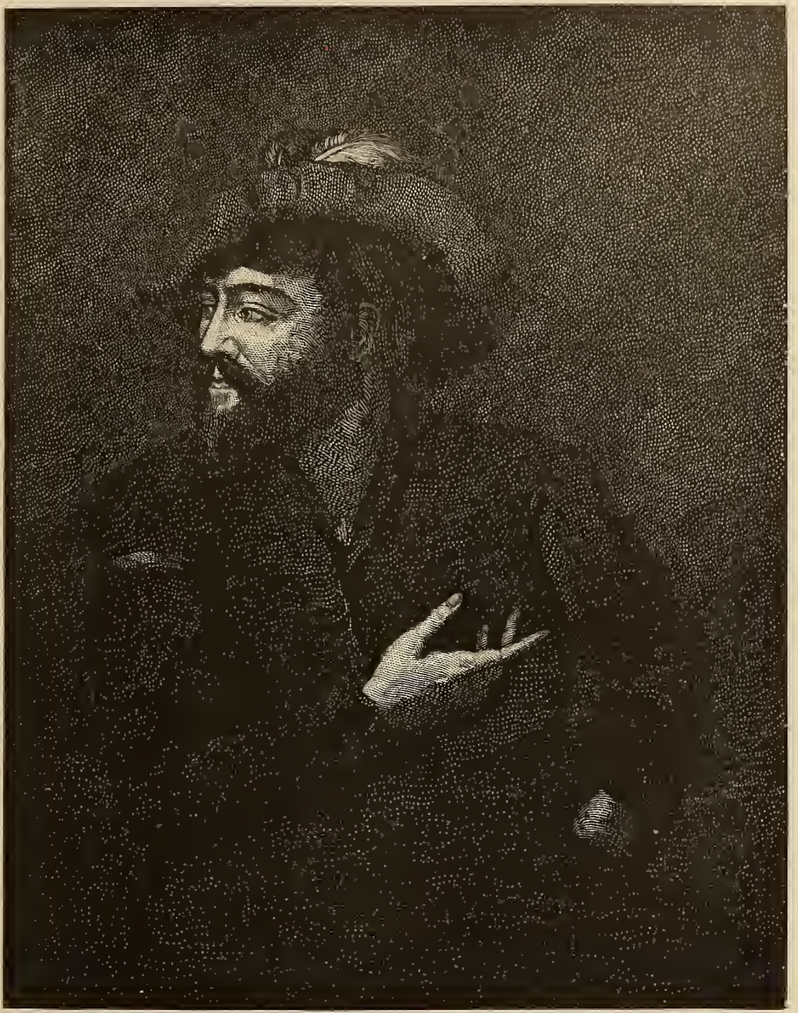
[1] Prescott (*Mexico*, revised edition, i. 345) points out how this site was abandoned later for one farther south, where the town was called Vera Cruz Vieja; and again, early in the seventeenth century, the name and town were transferred to another point still farther south, — Nueva Vera Cruz. These changes have caused some confusion in the maps of Lorenzana and others. Cf. the maps in Prescott and H. H. Bancroft.



CORTÉS.[1]

before the throne, Cortés sent faithful servitors, such as had influence at court, to outwit the emissaries of Velasquez. Sailing in July, touching at Cuba long enough to raise the anger of Velasquez, but not long enough for him to catch them, these followers of Cortés reached Spain in October, and found the agents of Velasquez ready for them. Their vessel was seized, and the royal ear was held by Bishop Fonseca and other friends of the

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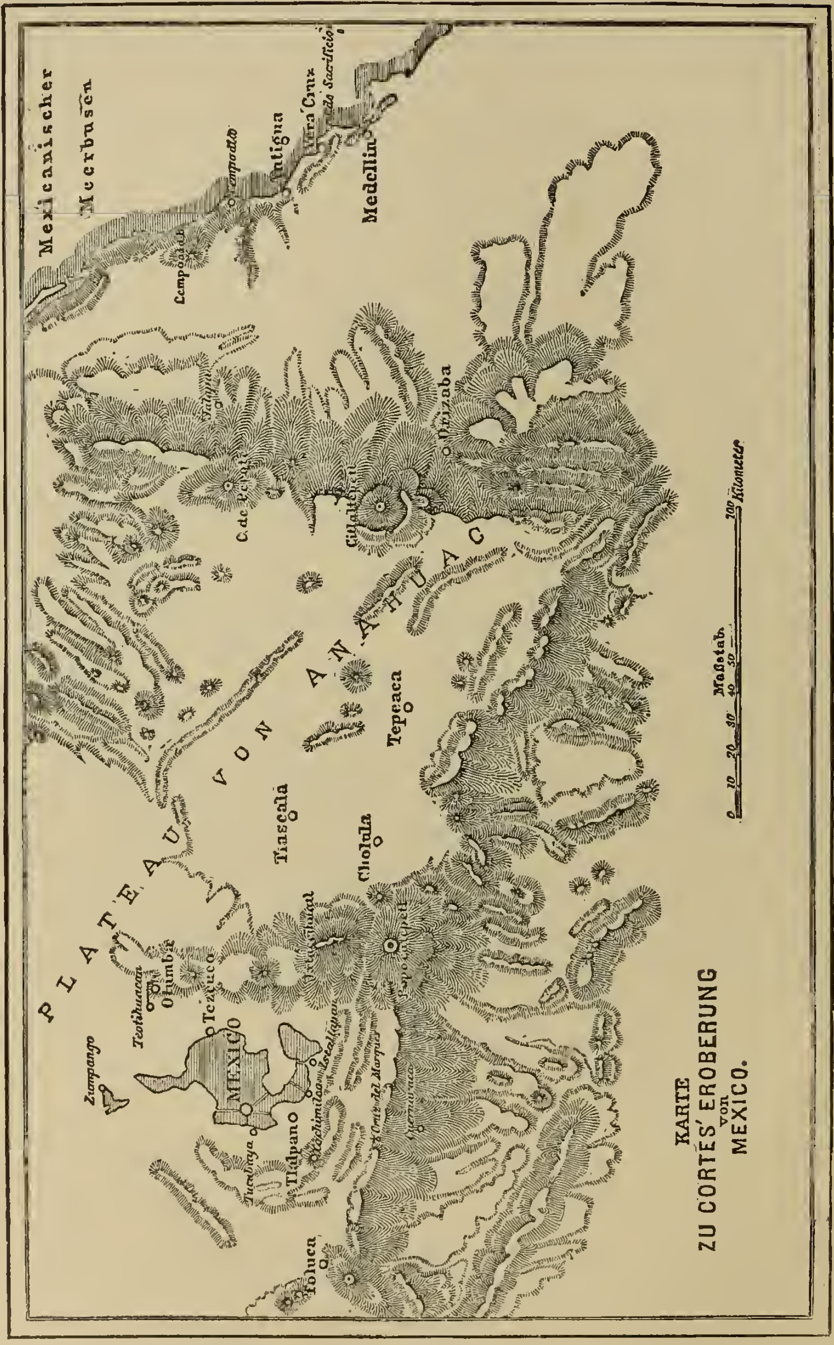
[1] After a picture on panel in the Massachusetts Historical Society's gallery. It is described in the *Catalogue of the Cabinet* of that Society as "Restored by Henry Sargent about 1831, and again by George Howorth about 1855." Cf. *Proceedings*, i. 446, where it is said to have been given by the family of the late Dr. Foster, of Brighton, who received it by inheritance from a Huguenot family who brought it to New England after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.



THE MARCH OF CORTÉS ON MEXICO.[1]

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[1] A reproduction of the map in Ruge's *Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, p. 363. Similar maps are given by Prescott, Helps, and Bancroft. Cabajal (*México*, ii. 200) gives a map of the route followed from the Gulf, with a profile of the country traversed. Bancroft (*Mexico*, vol. ii.) gives a map of New Spain as known to the Conquerors. Early maps of Nova Hispania,

Cuban Governor; yet not so effectually but that the duplicate letters of Cortés' messengers were put into the Emperor's hand, and the train of natives paraded before him.

Now came the famous resolve of Cortés. He would band his heterogeneous folk together — adherents of Cortés and of Velasquez — in one common cause and danger. So he adroitly led them to be partners in the deed which he stealthily planned.[1] Hulk after hulk of the apparently worm-eaten vessels of the fleet sank in the harbor, until there was no flotilla left upon which any could desert him. The march to Mexico was now assured. The force with which to accomplish this consisted of about four hundred and fifty Spaniards, six or seven light guns, fifteen horses, and a swarm of Indian slaves and attendants. A body of the Totonacs accompanied them.[2] Two or three days brought them into the higher plain and its enlivening vegetation. When they reached the dependencies of Montezuma, they found orders had been given to extend to them every courtesy. They soon reached the Anahuac plateau, which reminded them not a little of Spain itself. They passed from cacique to cacique, some of whom groaned under the yoke of the Aztec; but not one dared do more than orders from Montezuma dictated. Then the invaders approached the territory of an independent people, those of Tlascala, who had walled their country against neighboring enemies. A fight took place at the frontiers, in which the Spaniards lost two horses. They forced passes against great odds, but again lost a horse or two, — which was a perceptible diminution of their power to terrify. The accounts speak of immense hordes of the Tlascalans, which historians now take with allowances, great or small. Cortés spread what alarm he could by burning villages and capturing the country people. His greatest obstacle soon appeared in the compacted army of Tlascalans arrayed in his front. The conflict which ensued was for a while doubtful. Every horse was hurt, and sixty Spaniards were wounded; but the result was the retreat of the Tlascalans. Divining that the Spanish power was derived from the sun, the enemy planned a night attack; but Cortés suspected it, and assaulted them in their own ambush.

Cortés now had an opportunity to display his double-facedness and his wiles. He received embassies both from Montezuma and from the senate of the Tlascalans. He cajoled each, and played off his friendship for the one in cementing an alliance with the other. But to Tlascala and Mexico he would go, so he told them. The Tlascalans were not averse, for they

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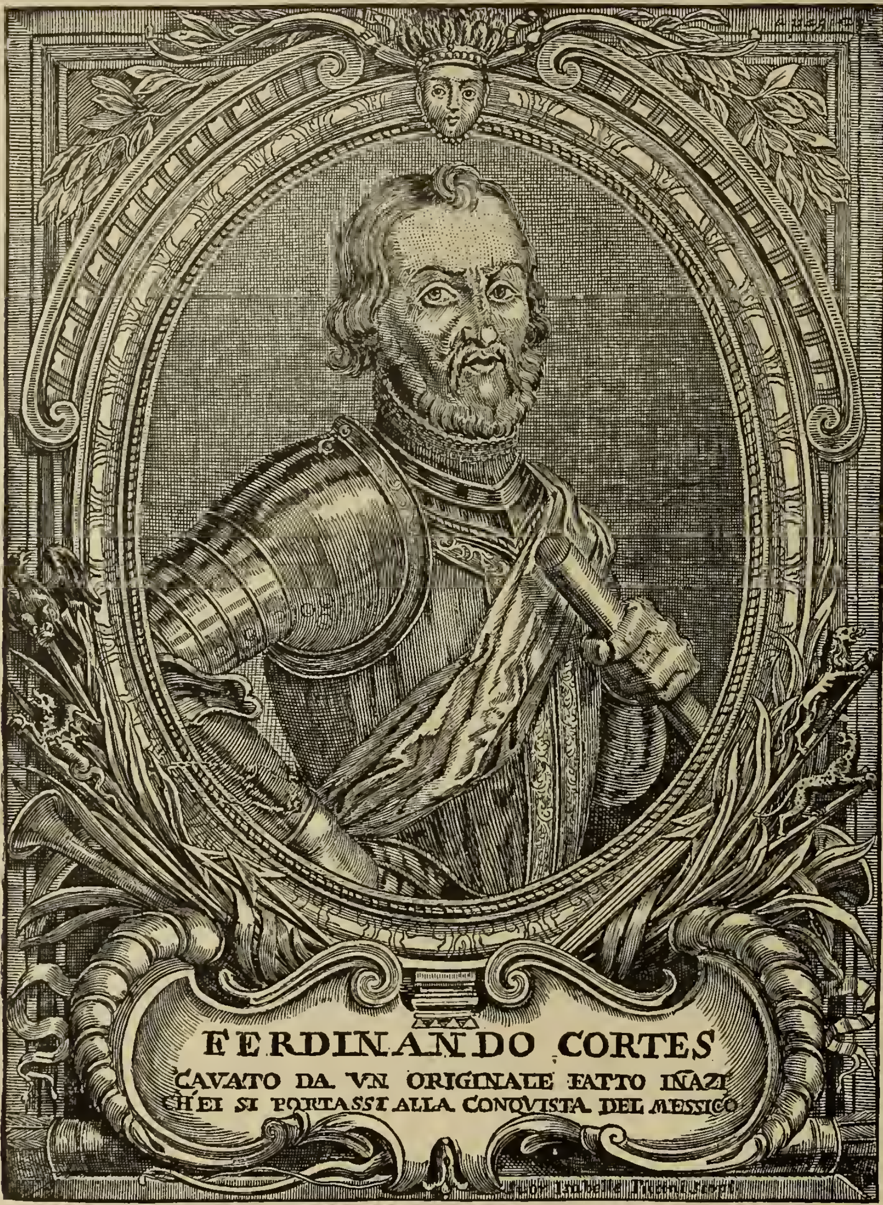
or New Spain, are not infrequent. Cf. Blaeu's *Atlas*, De Bry, several issued by Vander Aa, of Amsterdam, the Brussels edition (1704) of Solis, Lorenzana's *Cortés* (1770), and various others.

[1] There is some discrepancy in the authorities here as regards the openness or stealth of the act of destroying the fleet. See the authorities collated in Prescott, *Mexico*, new edition, i. 369, 370.

[2] The estimates of numbers in all the operations throughout the Conquest differ widely, sometimes very widely, according to different authorities. The student will find much of the collation of these opposing statements done for him in the notes of Prescott and Bancroft.


FERDINANDO CORTES
CAVATO DA VN ORIGINALE FATTO IÑAZI
CH'EI SI PORTASSI ALLA CONQVISTA DEL MESSICO

CORTÉS.[1]

thought it boded no good to the Aztecs if he could be bound to themselves. Montezuma dreaded the contact, and tried to intimidate the strangers by tales of the horrible difficulties of the journey.

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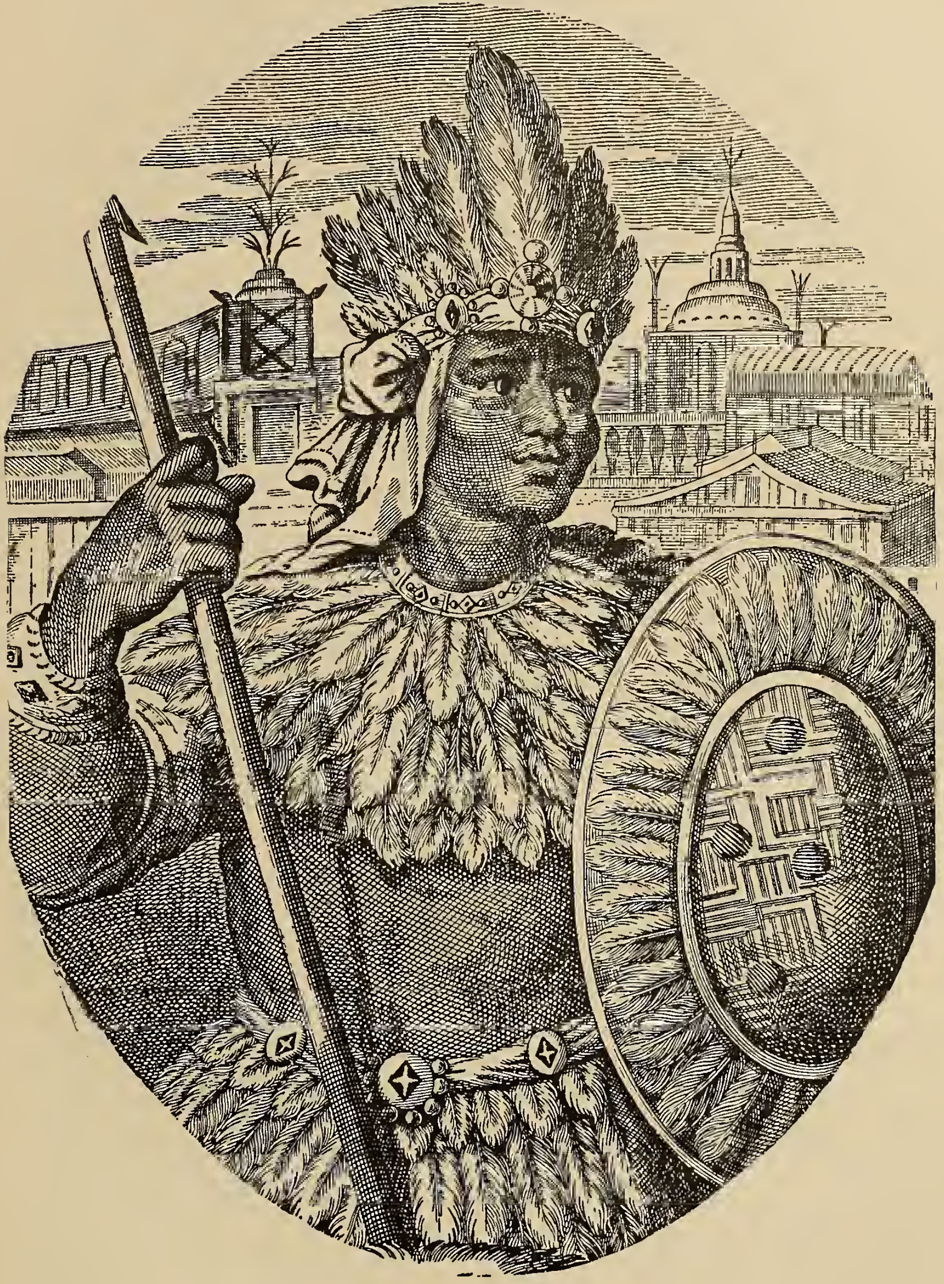
[1] Fac-simile of an engraving on copper in the edition of Solis printed at Venice in 1715, p. 29. It is inscribed: "Cavato da vn originale fatto iñazi chei si portassi alla Conqvista del Messico."



MONTEZUMA.[1]

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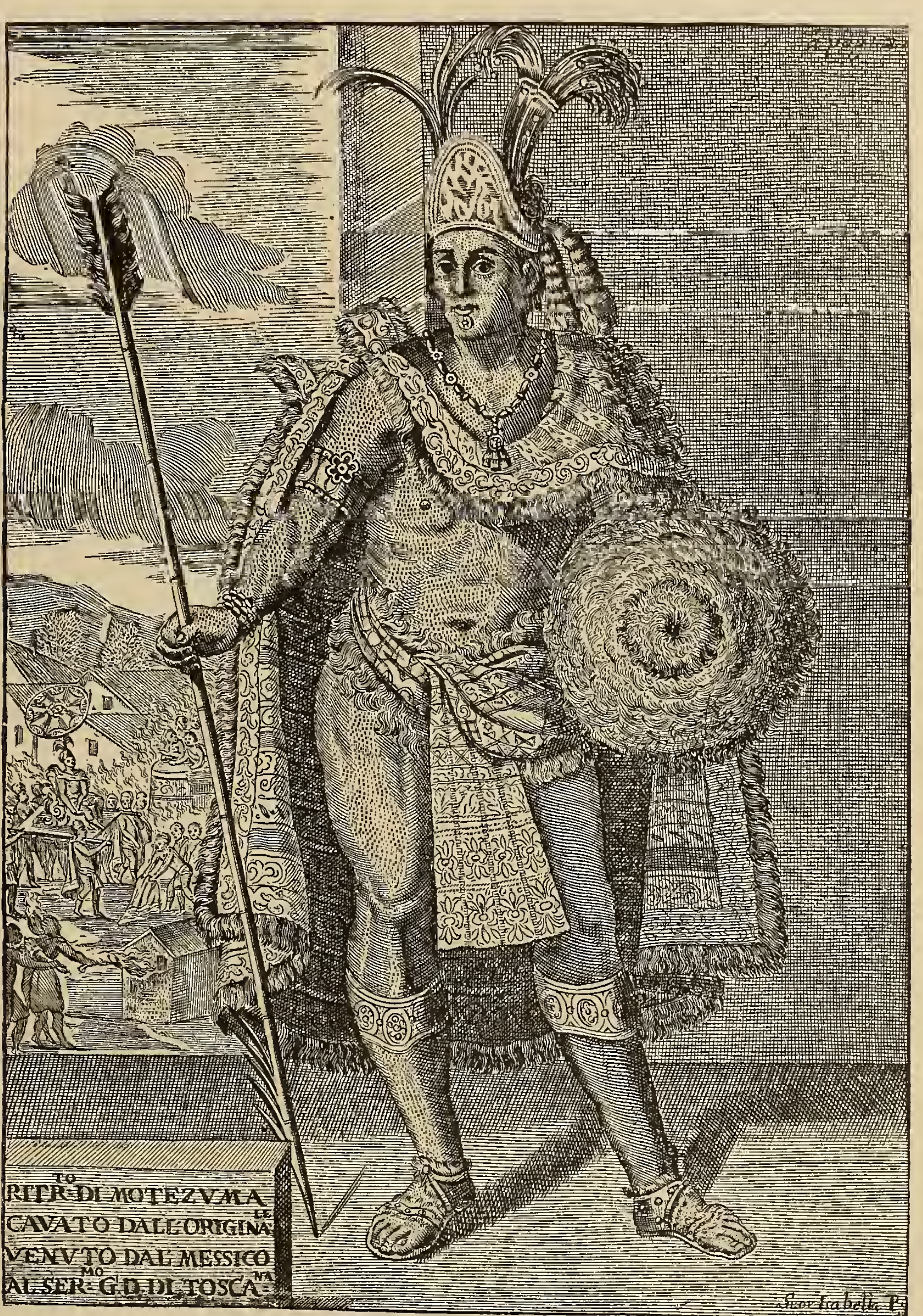
[1] This cut of the "Rex ultimus Mexicanorum" is a fac-simile from Montanus and Ogilby, p. 253. The source of the likeness is not apparent, and the picture seems questionable. Prescott, in his second volume, gives a likeness, which belonged to the descendants of

Presently the army took up its march for Tlascala, where they were royally received, and wives in abundance were bestowed upon the leaders. Next they passed to Cholula, which was subject to the Aztecs; and here the Spaniards were received with as much welcome as could be expected to be bestowed on strangers with the hostile Tlascalans in their train. The scant welcome covered treachery, and Cortés met it boldly. Murder and plunder impressed the Cholulans with his power, and gave some sweet revenge to his allies. Through the wiles of Cortés a seeming reconciliation at last was effected between these neighboring enemies. But the massacre of Cholula was not a pastime, the treachery of Montezuma not forgotten; and the march was again resumed, about six thousand native allies of one tribe and another following the army. The passage of a defile brought the broad Valley of Mexico into view; and Montezuma, awed by the coming host, sent a courtier to personate him and to prevail upon Cortés to avoid the city. The trick and the plea were futile. On to one of the aquatic cities of the Mexican lakes the Spaniards went, and were received in great state by a vassal lord of Montezuma, who now invited the Spanish leader to the Aztec city. On they went. Town after town received them; and finally, just without his city, Montezuma, in all his finery and pomp, met the Spanish visitors, bade them welcome, and committed them to an escort which he had provided. It was the 8th of November, 1519. Later in his own palace, in the quarters which had been assigned to Cortés, and on several occasions, the two indulged in reciprocal courtesies and watched each other. Cortés was not without fear, and his allies warned him of Aztec treachery. His way to check foul designs was the bold one of seizing Montezuma and holding him as a hostage; and he did so under pretence of honoring him. A chieftain who had attacked a party of the Spaniards by orders of Montezuma some time before, was executed in front of the palace. Montezuma himself was subjected for a while to chains. Expeditions were sent out with impunity to search for gold mines; others explored the coast for harbors. A new governor was sent back to Villa Rica, and he sent up shipwrights; so it was not long before Cortés commanded a flotilla on the city lakes, and the captive king was regaled with aquatic sports.

the Aztec king, the Counts of Miravalle. It is claimed to have been painted by an artist, Maldonado, who accompanied Cortés; but, on the other hand, some have represented it as an ideal portrait painted after the Conquest. Prescott (vol. ii. p. 72) makes up his description of Montezuma from various early authorities, — Diaz, Zuazo (MS.), Ixtlilxochitl, Gomara, Oviedo, Acosta, Sahagun, Toribio, etc., particularizing the references. H. H. Bancroft (*Mexico*, i. 285) also depicts him from the early sources. He is made of an age from forty to fifty-four by different writers; but the younger period is thought by most to be nearest. Bancroft refers to the prints in Th. Armin's *Das alte Mexico* (Leipsic, 1865) as representing a coarse Aztec warrior, and the native picture in Carbajal Espinosa's *Historia de México* (Mexico, 1862) as purely conventional. The same writer thinks the colored portrait, "peint par ordre de Cortes," in Linati's *Costûmes et mœurs de Mexique* (Brussels) conforms to the descriptions; while that in Clavigero's *Storia antica del Messico* (1780) is too small to be satisfactory. The line of Montezuma's descendants is traced in Prescott, *Mexico*, ii. 339, iii. 446, and in Bancroft, *Mexico*, i. 459. Cf. also the portrait of Montezuma, "d'après Sandoval," given in Charton's *Voyageurs*, iii. 393, and that in Cumplido's Mexican edition of Prescott's *Mexico*, vol. iii.



MONTEZUMA.[1]

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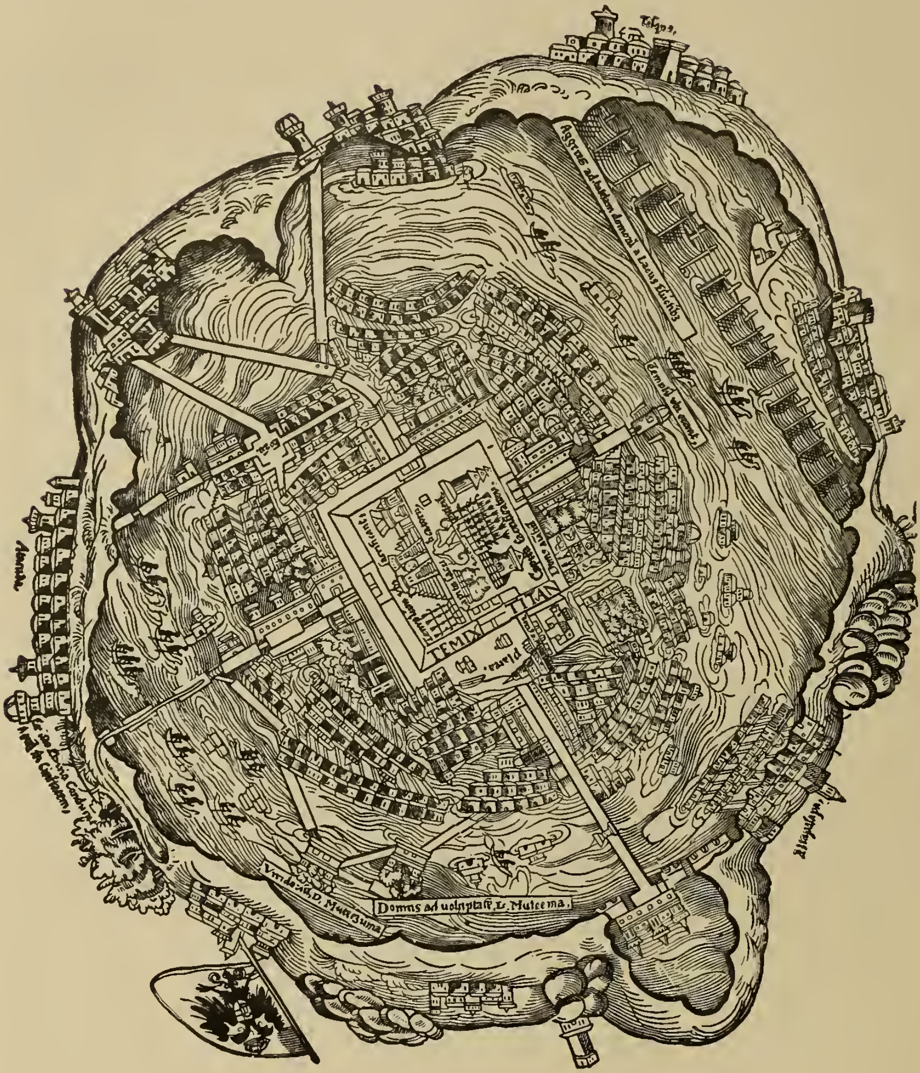
[1] Fac-simile of the copper plate in the Venice edition of Solis' *Conquista* (1715) inscribed "Cavato dall' originale venvto dal' Messico al Ser$^{\text{mo}}$ G. D. di Toscana."



MEXICO BEFORE THE CONQUEST.[1]

Then came symptoms of conspiracy among the native nobles, with the object of overthrowing the insolent strangers; and Cacama, a nephew of Montezuma and a chief among them, indulged the hope of seizing the throne itself. Montezuma protested to his people that his durance was directed by the gods, and counselled caution. When this did not suffice, he gave orders, at the instigation of Cortés, to seize Cacama, who was brought to Mexico and placed in irons. The will of Cortés effected other displacements of the rural chiefs; and the allegiance of Montezuma to the Spanish sovereign became very soon as sure and abject as forms could make it.

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[1] This is reduced from the cut in Henry Stevens's *American Bibliographer*, p. 86, which in turn is reproduced from the edition of Cortés' letters published at Nuremberg in 1524. Bancroft in his *Mexico* (vol. i. p. 280) gives a greatly reduced sketch of the same plan, and adds to it a description and references to the various sources of our information regarding the Aztec town; and this may be compared with the same author's *Native Races*, ii. 560. Helps describes the city in his *Spanish Conquest* (New York ed., ii. 277, 423), where he thinks that the early chroniclers failed to make clear the full number of the causeways connecting the town with the main, and traversing the lake. Prescott describes it in his *Mexico* (Kirk's ed., ii. 101), and discredits the plan given in Bullock's *Mexico* as one prepared by Montezuma for Cortés. This last plan is also given in Carbajal's *Historia de México* (1862), ii. 221. The nearly equal

Tribute was ordered, and trains bore into the city wealth from all the provinces, — to be the cause of heart-burnings and quarrels in the hour of distribution. The Aztec king and the priests were compelled to order the removal of idols from their temples, and to see the cross and altar erected in their places.

Meanwhile the difficulties of Cortés were increasing. The desecration of the idols had strengthened the party of revolt, and Montezuma was powerless to quiet them. He warned the Spaniards of their danger. Cortés, to dispel apprehension, sent men to the coast with the ostensible purpose of building ships for departure. It was but a trick, however, to gain time; for he was now expecting a response to his letters sent to Spain, and he hoped for supplies and a royal commission which might enable him to draw reinforcements from Cuba.

The renegade leader, however, had little knowledge of what was planning at this very moment in that island. Velasquez de Cuellar, acting under a sufficient commission, had organized an expedition to pursue Cortés, and had given the command of it to Panfilo de Narvaez. The friends of Cortés and those who dreaded a fratricidal war joined in representations to the *audiencia,* which sent Lucas Vasquez de Aillon to prevent an outbreak. The fleet under Narvaez left Cuba, Aillon on board, with instructions to reach a peaceable agreement with Cortés; but this failing, they were to seek other regions. In April, 1520, after some mishaps, the fleet, which had been the largest ever seen in those waters, anchored at San Juan de Ulloa, where they got stories of the great success of Cortés from some deserters of one of his exploring parties. On the other hand, these same deserters, learning from Narvaez the strength and purpose of the newcomers, — for the restraint of Aillon proved ineffectual, — communicated with the neighboring caciques; and the news was not slow in travelling to

distance on all sides at which the shores of the lake stand from the town is characteristic of this earliest of the plans (1524); and in this particular it is followed in various plans and bird's-eye views of the town of the sixteenth century, and in some of a later date. The Aztec town had been founded in 1325, and had been more commonly called Tenochtitlan, which the Spaniards turned into Temixtitan and Tenustitan, the term Mexico being properly applied to one of the principal wards of the city. The two names were first sometimes joined, as Temixtitlan-Mexico (1555); but in the end the more pronounceable part survived, and the rest was lost. Cf. Bancroft, *Mexico,* i. 12–14, with references. The correspondence of sites in the present city as compared with those of the Aztec time and of the conquerors, is examined in Alaman's *Discertaciones sobre la historia de la república Méjicana* (Mexico, 1844–1849), ii. 202, 246; Carbajal Espinosa's *Historia de México,* ii. 226, and by Ramirez in the Mexican edition of Prescott. Cf. Ant. du Pinet's *Descriptions de plusieurs villes et forteresses,* Lyon, 1564.

El Adelantado Don PEDRO de ALVARADO de Badajoz.[1]

Montezuma, who heard it not long after the mock submission of Cortés and the despatching of the ship-builders to the coast. Narvaez next tried, in vain, to swerve Velasquez de Leon from his fidelity to Cortés, — for this officer was exploring with a party in the neighborhood of the coast. Sandoval, in command at Villa Rica, learned Narvaez' purposes from spies; and when messengers came to demand the surrender of the town, an altercation ensued, and the chief messengers were seized and sent to Cortés. The Conqueror received them kindly, and, overcoming their aversion, he sent them back to Narvaez with letters and gifts calculated to conciliate. While many under Narvaez were affected, the new leader remained stubborn, seized Aillon, who was endeavoring to mediate, and sent him on shipboard with orders to sail for Cuba. Thus the arrogance of Narvaez was greatly helping Cortés in his not very welcome environment.

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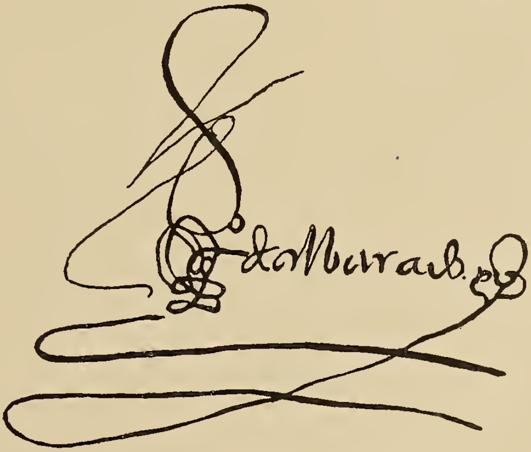
[1] Fac-simile of an engraving in Herrera, ii. 274. For appearance and other portraits, see Bancroft, *Mexico*, i. 75. One of a sinister aspect often engraved, but which Ramirez distrusts, is given in Cabajal's *México*, ii. 341; in the *Proceso de residencia contra Pedro de Alvarado* (Mexico, 1847); and in Cumplido's Mexican edition of Prescott's *Mexico*, vol. iii.

Cortés now boldly divided his force; and leaving Alvarado behind with perhaps one hundred and forty men, — for the accounts differ,[1] — and taking half that number with him, beside native guides and carriers, marched to confront Narvaez. Velasquez de Leon with his force joined him on the way, and a little later Sandoval brought further reinforcements; so that Cortés had now a detachment of nearly three hundred men. Cortés had prudently furnished them long native lances, with which to meet Narvaez' cavalry, for his own horsemen were very few. Adroitness on the part of Cortés and a show of gold had their effect upon messengers who, with one demand and another, were sent to him by Narvaez. Velasquez was sent by Cortés to the enemy's camp; but the chief gain to Cortés from this manœuvre was a more intimate knowledge of the army and purpose of Narvaez. He then resolved to attack the intruder, — who, however, became aware of the intention of Cortés, but, under the stress of a storm, unaccountably relaxed his precautions. Cortés took advantage of this carelessness; and attacking boldly by night, carried everything before him, and captured the rival leader. The loss was but small to either side. The followers of the invader now became adherents of Cortés, and were a powerful aid in his future movements.[2] The same good fortune had given him possession of the invader's fleet.



AUTOGRAPH OF PEDRO DE ALVARADO.[3]

Meanwhile there were stirring times with Alvarado in Mexico. The Aztecs prepared to celebrate a high religious festival. Alvarado learned, or pretended to learn, that the disaffected native chiefs were planning to rise upon the Spaniards at its close. So he anticipated their scheme by attacking them while at their worship and unarmed. Six hundred or more of the leading men were thus slain. The multitude without the temple were infuriated, and the Spaniards regained their quarters, not without difficulty, Alvarado himself being wounded. Behind their defences they managed to resist attack till succor came.

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[1] H. H. Bancroft (*Mexico*, i. 378) and Prescott (new edition vol. ii., p. 231) collate the authorities.

[2] There are a variety of views as to the force Cortés now commanded; cf. H. H. Bancroft, *Mexico*, i. 424.

[3] Copied from a fac-simile in Cabajal's *México*, ii. 686.

Cortés, who had learned of the events, was advancing, attaching to himself the peoples who were inimical to the Aztecs; but as he got within the Aztec influence he found more sullenness than favor. When he entered Mexico he was not resisted. The city seemed almost abandoned as his force made their way to the Spanish fort and entered its gates.

As a means of getting supplies, Cortés ordered the release of a brother of Montezuma, who at once used his liberty to plan an insurrection. An attack on the Spanish quarters followed, which Cortés sought to repel by sorties; but they gained little. The siege was so roughly pressed that Cortés urged Montezuma to present himself on the parapet and check the fierceness of the assault. The captive put on his robes of state and addressed the multitude; but he only became the target of their missiles, and was struck down by a stone.[1] The condition of the Spaniards soon became perilous in the extreme. A parley with the chief of the Aztecs was of no avail; and Cortés resolved to cut his way along the shortest causeway from the city, to the mainland bordering the lake. In this he failed. Meanwhile a part of his force were endeavoring to secure the summit of a neighboring pyramid, from which the Mexicans had annoyed the garrison of the fort. Cortés joined in this attack, and it was successful. The defenders of the temples on its summit were all killed or hurled from the height, and Cortés was master of the spot.

Events followed quickly in this June of 1520. There was evidently a strong will in command of the Mexicans. The brother of Montezuma was a doughtier foe than the King had been. The temporary success on the pyramid had not diminished the anxiety of Cortés. Montezuma was now dying on his hands. The King had not recovered from the injuries which his own people had inflicted, and sinking spirits completed the work of the mob. On the 30th of June he died, at the age of forty-one, having been on the throne since 1503.[2] Cortés had hoped for some turn of fortune from this event; but none came. He was more than ever convinced of the necessity of evacuating the city. Another sortie had failed as before; and the passage of the causeway was again planned for the evening of that day.[3] The order of march, as arranged, included the whole Spanish force and about six thousand allies. Pontoons of a rough description were contrived for bridging the chasms in the causeway. As many jewels and gold as would not encumber them were taken, together with such prisoners of distinction as remained to them, besides the sick and wounded.

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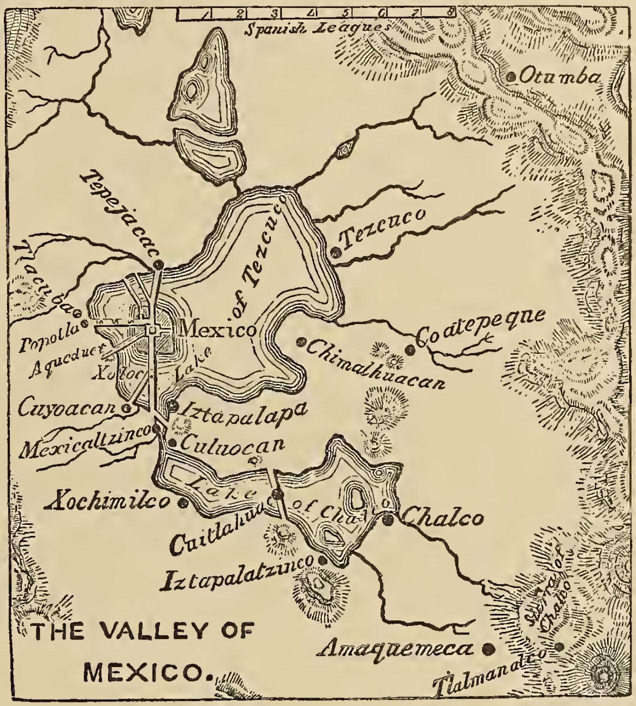
[1] Prescott (*Mexico*, new ed., ii. 309) collates the diverse accounts.

[2] It must be mentioned that the Spaniards have been accused of murdering Montezuma. Bancroft (*Mexico*, i. 464) collates the different views of the authorities. Cortes sent the body out of the fort. Indignities were offered it; but some of the imperial party got possession of it, and buried it with such honor as the times permitted.

[3] There are difficulties about the exact date; cf. H. H. Bancroft, *Mexico*, i. 472.

A drizzling rain favored their retreat; but the Mexicans were finally aroused, and attacked their rear. A hundred or more Spaniards were cut off, and retreated to the fort, where they surrendered a few days later, and were sacrificed. The rest, after losses and much tribulation, reached the mainland. Nothing but the failure of the Mexicans to pursue the Spaniards, weakened as they were, saved Cortés from annihilation. The Aztecs were too busy with their successes; for forty Spaniards, not to speak of numerous allies, had been taken, and were to be immolated; and rites were to be performed over their own dead.



HELPS'S MAP.[1]

Cortés the next morning was marshalling the sorry crowd which was left of his army, when a new attack was threatened. His twelve hundred and fifty Spaniards and six thousand allies had been reduced respectively to five hundred and two thousand;[2] and he was glad to make a temple, which was hard by, a place of refuge and defence. Here he had an opportunity to count his losses. His cannon and prisoners were all gone. Some of his bravest officers did not respond to his call. He could count but twenty-four of his three or four score of horses. After dark he resumed his march. His pursuers still worried him, and hunger weakened his men. He lost several horses at one point, and was himself badly wounded. Reaching a plain on the 7th of July, the Spaniards confronted a large force drawn up against them. Cortés had but seven muskets left, and no powder; so he trusted to pike and sabre. With these he rushed upon them; but the swarm of the enemy was too great. At last, however, making a dash with some horsemen at the native commander, who was recognized by his state and banner, the Mexican was hurled prostrate and killed, and the trophy captured. The spell was broken, and the little band of Spaniards and their allies hounded the craven enemy in every direction. This victory at Otumba (Otompan) was complete and astounding.

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[1] This is the map given by Helps in his *Spanish Conquest*. One of the differences in the variety of maps which have been offered of the Valley of Mexico, to illustrate the conquest by Cortés, consists in the number and direction of the causeways. The description and the remains of the structures themselves have not sufficed to make investigators of one mind respecting them. Prescott (Kirk's ed., vol. ii.) does not represent so many causeways as Helps does. The map in Bancroft (vol. i. p. 583) is still different in this respect. There is also a plan of the city and surrounding country in Cabajal's *México* (vol. ii. p. 538); and two others have been elsewhere given in the present volume (pp. 364, 379).

[2] Bancroft (*Mexico*, i. 488) collates the various authorities; so does Prescott (*Mexico*, new ed., ii. 364) of the losses of this famous *triste Noche*.

TREE OF TRISTE NOCHE.[1]

The march was resumed; and not till within the Tlascalan borders was there any respite and rest. In the capital of his allies Cortés breathed freer. He learned, however, of misfortunes to detached parties of Spaniards which had been sent out from Villa Rica. He soon got some small supplies of ammunition and men from that seaport. Amid all this, Cortés himself succumbed to a fever from his wounds, and barely escaped death.

Meantime Cuitlahuatzin, the successful brother of Montezuma, had been crowned in Mexico, where a military rule (improved by what the Spaniards had taught them) was established. The new monarch sent ambassadors to try to win the Tlascalans from their fidelity to Cortés; but the scheme failed, and Cortés got renewed strength in the fast purpose of his allies.

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[1] This cut is borrowed from *Harper's Magazine*, January, 1874, p. 172, and represents the remains of the tree under which Cortés and his followers gathered after that eventful night. There is another view of this tree in *Tour du monde*, 1862, p. 277.

CHARLES V.[1]

His prompt and defiant ambition again overcame the discontents among his own men, and induced him to take the field once more against the Tepeacans, enemies of the Tlascalans, who lived near by. It took about a month to subdue the whole province. Other strongholds of Aztec influence fell one by one. The prestige of the Spanish arms was rapidly re-established, and the Aztec forces went down before them here and there in detachments. New arrivals on the coast pronounced for Cortés, and two hundred men and twenty horses soon joined his army. The small-pox, which the Spaniards had introduced, speedily worked more disaster than the Spaniards, as it spread through the country; and among the victims of it was the new monarch of the Aztecs, leaving the throne open to the succession of Quauhtemotzin, a nephew and son-in-law of Montezuma.

On the 30th of October, 1520, Cortés addressed his second letter to the Emperor Charles V. He and his adherents craved confirmation for his acts, and reinforcements. Other letters were despatched to Hispaniola and Jamaica for recruits and supplies. Some misfortunes prevented the prompt sailing of the vessel for Spain, and Cortés was enabled to join a supplemental letter to the Emperor. The vessels also carried away some of the disaffected, whom Cortés was not sorry to lose, now that others had joined him.

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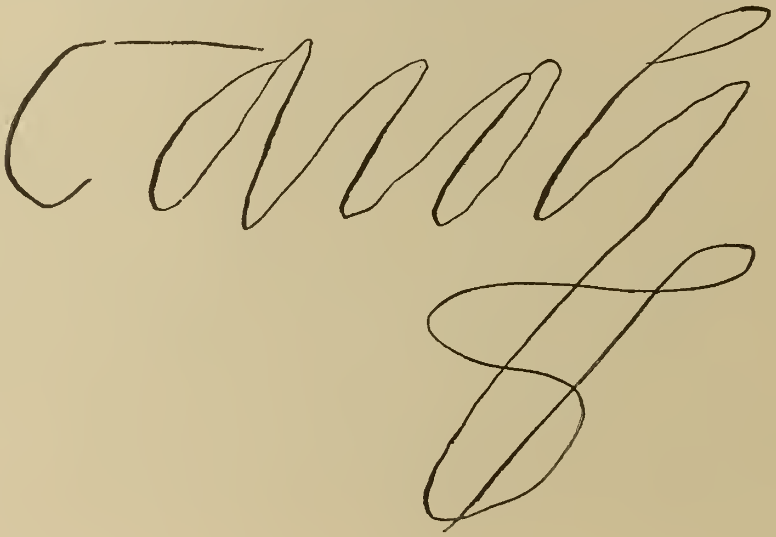
[1] Fac-simile of a woodcut of Charles V. in *Pauli Jovii elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium*, Basle, 1575, p. 365, and 1596, p. 240.

Meanwhile Cortés had established among the Tepeacans a post of observation named Segura; and from this centre Sandoval made a successful incursion among the Aztec dependencies. Cortés himself was again at Tlascala, settling the succession of its government; for the small-pox had carried off Maxixcatzin, the firm friend of the Spaniards. Here Cortés set carpenters to work constructing brigantines, which he intended to carry to Tezcuco, on the Lake of Mexico, where it was now his purpose to establish the base of future operations against the Aztec capital. The opportune arrival of a ship at Villa Rica with supplies and materials of war was very helpful to him.



AUTOGRAPH OF CHARLES V.

Cortés first animated all by a review of his forces, and then went forward with the advance toward Tezcuco. He encountered little opposition, and entered the town to find the inhabitants divided in their fears and sympathies. Many had fled toward Mexico, including the ruler who had supplanted the one given them by Cortés and Montezuma. Under the instigation of Cortés a new one was chosen whom he could trust.

Cortés began his approach to Mexico by attacking and capturing, with great loss to the inhabitants, one of the lake towns; but the enemy, cutting a dike and flooding the place, forced the retirement of the invaders, who fell back to Tezcuco. Enough had been accomplished to cause many of

El Invictiſſimo Emperador CARLOS
Quinto Reÿ natural de Castilla
ÿ de Leon etc.

CHARLES V.[1]

the districts dependent on the Aztecs to send in embassies of submission; and Cortés found that he was daily gaining ground. Sandoval was sent back to Tlascala to convoy the now completed brigantines, which were borne in pieces on the shoulders of eight thousand carriers. Pending the launching of the fleet, Cortés conducted a reconnoissance round the north end of the lakes to the scene of his sorrowful night evacuation, hoping for an interview with an Aztec chief. In this, however, he failed, and returned to Tezcuco. Then followed some successful fighting on the line of com-

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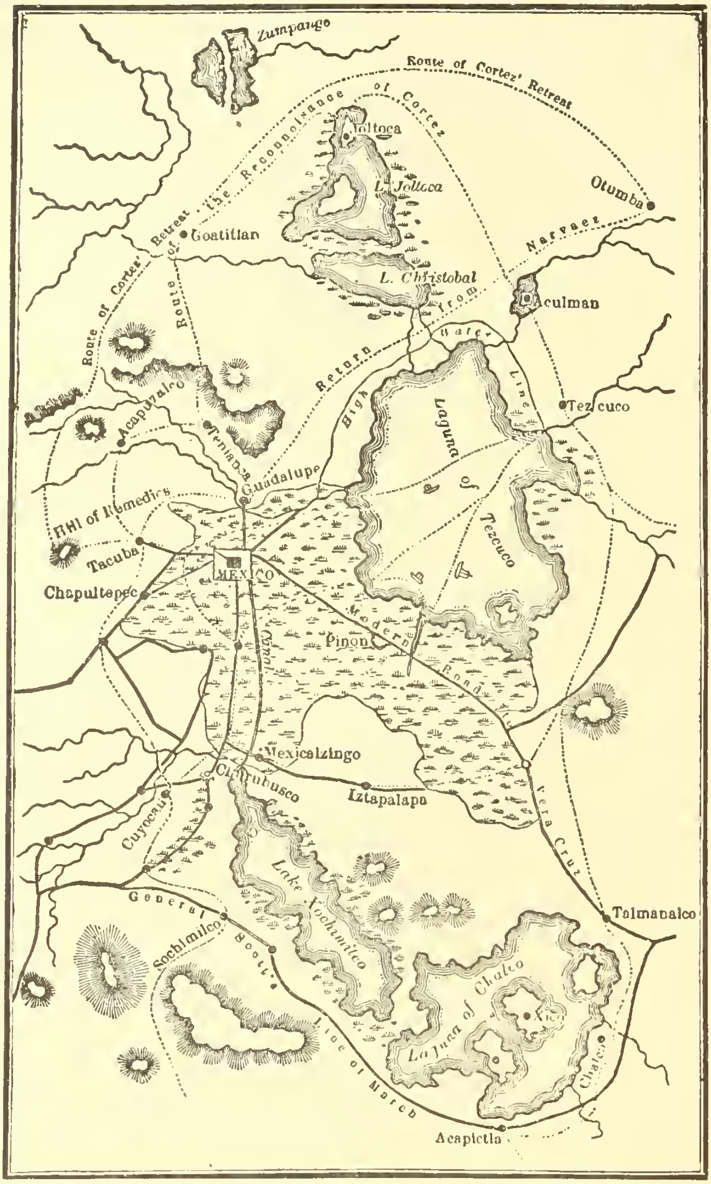
[1] Fac-simile of an engraving in Herrera, iii. 84. Cf. the full-length likeness given in Cumplido's Mexican edition of Prescott's *Mexico*, vol. iii., and various other portraits of the Emperor.



TOPOGRAPHY OF THE MEXICAN VALLEY.[1]

munication with the coast, which enabled Cortés to bring up safely some important munitions, besides two hundred soldiers, who had lately reached Villa Rica from the islands whither he had sent for help the previous

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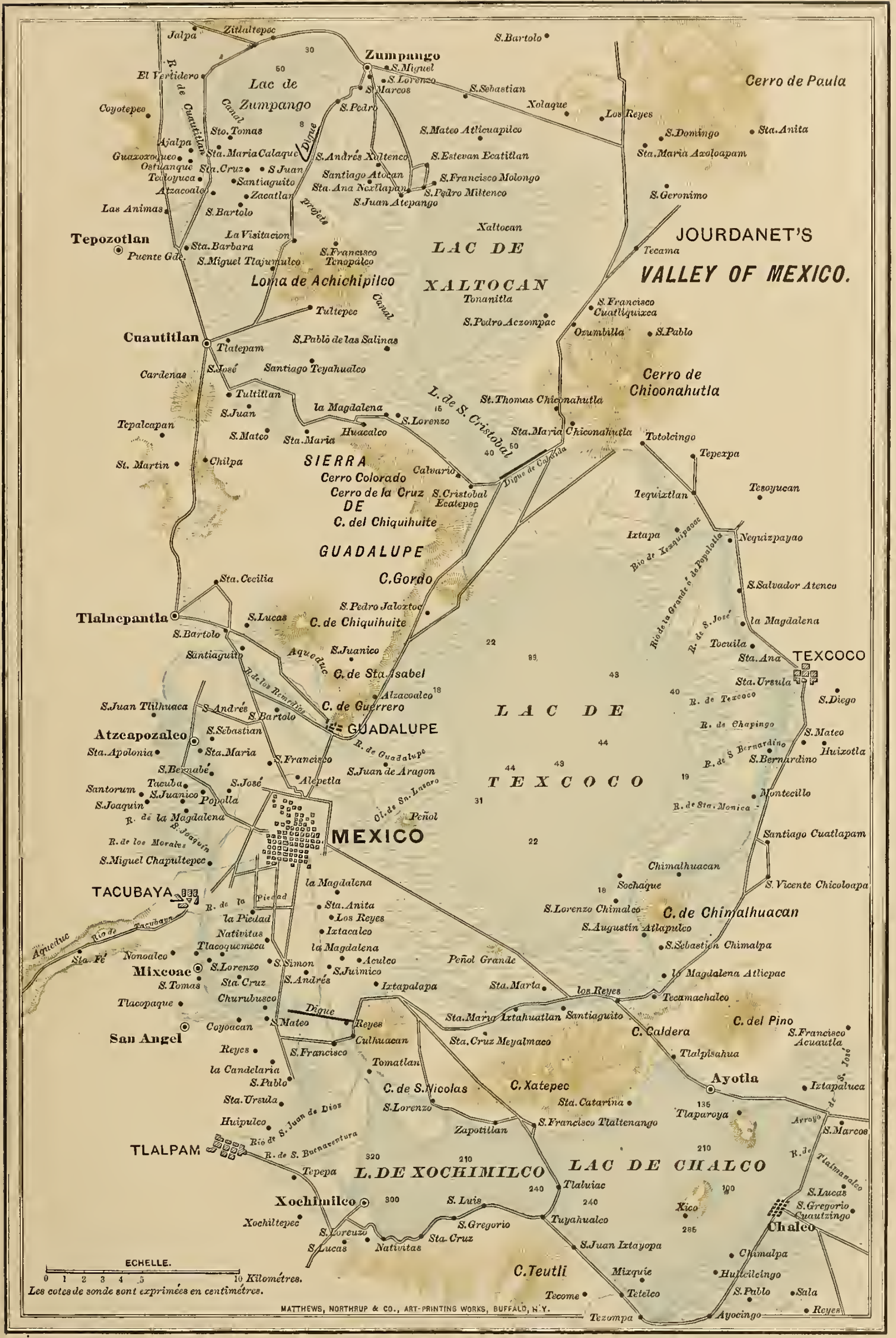
[1] This is the map given in Wilson's *New Conquest of Mexico*, p. 390, in which he makes the present topography represent that of Cortés' time, in opposition to the usual view that at the period of the Conquest the waters of the lake covered the parts here represented as marsh.



JOURDANET'S VALLEY OF MEXICO.

ECHELLE.

0 1 2 3 4 5 10 Kilomètres.

Les cotes de sonde sont exprimées en centimètres.

MATTHEWS, NORTHRUP & CO., ART-PRINTING WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.

autumn. The Spanish leader now conducted another reconnoissance into the southern borders of the Mexican Valley, — a movement which overcame much opposition, — and selected Coyohuacan as a base of operations on that side against the Aztec city. After this he returned to Tezcuco, and was put to the necessity of quelling an insurrection, in which his own death had been planned.

At last the brigantines were launched. At the command of Cortés the allies mustered. On the 28th of April, 1521, the Spanish general counted his own countrymen, and found he had over nine hundred in all, including eighty-seven horsemen. He had three heavy guns, and fifteen smaller ones, which were mostly in the fleet. Cortés kept immediate charge of the brigantines, and allotted the main divisions of the army to Alvarado, Olid, and Sandoval. The land forces proceeded to occupy the approaches which

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The waters of Tezcuco are at present seven or eight feet (Prescott says four feet) below the level of the city, and Wilson contends that they did not in Cortés' time much exceed in extent their present limits; and it is one of his arguments against Cortés' representations of deep water about the causeways that such a level of the lake would have put the town of Tezcuco six or seven feet under water. Wilson gives his views on this point at length in his *New Conquest*, pp. 452–460. The map will be seen also to show the line of General Scott's approach to the city in 1847. (Cf. Prof. Henry Coppée on the "Coincidences of the Conquests of Mexico, 1520–1847," in the *Journal of the Military Service Institution*, March, 1884.) The modern city of Mexico lies remote by several miles from the banks of the lake which represents to-day the water commonly held to have surrounded the town in the days of the Conquest. The question of the shrinking of the lagunes is examined in Orozco y Berra's *Mémoire pour la carte hydrographique de la Vallée de Mexico*, and by Jourdanet in his *Influence de la pression de l'air sur la vie de l'homme*, p. 486. A colored map prepared for this latter book was also introduced by Jourdanet in his edition of *Sahagun* (1880), where (p. xxviii) he again examines the question. From that map the one here presented was taken, and the marsh surrounding "Lac de Texcoco" marks the supposed limits of the lake in Montezuma's time. Jourdanet's map is called, "Carte hydrographique de la Vallée de Mexico d'après les travaux de la Commission de la Vallée en 1862, avec addition des anciennes limites du Lac de Texcoco."

Humboldt in his *Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne*, while studying this problem of the original bounds of the water, gives a map defining them as traced in 1804–1807; and this is reproduced in John Black's translation of Humboldt's *Personal Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, third edition, London, 1822. Humboldt gives accounts of earlier attempts to map the valley with something like accuracy, as was the case with the Lopez map of 1785. Siguenza's map of the sixteenth century, though false, has successively supplied, through the publication of it which Alzate made in 1786, the geographical data of many more modern maps. Cf. the map in Cumplido's edition of Prescott's *Mexico* (1846), vol. iii., and the enumeration of maps of the valley given in Orozco y Berra's *Cartografia Mexicana*, pp. 315–316.

A map of Mexico and the lake also appeared in *Le petit atlas maritime* (Paris, 1764); and this is given in fac-simile in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xxi. 616, in connection with a translation of the *Codex Ramirez* by Henry Phillips, Jr.

There is reason to believe that the decrease in the waters had begun to be perceptible in the time of Cortés; and Humboldt traces the present subsidence to the destruction of neighboring forests. Bernal Diaz makes record of the changes observable within his recollection, and he wrote his account fifty years after the Conquest.

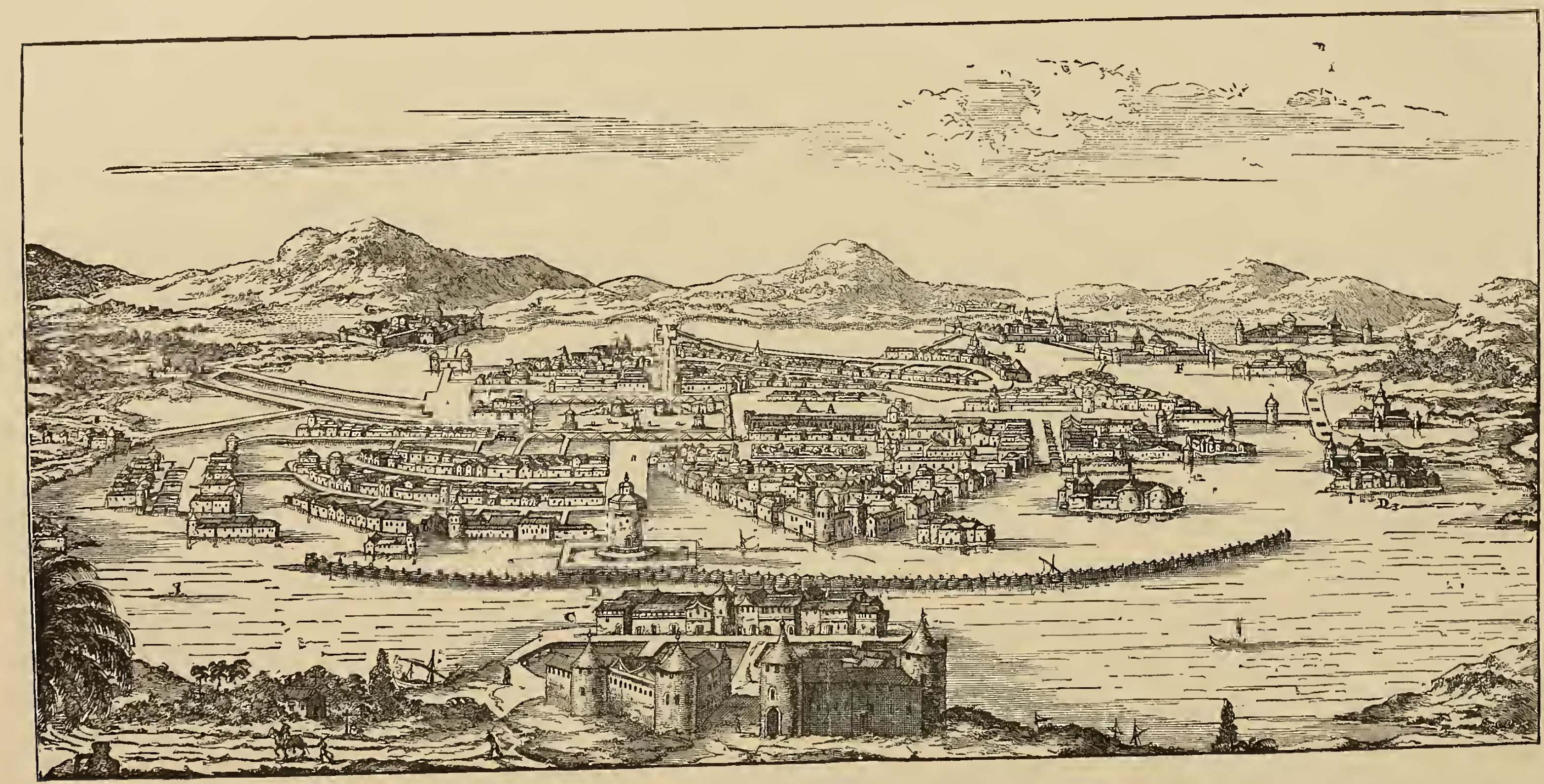
The geographers of the eighteenth century often made the waters of the valley flow into the Pacific. The map in the 1704 edition of Solis shows this; so do the maps of Bower and other English cartographers, as well as the map from Herrera on a later page (p. 392).

The inundations to which the city has been subjected (the most serious of which was in 1629), and the works planned for its protection from such devastations are the subject of a rare book by Cepeda and Carillo, *Relacion universal del sitio en que esta fundada la ciudad de México* (Mexico, 1637). Copies are found complete and incomplete. Cf. Carter-Brown, ii. 441; Leclerc, no. 1,095, complete, 400 francs, and no. 1,096, incomplete, 200 francs; Quaritch, incomplete, £10.

the reconnoissances had indicated, — Alvarado at Tlacopan, Olid at Coyohuacan, on the westerly shores of the lake, and, later, Sandoval at Iztapalapan, on the eastern side. Each of these places commanded the entrance to causeways leading to the city. The land forces were no sooner in position than Cortés appeared with his fleet. The Aztecs attacked the brigantines with several hundred canoes; but Cortés easily overcame all, and established his naval supremacy. He then turned to assist Olid and Alvarado, who were advancing along their respective causeways; and the stronghold, Xoloc, at the junction of the causeway, was easily carried. Here the besiegers maintained themselves with an occasional fight, while Sandoval was sent to occupy Tepeyacac, which commanded the outer end of the northern causeway. This completed the investment. A simultaneous attack was now made from the three camps. The force from Xoloc alone succeeded in entering the city; but the advantage gained was lost, and Cortés, who was with this column, drew his forces back to camp. His success, however, was enough to impress the surrounding people, who were watching the signs; and various messengers came and offered the submission of their people to the Spaniards. The attacks were renewed on subsequent days; and little by little the torch was applied, and the habitable part of the town grew less and less. The lake towns as they submitted furnished flotillas, which aided the brigantines much in their incursions into the canals of the town. For a while the Mexicans maintained night communication across the lake for supplies; but the brigantines at last stopped this precarious traffic.

Alvarado on his side had made little progress; but the market of Tlatelulco was nearer him, and that was a point within the city which it was desirable to reach and fortify. Sandoval was joined to Alvarado, who increased the vigor of his assault, while Cortés again attacked on the other side. The movement failed, and the Mexicans were greatly encouraged. The Spaniards, from their camps, saw by the blaze of the illuminations on the temple tops the sacrifice of their companions who had been captured in the fight. The bonds that kept the native allies in subjection were becoming, under these reverses, more sensibly loosened day by day, and Cortés spared several detachments from his weakened force to raid in various directions to preserve the prestige of the Spanish power.

The attack was now resumed on a different plan. The fighting-men led the way and kept the Mexicans at bay; while the native auxiliaries razed every building as they went, leaving no cover for the Aztec marauders. The demolition extended gradually to the line of Alvarado's approach, and communication was opened with him. This leader was now approaching the great market-place, Tlatelulco. By renewed efforts he gained it, only to lose it; but the next day he succeeded better, and formed a junction with Cortés. Not more than an eighth part of the city was now in the hands of its inhabitants; and here pestilence and famine were the Spaniards' prompt allies. Still the Aztec King, Quauhtemotzin, scorned to



MEXICO UNDER THE CONQUERORS.[1]

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[1] This is the engraving given in the *Nieuwe Weereld* (1670) of Montanus, which was repeated in Ogilby's *America*, and is familiar from reproductions elsewhere. It may

yield; and the slaughter went on from day to day, till finally, on the 13th of August, 1521, the end came. The royal Aztec was captured, trying to escape in a boat; and there was no one left to fight. Of the thousand Spaniards who had done the work about a tenth had succumbed; and probably something like the same proportion among the many thousand allies. The Mexican loss must have been far greater, perhaps several times greater.[1] The Spaniards were no sooner in possession than quarrels began over the booty. Far less was found than was hoped for, and torture was applied, with no success, to discover the hiding-places. The captive prince was not spared this indignity. Cortés was accused of appropriating an undue share of what was found, and hot feelings for a while prevailed.

The conquest now had to be maintained by the occupation of the country; and the question was debated whether to build the new capital on the ruins of Mexico, or to establish it at Tezcuco or Coyohuacan. Cortés preferred the prestige of the traditional site, and so the new Spanish town rose on the ruins of the Aztec capital; the Spanish quarter being formed about the square of Tenochtitlan (known in the early books usually as Temixtitan), which was separated by a wide canal from the Indian settlement clustered about Tlatelulco. Two additional causeways were constructed, and the Aztec aqueduct was restored. Inducements were offered to neighboring tribes to settle in the city, and districts were assigned to them.

be traced back as a sketch to the much less elaborate one given by Bordone in his *Libro* of 1528, later called his *Isolario*, which was accompanied by one of the earliest descriptions by a writer not a conqueror. Bancroft (*Mexico*, ii. 14) gives a small outline engraving of a similar picture, and recapitulates the authorities on the rebuilding of the city by Cortés. The Cathedral, however, was not begun till 1573, and was over sixty years in building (Ibid., iii. 173).

One of the most interesting of the early accounts, accompanied as it was with a plan of the town and lake, made part of the narrative of the "Anonymous Conqueror." This picture has been reproduced by Icazbalceta in his *Coleccion* (i. 390) from the engraving in Ramusio, whence we derive our only knowledge of this anonymous writer. The Ramusio plan is also given on the next page.

The plate used in the 1572 edition of Porcacchi (p. 105) served for many successive editions. Another plan of the same year showing an oval lake surrounding the town, is found in Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum* (Cologne, 1572), and of later dates, and the French edition, *Théâtre des cités du monde* (Brussels, 1574), i. 59. A similar outline characterizes the small woodcut (6 × 6 inches) which is found in Münster's *Cosmographia* (1598), p. dccccxiiii.

Later views and plans appeared in Gottfriedt's *Newe Welt* (1655); in Solis's *Conquista* (1704), p. 261, reproduced in the English edition of 1724; in La Croix' *Algemeene Weereld Beschryving* (1705); in Herrera (edition of 1728), p. 399; in Clavigero (1780), giving the lake and the town (copied in Verne's *Découverte de la Terre*, p. 248), and also a map of Anahuac, both reproduced in the London (1787) and Philadelphia (1817) editions, as well as in the Spanish edition published at Mexico in 1844; in Solis, edition of 1783 (Madrid), where the lake is given an indefinite extension; in Keating's edition of Bernal Diaz, besides engraved plates by the Dutch publisher Vander Aa.

The account of Mexico in 1554 written by Francisco Cervantes Salazar, and republished with annotations by Icazbalceta in 1875 (Carter-Brown, i. 595) is helpful in this study of the ancient town. Cf. "Mexico et ses environs en 1554," by L. Massbieau, in the *Revue de géographie*, October, 1878.

A descriptive book, *Sitio, naturaleza y propriedades de la ciudad de México*, by Dr. Diego Cisneros, published at Mexico in 1618, is become very rare. Rich in 1832 priced a copy at £6 6*s.*, — a great sum for those days (Sabin, vol. iv. no. 13,146; Carter-Brown, ii. 199).

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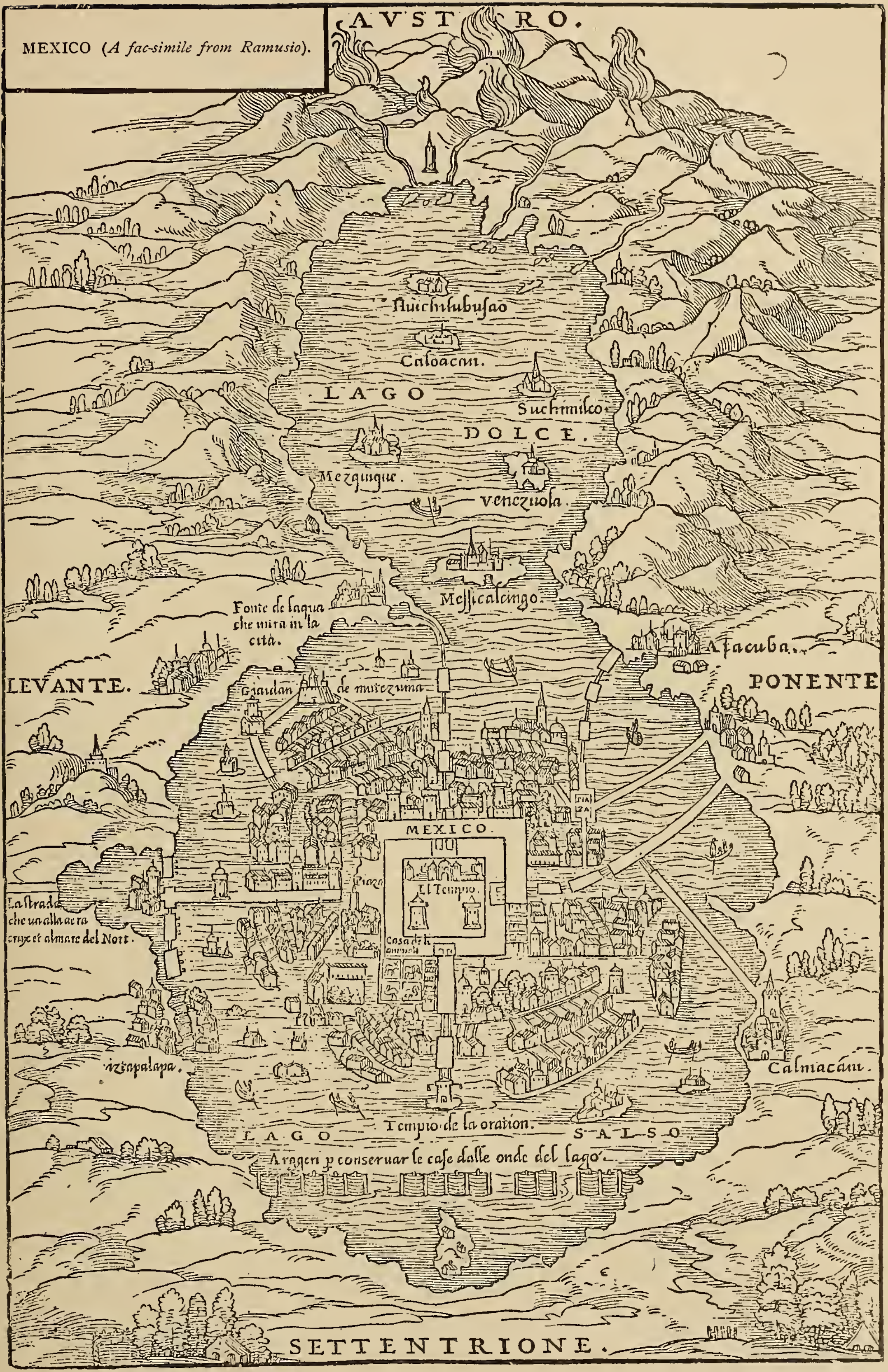
[1] The figures usually given are enormous, and often greatly vary with the different authorities. In this as in other cases where numbers are mentioned, Prescott and Bancroft collate the several reckonings which have been recorded.

MEXICO (*A fac-simile from Ramusio*).



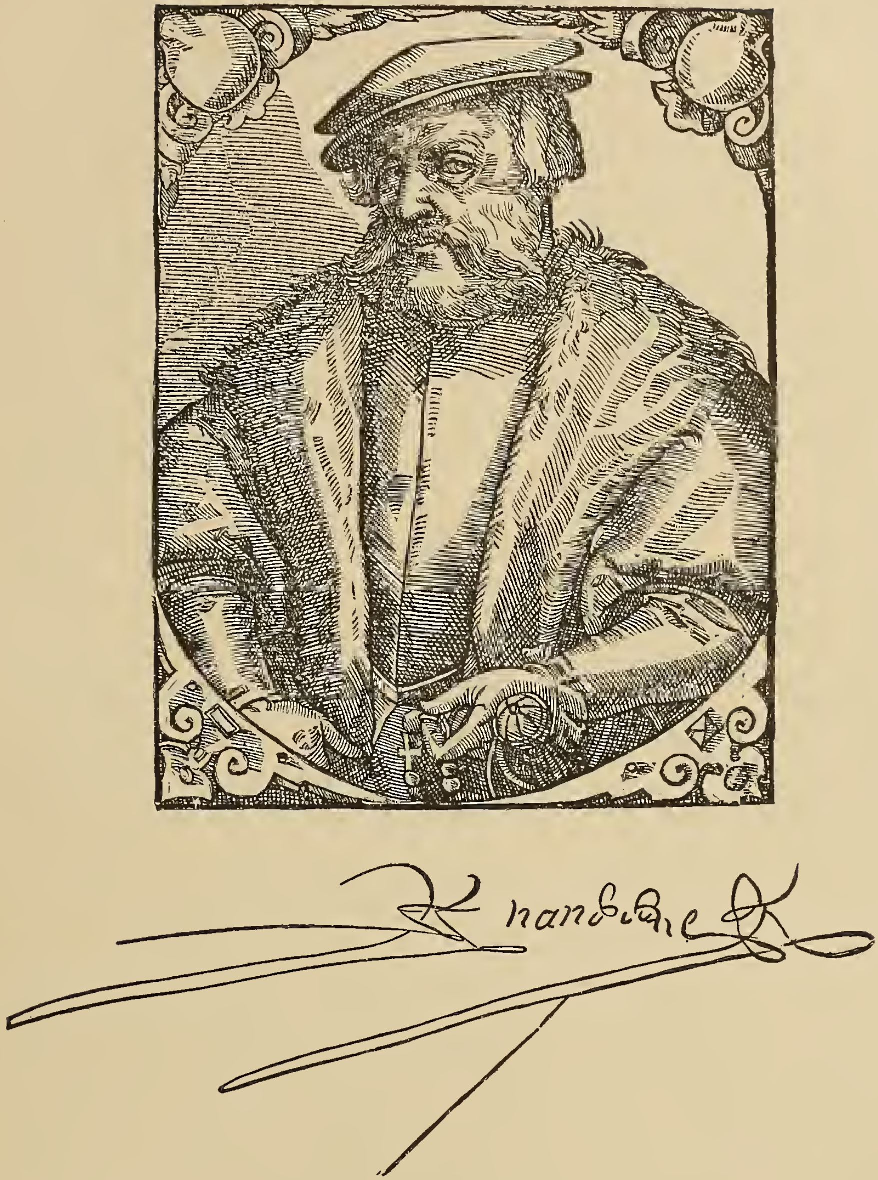
Thus were hewers of wood and drawers of water abundantly secured. But Mexico never regained with the natives the dominance which the Aztecs had given it. Its population was smaller, and a similar decadence marked the fate of the other chief towns; Spanish rule and disease checked their growth. Even Tezcuco and Tlascala soon learned what it was to be the dependents of the conquerors.

Cortés speedily decided upon further conquests. The Aztec tribute-rolls told him of the comparative wealth of the provinces, and the turbulent spirits among his men were best controlled in campaigns. He needed powder, so he sent some bold men to the crater of Popocatepetl to get sulphur. They secured it, but did not repeat the experiment. Cortés also needed cannon. The Aztecs had no iron, but sufficient copper; and finding a tin mine, his craftsmen made a gun-metal, which soon increased his artillery to a hundred pieces.

Expeditions were now despatched hither and thither, and province after province succumbed. Other regions sent in their princes and chief men with gifts and words of submission. The reports which came back of the great southern sea opened new visions; and Cortés sent expeditions to find ports and build vessels; and thus Zacalula grew up. Revolts here and there followed the Spanish occupancy, but they were all promptly suppressed.

While all this was going on, Cortés had to face a new enemy. Fonseca, as patron of Velasquez, had taken occasion in the absence of the Emperor, attending to the affairs of his German domain, to order Cristóbal de Tapia from Hispaniola to take command in New Spain and to investigate the doings of Cortés. He arrived in December, 1521, with a single vessel at Villa Rica, and was guardedly received by Gonzalo de Alvarado, there in command. Tapia now despatched a messenger to Cortés, who replied with many blandishments, and sent Sandoval and others as a council to confer with Tapia, taking care to have among its members a majority of his most loyal adherents.

They met Dec. 12, 1521, and the conference lasted till Jan. 6, 1522. It resulted in a determination to hold the orders borne by Tapia in abeyance till the Emperor himself could be heard. Tapia protested in vain, and was quickly hustled out of the country. He was not long gone when new orders for him arrived, — this time under the sign-manual of the Emperor himself. This increased the perplexity; but Cortés won the messenger in his golden fashion. Shortly afterwards the same messenger set off for Spain, carrying back the letters with him. These occurrences did not escape notice throughout the country, and Cortés was put to the necessity of extreme measures to restore his prestige; while in his letter to the Emperor he threw the responsibility of his action upon the council, who felt it necessary, he alleged, to take the course they did to make good the gains which had already been effected for the Emperor. In a spirit of conciliation, however, Cortés released Narvaez, who had been confined



CORTÉS.[1]

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[1] Fac-simile of a woodcut in *Pauli Jovii elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (Basle, 1575), p. 348, and 1596, p. 229, called a portrait of Cortés.

The autograph follows one given by Prescott, revised ed., vol. iii. Autographs of his proper name, and of his title, Marques del Valle, are given in Cumplido's edition of Prescott, vol. iii. An original autograph was noted for sale in Stevens (*Bibliotheca geographica*, no. 760), which is given in fac-simile in some of the illustrated copies of that catalogue. Prescott (vol. i. p. 447) mentions a banner, preserved in Mexico, though in rags, which Cortés is said to have borne in the Conquest. But compare Wilson's *New Conquest*, p. 369.

at Villa Rica; and so in due time another enemy found his way to Spain, and joined the cabal against the Conqueror of Mexico.

In the spring (1522) Cortés was cheered by a report from the *Audiencia* of Santo Domingo, confirming his acts and promising intercession with the Emperor. To support this intercession, Cortés despatched to Spain some friends with his third letter, dated at Coyohuacan May 15, 1522. These agents carried also a large store of propitiatory treasure. Two of the vessels, which held most of it, were captured by French corsairs,[1] and the Spanish gains enriched the coffers of Francis I. rather than those of Charles V. The despatches of Cortés, however, reached their destination, though Fonseca and the friends of Velasquez had conspired to prevent their delivery, and had even appropriated some part of the treasure which a third vessel had securely landed. Thus there were charges and counter-charges, and Charles summoned a council to investigate. Cortés won. Velasquez, Fonseca, and Narvaez were all humiliated in seeing their great rival made, by royal command, governor and captain-general of New Spain.

Meanwhile Cortés, hearing of a proposed expedition under Garay to take possession of the region north of Villa Rica, conducted a force himself to seize, in advance, that province known as Pánuco, and to subjugate the Huastecs who dwelt there. This was done. The plunder proved small; but this disappointment was forgotten in the news which now, for the first time, reached Cortés of his late success in Spain. The whole country was jubilant over the recognition of his merit; and opportunely came embassies from Guatemala bringing costlier tributes than the Spaniards had ever seen before. This turned their attention to the south. There was apprehension that the Spaniards who were already at Panamá might sooner reach these rich regions, and might earlier find the looked-for passage from the Gulf to the south sea. To anticipate them, no time could be lost. So Alvarado, Olid, and Sandoval were given commands to push explorations and conquests southward and on either shore. Before the expeditions started, news came that Garay, arriving from Jamaica, had landed with a force at Pánuco to seize that region in the interests of the Velasquez faction. The mustered forces were at once combined under Cortés' own lead, and marched against Garay, — Alvarado in advance. Before Cortés was ready to start, he was relieved from the necessity of going in person by the receipt of a royal order from Spain confirming him in the possession of Pánuco and forbidding Garay to occupy any of Cortes' possessions. This order was hurriedly despatched to Alvarado; but it did not reach him till he had made some captives of the intruders. Garay readily assented to lead his forces farther north if restitution should be made to him of the captives and munitions which Alvarado had taken. This was not so easily done, for plunder in hand was doubly rich, and Garay's own men preferred to enlist with Cortés. To compose matters

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[1] Their chief was Juan Florin, who has been identified by some with Verrazano.

Garay went to Mexico, where Cortés received him with ostentatious kindness, and promised him assistance in his northern conquests. In the midst of Cortés' hospitality his guest sickened and died, and was buried with pomp.

While Garay was in Mexico, his men at Pánuco, resenting the control of Garay's son, who had been left in charge of them, committed such ravages on the country that the natives rose on them, and were so rapidly annihilating them that Alvarado, who had left, was sent back to check the outbreak. He encountered much opposition; but conquered as usual, and punished afterward the chief ringleaders with abundant cruelty. Such of Garay's men as would, joined the forces of Cortés, while the rest were sent back to Jamaica.

The thoughts of Cortés were now turned to his plan of southern exploration, and early in December Alvarado was on his way to Guatemala.[1] Desperate fighting and the old success attended Cortés' lieutenant, and the Quiché army displayed their valor in vain in battle after battle. It was the old story of cavalry and arquebusiers. As Alvarado approached Utatlan, the Quiché capital, he learned of a plot to entrap him in the city, which was to be burned about his ears. By a counterplot he seized the Quiché nobles, and burned them and their city. By the aid of the Cakchiquels he devastated the surrounding country. Into the territory of this friendly people he next marched, and was received royally by King Sinacam in his city of Patinamit (Guatemala), and was soon engaged with him in an attack on his neighbors, the Zutugils, who had lately abetted an insurrection among Sinacam's vassals. Alvarado beat them, of course, and established a fortified post among them after they had submitted, as gracefully as they could. With Quichés and Cakchiquels now in his train, Alvarado still went on, burned towns and routed the country's defenders, till, the rainy season coming on, he withdrew his crusaders and took up his quarters once more at Patinamit, late in July, 1524. From this place he sent despatches to Cortés, who forwarded two hundred more Spanish soldiers for further campaigns.

The Spanish extortions produced the usual results. The Cakchiquels turned under the abuse, deserted their city, and prepared for a campaign. The Spaniards found them abler foes than any yet encountered. The Cakchiquels devastated the country on which Alvarado depended for supplies, and the Spaniards found themselves reduced to great straits. It was only after receiving reinforcements sent by Cortés that Alvarado was enabled to push his conquests farther, and possess himself of the redoubtable fortress of Mixco and successfully invade the Valley of Zacatepec.

The expedition to Honduras was intrusted to Cristóbal de Olid, and started about a month after Alvarado's to Guatemala. Olid was given a fleet; and a part of his instructions was to search for a passage to the great south sea. He sailed from the port now known as Vera Cruz on the 11th of January, 1524, and directed his course for Havana, where he was to find munitions and horses, for the purchase of which agents had already been sent thither by Cortés. While in Cuba the blandishments of Velasquez had worked upon Olid's vanity, and when he sailed for Honduras he was harboring thoughts of defection. Not long after he landed he openly announced them, and gained the adherence of most of his men. Cortés, who had been warned from Cuba of Olid's purpose, sent some vessels after him, which were wrecked. Thus Casas, their commander, and his men fell into Olid's hands. After an interval, an opportunity offering, the captive leader conspired to kill Olid. He wounded and secured him, brought him to a form of trial, and cut off his head. Leaving a lieutenant to conduct further progress, Casas started to go to Mexico and make report to Cortés.

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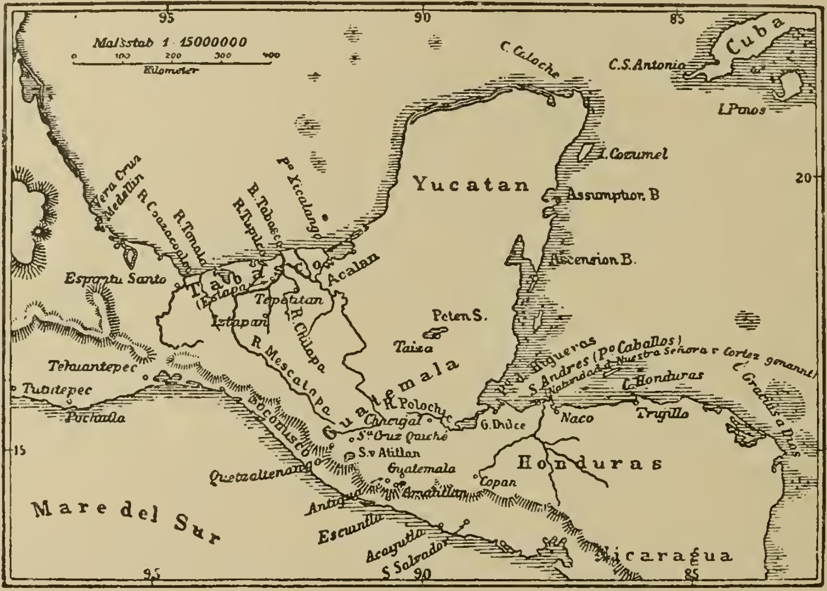
[1] H. H. Bancroft (*Central Mexico*, i. 626) collates as usual the various estimates of Alvarado's force.



GUATEMALA AND HONDURAS.[1]

Meanwhile, with a prescience of the mischief brewing, and impelled by his restless nature, Cortés had determined to march overland to Honduras; and in the latter part of October, 1524, he set out. He started with great state; but the difficulties of the way made his train a sorry sight as they struggled through morass after morass, stopped by river after river, which they were under the necessity of fording or bridging. All the while their provisions grew less and less. To add to the difficulties, some Mexican chieftains, who had been taken along as hostages for the security of Mexico, had conspired to kill Cortés, and then to march with their followers back to Mexico as deliverers. The plot was discovered, and the leaders were executed.[1] Some of the towns passed by the army had been deserted by their inhabitants, without leaving any provisions behind. Guides which they secured ran away. On they went, however, hardly in a condition to confront Olid, should he appear, and they were now approaching his province. At last some Spaniards were met, who told them of Casas' success; and the hopes of Cortés rose. He found the settlers at Nito, who had been decimated by malaria, now engaged in constructing a vessel in which to depart. His coming cheered them; and a ship opportunely appearing in the harbor with provisions, Cortés purchased her and her lading. He then took steps to move the settlement to a more salubrious spot. Using the newly acquired vessel, he explored the neighboring waters, hoping to find the passage to the south sea; and making some land expeditions, he captured several pueblos, and learned, from a native of the Pacific coast whom he fell in with, that Alvarado was conducting his campaign not far away. Finally, he passed on to Trujillo, where he found the colony of Olid's former adherents, and confirmed the dispositions which Casas had made, while he sent vessels to Cuba and Jamaica for supplies.

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[1] Following the map given in Ruge's *Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, p. 391. Cf. map in Fanshawe's *Yucatan*.

At this juncture Cortés got bad news from Mexico. Cabal and anticabal among those left in charge of the government were having their effect. When a report reached them of the death of Cortés and the loss of his army, it was the signal for the bad spirits to rise, seize the government, and apportion the estates of the absentees. The most steadfast friend of Cortés — Zuazo — was sent off to Cuba, whence he got the news to Cortés by letter. After some hesitation and much saying of Masses, Cortés appointed a governor for the Honduras colony; and sending Sandoval with his forces overland, he embarked himself to go by sea. Various mishaps caused his ship to put back several times. Discouraged at last, and believing there was a divine purpose in keeping him in Honduras for further conquest, he determined to remain a while, and sent messengers instead to Mexico. Runners were also sent after Sandoval to bring him back.

Cortés now turned his attention to the neighboring provinces; and one after another he brought them into subjection, or gained their respect by interfering to protect them from other parties of marauding Spaniards. He had already planned conquests farther south, and Sandoval had received orders to march, when a messenger from Mexico brought the exhortations of his friends for his return to that city. Taking a small force with him, including Sandoval, he embarked in April, 1526. After being tempesttossed and driven to Cuba, he landed late in May near Vera Cruz, and proceeded in triumph to his capital.

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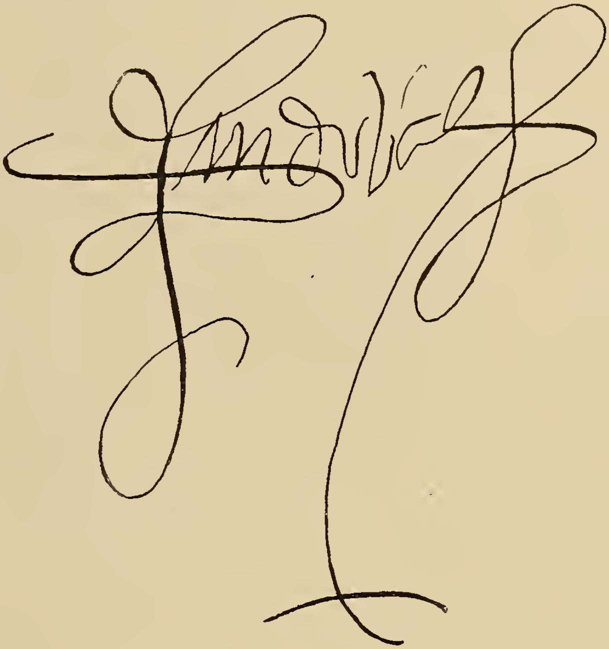
[1] There is some doubt whether the alleged plot was not, after all, a fiction to cover the getting rid of burdensome personages. H. H. Bancroft (*Central America*, i. 555) collates the various views, but it does not seem that any unassailable conclusion can be reached.

Cortés' messenger from Honduras had arrived in good time, and had animated his steadfast adherents, who succeeded very soon in overthrowing the usurper Salazar and restoring the Cortés government. Then followed the request for Cortés' return, and in due time his arrival. The natives vied with each other in the consideration which they showed to Malinche, as Cortés was universally called by them. Safe in their good wishes, Cortés moved by easy stages toward Mexico. Everybody was astir with shout and banner as he entered the city itself. He devoted himself at once to re-establishing the government and correcting abuses.

Meanwhile the enemies of Cortés at Madrid had so impressed the Emperor that he ordered a judge, Luis Ponce de Leon, to proceed to Mexico and investigate the charges against the Governor, and to hold power during the suspension of Cortés' commission. Cortés received him loyally, and the transfer of authority was duly made, — Cortés still retaining the position of captain-general. Before any charges against Cortés could be heard, Ponce sickened and died, July 20, 1526; and his authority descended to Marcos de Aguilar, whom he had named as successor. He too died in a short time; and Cortés had to resist the appeals of his friends, who wished him to reassume the governorship and quiet the commotions which these sudden changes were producing. Meanwhile the enemies of Cortés were actively intriguing in Spain, and Estrada received a royal decree to assume alone the government, which with two others he had been exercising since the death of Aguilar. The patience of Cortés and his adherents was again put to a test when the new ruler directed the exile of Cortés from the city. Estrada soon saw his mistake, and made advances for a reconciliation, which Cortés accepted.

But new developments were taking place on the coast. The Emperor had taken Pánuco out of Cortés' jurisdiction by appointing Nuño de Guzman to govern it, with orders to support Ponce if Cortés should resist that royal agent. Guzman did not arrive on the coast till May 20, 1527, when he soon, by his acts, indicated his adherence to the Velasquez party, and a disposition to encroach upon the bounds of New Spain. He was forced to deal with Cortés as captain-general; and letters far from conciliatory in character passed from Guzman to the authorities in Mexico. Estrada had found it necessary to ask Cortés to conduct a campaign against his ambitious neighbor; but Cortés felt that he could do more for himself and New Spain in the Old, and so prepared to leave the country and escape from the urgency of those of his partisans who were constantly trying to embroil him with Estrada. A letter from the new President of the Council of the Indies urging his coming, helped much to the determination. He collected what he could of treasure, fabric, and implement to show the richness of the country. A great variety of animals, representatives of the various subjugated peoples, and a showy train of dependents, among them such conspicuous characters as Sandoval and Tapia, with native princes and chieftains, accompanied him on board the vessels.

Cortés, meanwhile, was ignorant of what further mischief his enemies had done in Spain. The Emperor had appointed a commission (*audiencia*) to examine the affairs of New Spain, and had placed Guzman at the head. It had full power to assume the government and regulate the administration. In December, 1528, and January, 1529, all the members assembled at Mexico. The jealous and grasping quality of their rule was soon apparent. The absence of Cortés in Spain threatened the continuance of their power; for reports had reached Mexico of the enthusiasm which attended his arrival in Spain. They accordingly despatched messengers to the Spanish court renewing the charges against Cortés, and setting forth the danger of his return to Mexico. Alvarado and other friends of Cortés protested in vain, and had to look on and see, under one pretext or another, all sorts of taxes and burdens laid upon the estates of the absent hero. He was also indicted in legal form for every vice and crime that any one might choose to charge him with; and the indictments stood against him for many years.



AUTOGRAPH OF SANDOVAL.[1]

Guzman was soon aware of the smouldering hatred which the rule of himself and his associate had created; and he must have had suspicions of the representations of his rapacity and cruelty which were reaching Madrid from his opponents. To cover all iniquities with the splendor of conquest, he gathered a formidable army and marched to invade the province of Jalisco.

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[1] After a fac-simile in Cabajal, *México*, ii. 686.

SANDOVAL.[1]

Cortés, with his following, had landed at Palos late in 1528, and was under the necessity, a few days later, of laying the body of Sandoval — worn out with the Honduras campaign — in the vaults of La Rabida. It was a sad duty for Cortés, burdened with the grief that his young lieutenant could not share with him the honors now in store, as he made his progress to Toledo, where the Court then was. He was received with unaccustomed honor and royal condescensions, — only the prelude to substantial grants of territory in New Spain, which he was asked to particularize and describe. He was furthermore honored with the station and title of Marqués del Valle de Oajaca. He was confirmed as captain-general; but his reinstatement as governor was deferred till the reports of the new commission in New Spain should be received. He was, however,

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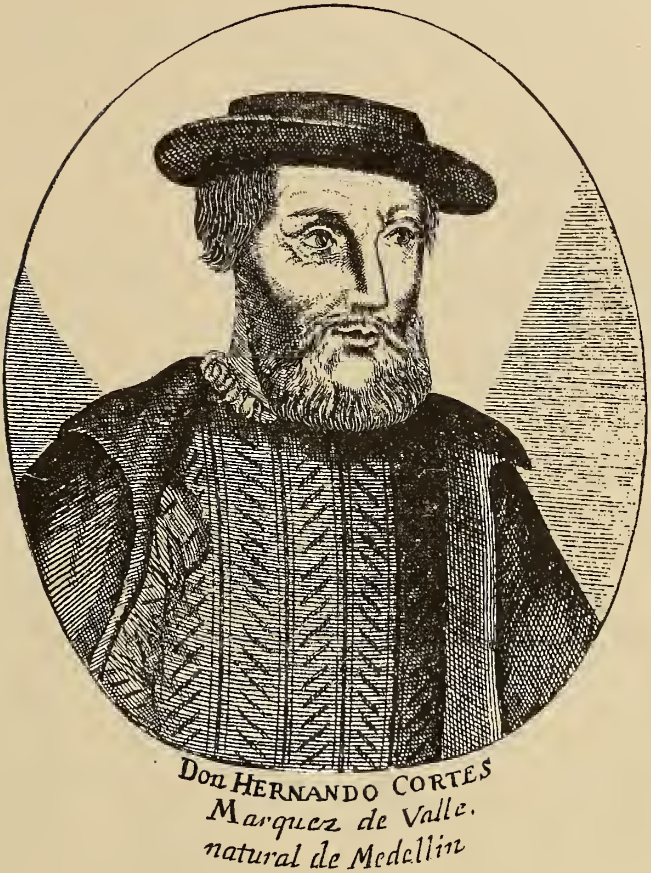
[1] Fac-simile of an engraving in Herrera, ii. 32. It is dressed up in Cabajal's *México*, ii. 254.



CORTÉS.[1]

assured of liberty to make discoveries in the south sea, and to act as governor of all islands and parts he might discover westward.

The wife of Cortés, whom he had left in Cuba, had joined him in Mexico after the conquest, and had been received with becoming state. Her early decease, after a loftier alliance would have become helpful to his ambition,

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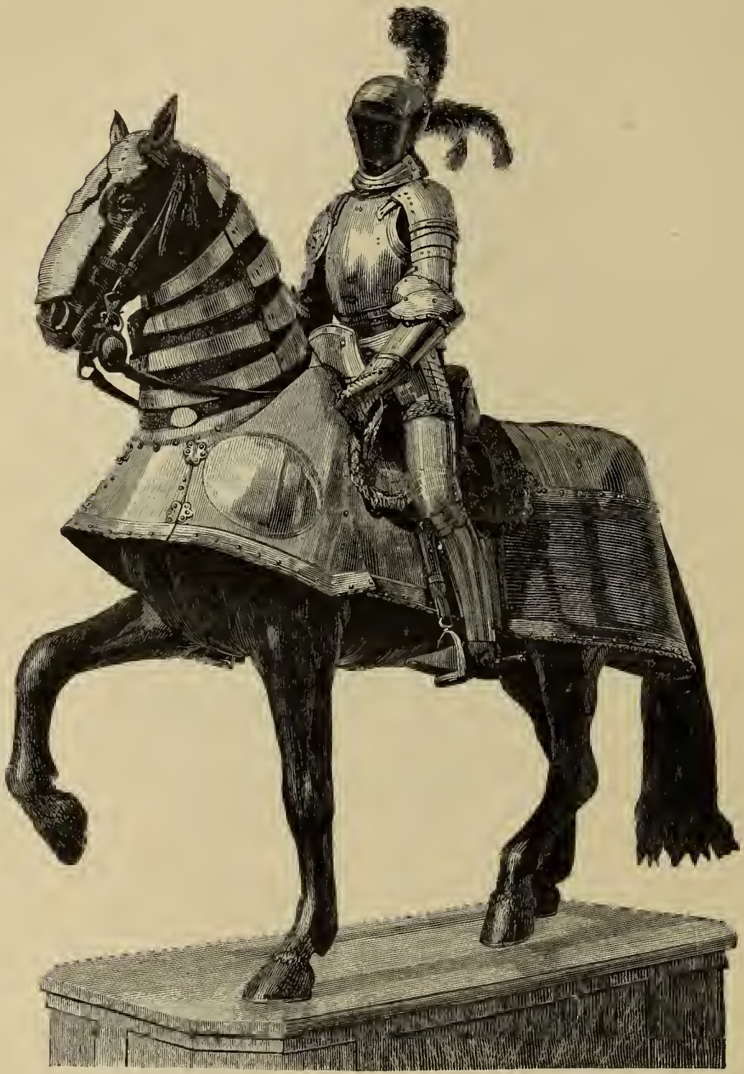
[1] Fac-simile of an engraving in Herrera, ii. 1. There is also a portrait which hangs, or did hang, in the series of Viceroys in the Museo at Mexico. This was engraved for Don Antonio Uguina, of Madrid; and from his engraving the picture given second by Prescott is copied. Engravings of a picture ascribed to Titian are given in Townsend's translation of Solis (London, 1724) and in the Madrid edition of Solis (1783). Cf. H. H. Bancroft, *Mexico*, i. 39, *note*. The Spanish translation of Clavigero, published in Mexico in 1844, has a portrait; and one "after Velasquez" is given in Laborde's *Voyage pittoresque*, vol. iv., and in Jules Verne's *Découverte de la Terre*.

A small copper-plate representing Cortés in armor, with an uplifted finger and a full beard (accompanied by a brief sketch of his career) is given in *Select Lives collected out of A. Thevet, Englished by I. S.* (Cambridge, 1676), which is a section of a volume, *Prosopographia* (Cambridge, 1676), an English translation of Thevet's Collection of Lives. The copper may be the same used in the French original.



CORTÉS' ARMOR.[1]

had naturally raised a suspicion among Cortés' traducers that her death had been prematurely hastened. He had now honors sufficient for any match among the rank of grandees; and a few days after he was ennobled he was married, as had been earlier planned, to the daughter of the late Conde de Aguilar and niece of the Duque de Béjar, — both houses of royal extraction.

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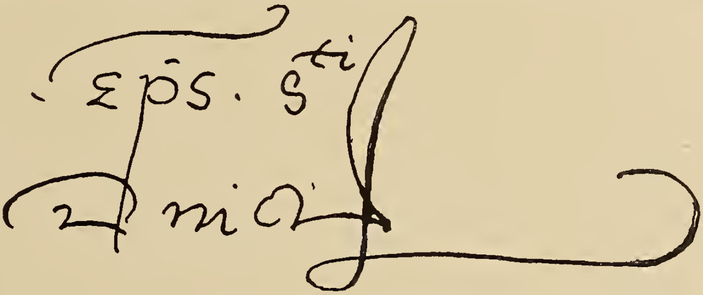
[1] Copied from an engraving (in Ruge's *Das Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, p. 405) of the original in the Museum at Madrid. Wilson refers to some plate armor in the Museum at Mexico, which he, of course, thinks apocryphal (*New Conquest*, p. 444).

Cortés now prepared to return to Mexico with his new titles. He learned that the Emperor had appointed a new *audiencia* to proceed thither, and it promised him better justice than he had got from the other. The Emperor was not, however, satisfied as yet that the presence of Cortés in Mexico was advisable at the present juncture, and he ordered him to stay; but the decree was too late, and Cortés, with a great retinue, had already departed. He landed at Vera Cruz, in advance of the new judge, July 15, 1530.

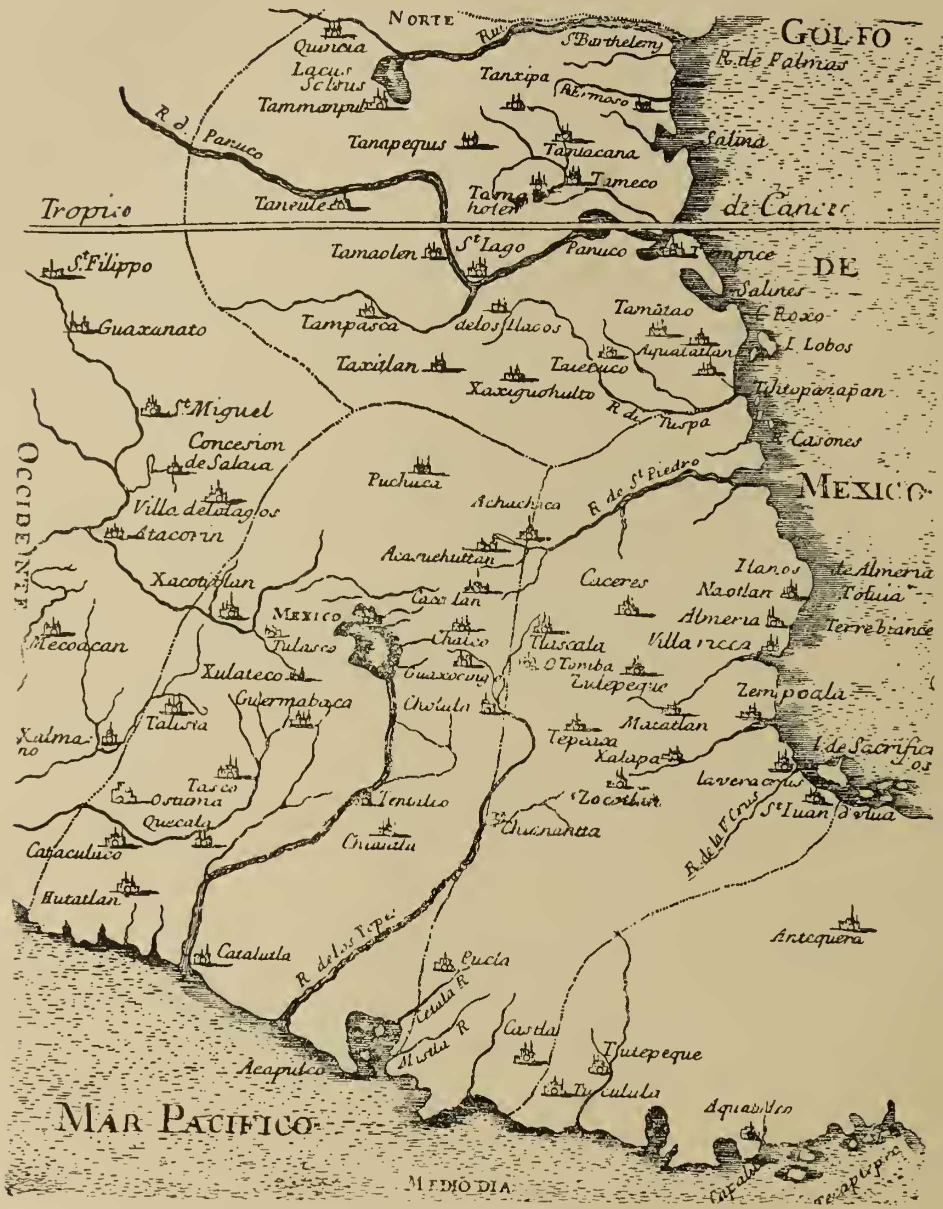
His reception was as joyous as it had been four years before; and though an order had reached him forbidding his approach within ten leagues of Mexico till the new *audiencia* should arrive, the support of his retinue compelled him to proceed to Tezcuco, where he awaited its coming, while he was put in the interim to not a little hazard and inconvenience by the efforts of the Guzman government to deprive him of sustenance and limit his intercourse with the natives.

Near the end of the year the new Government arrived, — or all but its president, Fuenleal, for he was the Bishop of Santo Domingo, whom the others had been ordered to take on board their vessel on the way; but stress of weather had prevented their doing this. The Bishop did not join them till September. In Mexico they took possession of Cortés' house, which they had been instructed to appropriate at an appraisement.


AUTOGRAPH OF FUENLEAL
(*Episcopus Sancti Dominici*).

The former Government was at once put on trial, and judgment was in most cases rendered against them, so that their property did not suffice to meet the fines imposed. Cortés got a due share of what they were made to disgorge, in restitution of his own losses through them. Innumerable reforms were instituted, and the natives received greater protection than ever before.

Guzman, meanwhile, was on his expedition toward the Pacific coast, conducting his rapacious and brutal conquest of Nueva Galicia. He refused to obey the call of the new *audiencia*, while he despatched messengers to Mexico to protect, if possible, his interests. By them also he forwarded his own statement of his case to the Emperor. Cortés, vexed at Guzman's anticipation of his own intended discoveries toward the Pacific, sent a lieutenant to confront him; but Guzman was wily enough to circumvent



MEXICO AND ACAPULCO.[1]

the lieutenant, seized him, and packed him off to Mexico with scorn and assurance. It was his last hour of triumph. His force soon dwindled; his adherents deserted him; his misdeeds had left him no friends; and he at last deserted the remnant of his army, and starting for Pánuco, turned aside to Mexico on the way. He found in the city a new *régime*. Antonio de Mendoza had been sent out as viceroy, and to succeed Fuenleal at the same time as president of the *audiencia*. He had arrived at Vera Cruz in October, 1535. His rule was temperate and cautious. Negroes, who had been imported into the country in large numbers as slaves, plotted an insurrection: but the Viceroy suppressed it; and if there was native complicity in the attempt, it was not proved. The Viceroy had received from his predecessors a source of trial and confusion in the disputed relations which existed between the civil rulers and the Captain-General. There were endless disputes with the second *audiencia*, and disagreements continued to exist with the Viceroy, about the respective limits of the powers of the two as derived from the Emperor.

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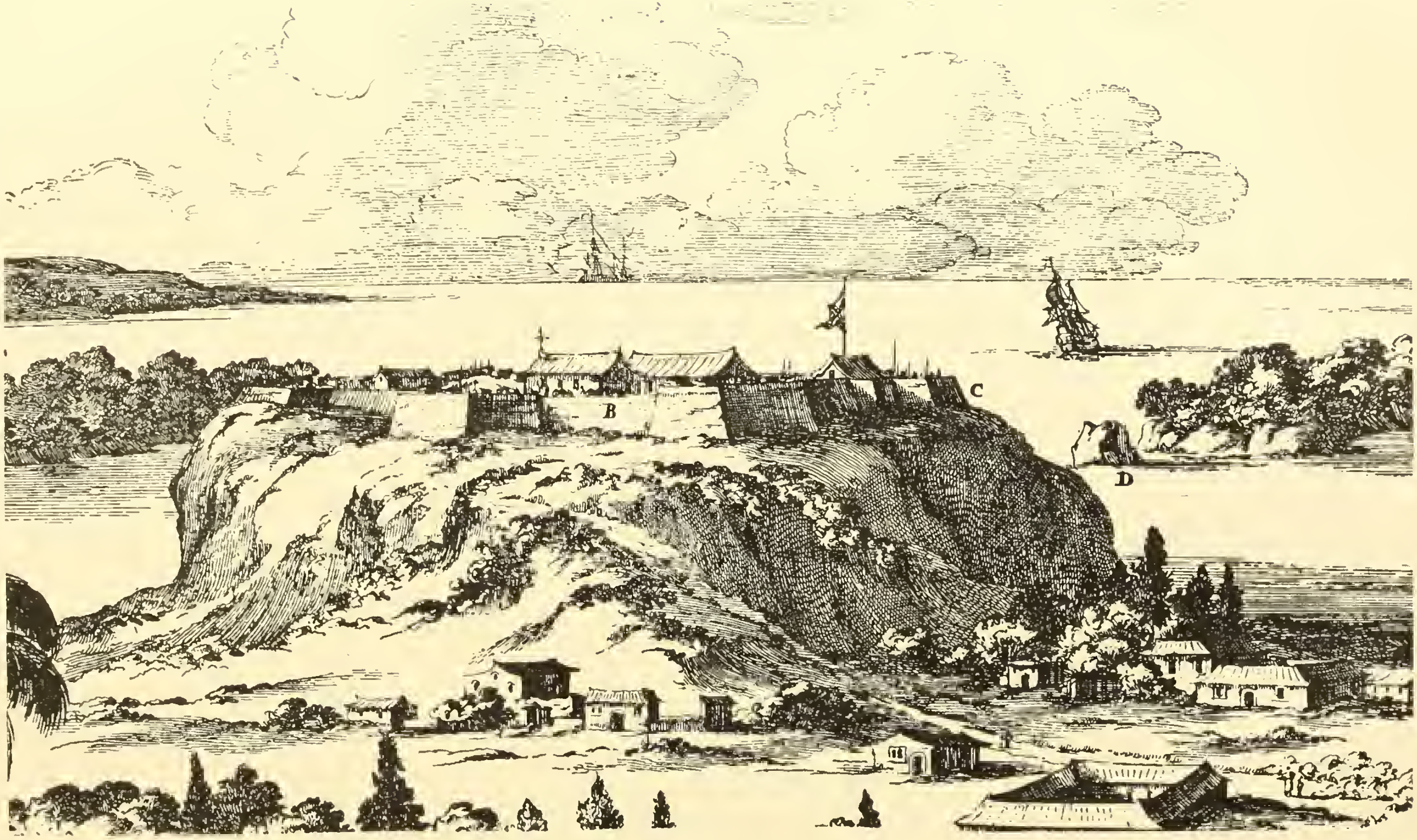
[1] Fac-simile of a map in Herrera, i. 408.

Cortés had been at great expense in endeavoring to prosecute discovery in the Pacific, and he had the vexation of seeing his efforts continually embarrassed by the new powers. Previous to his departure for Spain he had despatched vessels from Tehuantepec to the Moluccas to open traffic with the Asiatic Indies; but the first *audiencia* had prevented the despatch of a succoring expedition which Cortés had planned. On his return to New Spain the Captain-General had begun the construction of new vessels both at Tehuantepec and at Acapulco; but the second *audiencia* interfered with his employment of Indians to carry his material to the coast. He however contrived to despatch two vessels up the coast under Hurtado de Mendoza, which left in May, 1532. They had reached the coast to the north, where Guzman was marauding, who was glad of the opportunity of thwarting the purpose of his rival. He refused the vessels the refuge of a harbor, and they were subsequently lost. Cortés now resolved to give his personal attention to these sea explorations, and proceeding to Tehuantepec, he superintended the construction of two vessels, which finally left port Oct. 29, 1533. They discovered Lower California. Afterward one of the vessels was separated from the other, and fell in distress into the hands of Guzman while making a harbor on the coast. The other ship reached Tehuantepec. Cortés appealed to the *audiencia*, who meted equal justice in ordering Guzman to surrender the vessel, and in commanding Cortés to desist from further exploration. An appeal to the Emperor effected little, for it seems probable that the *audiencia* knew what support it had at court. Cortés next resolved to act on his own responsibility and take command in person of a third expedition. So, in the winter of 1534–1535, he sent some vessels up the coast, and led a land force in the same direction. Guzman fled before him. Cortés joined his fleet at the port where Guzman had seized his ship on the earlier voyage, and embarked. Crossing to the California peninsula, he began the settlement of a colony on its eastern shore. He left the settlers there, and returned to Acapulco to send forward additional supplies and recruits. At this juncture the new Viceroy had reached Mexico; and it was not long before he began to entertain schemes of despatching fleets of discovery, and Cortés found a new rival in his plans.



ACAPULCO.[1]

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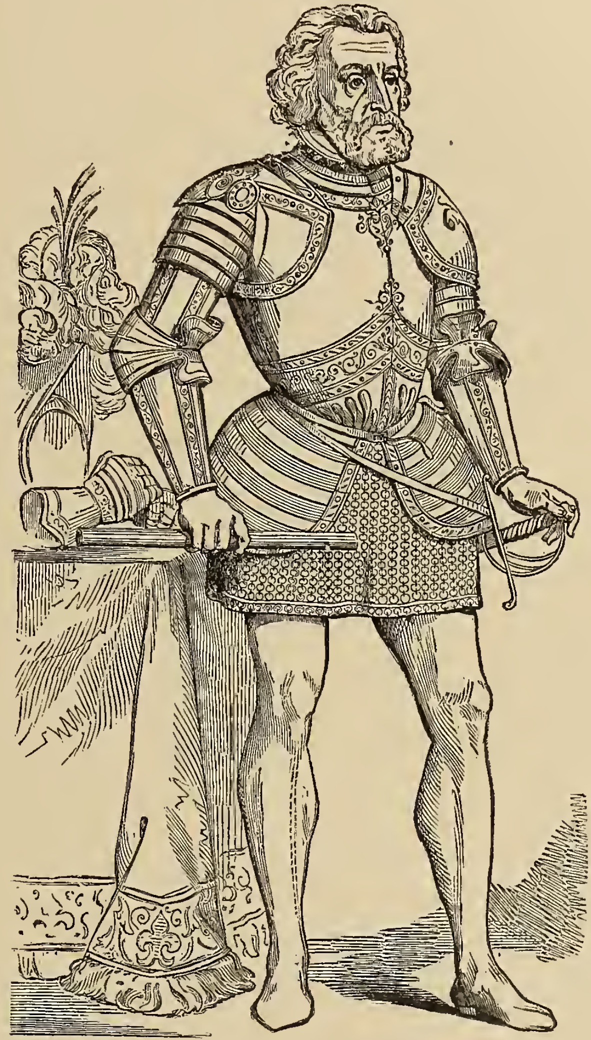
[1] Part of a view of Acapulco as given in Montanus and Ogilby, p. 261, showing the topography, but representing the later fort and buildings. The same picture, on a larger scale, was

The Captain-General got the start of his rival, and sent out a new expedition from Acapulco under Francisco de Ulloa; but the Viceroy gave orders to prevent other vessels following, and his officers seized one already at sea, which chanced to put into one of the upper ports. Cortés could endure such thraldom no longer, and early in 1540 he left again for Spain to plead his interests with the Emperor. He never saw the land of his conquest again.


CORTÉS.[1]

We left Guzman for a while in Mexico, where Mendoza not unkindly received him, as one who hated Cortés as much or more than he did. Guzman was bent on escaping, and had ordered a vessel to be ready on the coast. He was a little too late, however. The Emperor had sent a judge to call him to account, and Guzman suddenly found this evil genius was in Mexico. The judge put him under arrest and marched

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published by Vander Aa at Amsterdam. A plan of the harbor is given in Bancroft's *Mexico*, iii. 25. The place had no considerable importance as a Spanish settlement till 1550 (Ibid., ii. 420). Cf. the view in Gay's *Popular History of the United States*, ii. 586.

[1] This follows a sketch of the picture, in the Hospital of Jesus at Mexico, which is given in Charton's *Voyageurs*, iii. 359. Prescott gives an engraving after a copy then in his own possession. The picture in the Hospital is also said to be a copy of one taken in Spain a few years before the death of Cortés, during his last visit. The original is not known to exist. The present descendants of the Conqueror, the family of the Duke of Monteleone in Italy, have only a copy of the one at Mexico. Another copy, made during General Scott's occupation of the city, is in the gallery of the Pennsylvania Historical Society (*Catalogue*, no. 130). The upper part

him to prison. A trial was begun; but it dragged along, and Guzman sent an appeal forward to the Council for the Indies, in which he charged Cortés with promoting his persecution. He was in the end remanded to Spain, where he lingered out a despised life for a few years, with a gleam of satisfaction, perhaps, in finding, some time after, that Cortés too had found a longer stay in New Spain unprofitable.

DON · FERDINANDO · CORTES · M · D · XXIX · ANNO · ETATIS · XXXXIII

CORTÉS MEDAL.[1]

Cortés had reached Spain in the early part of 1540, and had been received with honor by the Court; but when he began to press for a judgment that might restore his losses and rehabilitate him in his self-respect, he found nothing but refusal and procrastination. He asked to return to Mexico, but found he could not. With a reckless aim he joined an expedition against Algiers; but the ship on which he embarked was wrecked, and he only saved himself by swimming, losing the choicest of his Mexican jewels, which he carried on his person. Then again he memorialized the Emperor for a hearing and award, but was disregarded. Later he once more appealed, but was still unheard. Again he asked permission to return to New Spain. This time it was granted; but before he could make the final preparations, he sank under his burdens, and at a village near Seville Cortés died on the 2d of December, 1547, in his sixty-second year.[2]

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of the figure is reproduced in Carbajal's *Historia de México*, ii. 12; and it is also given entire in Cumplido's edition of Prescott's *Mexico*, vol. iii.

[1] This follows the engraving in Ruge's *Das Zeitalter der Entdeckungen* (p. 361) of a specimen in the Royal Cabinet at Berlin. The original is of the same size.

[2] The remains of Cortés have rested uneasily. They were buried at Seville; but in 1562 his son removed them to New Spain and placed them in a monastery at Tezcuco. In 1629 they were carried with pomp to Mexico to the church of St. Francis; and again, in 1794, they were transferred to the Hospital of Jesus (Prescott, *Mexico*, iii. 465), where a monument with a bust was placed over them. In 1823, when a patriotic zeal was turned into the wildness of a mob, the tomb was threatened, and some soberer citizens secretly removed the monument and sent it (and later the remains) clandestinely to his descendant, the Duke of Monteleone, in Palermo, where they are supposed now to be, if the story of this secret shipment is true (Prescott, *Mexico*, iii. 335; Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, pp. 219, 220; Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii. 479, 480). Testimony regarding the earlier interment and exhumation is given in the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos* (*España*), xxii. 563. Cf. B. Murphy on "The Tomb of Cortés" in the *Catholic World*, xxxiii. 24.

For an account of the family and descendants of Cortés, see Bancroft, ii. 480; Prescott, iii. 336. The latter traces what little is known of the later life of Marina (vol. iii. p. 279).

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE DOCUMENTARY SOURCES OF MEXICAN HISTORY.

MR. H. H. BANCROFT, in speaking of the facilities which writers of Spanish American history now have in excess of those enjoyed by the historian of thirty years ago, claims that in documentary evidence there are twenty papers for his use in print to-day for one then.[1] These are found in part in the great *Coleccion* of Pacheco and others mentioned in the Introduction. The Mexican writer Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta (born 1825) made a most important contribution in the two volumes of a *Coleccion de documentos para la historia de México* which passes by his name and which appeared respectively in 1858 and 1866.[2] He found in Mexico few of the papers which he printed, obtaining them chiefly from Spain. Of great interest among those which he gives is the *Itinerario* of Grijalva, both in the Italian and Spanish text.[3] Of Cortés himself there are in this publication various letters not earlier made public. The quarrel between him and Velasquez is illustrated by other papers. Here also we find what is mentioned elsewhere as "De rebus gestis Cortesii" printed as a "Vida de Cortés," and attributed to C. Calvet de Estrella. The recital of the so-called "Anonymous Conqueror," held by some to be Francisco de Terrazas, is translated from Ramusio (the original Spanish is not known), with a fac-simile of the plan of Mexico.[4] There is also the letter from the army of Cortés to the Emperor; and in the second volume various other papers interesting in connection with Cortés' career, including the memorial of Luis de Cárdenas, etc. Two other papers have been recognized as important. One of these in the first volume is the *Historia de los Indios de Nueva España* of Fray Toribio Motolinia, accompanied by a Life of the Father by Ramirez, with a gathering of bibliographical detail. Toribio de Benavente — Motolinia was a name which he took from a description of him by the natives — had come over with the Franciscans in 1523. He was a devoted, self-sacrificing missionary; but he proved that his work did not quiet all the passions, for he became a violent opponent of Las Casas' views and measures.[5] His labors took him the length and breadth of the land; his assiduity acquired for him a large knowledge of the Aztec tongue and beliefs; and his work, besides describing institutions of this people, tells of the success and methods secured or adopted by himself and his companions in effecting their conversion to the faith of the conquerors. Robertson used a manuscript copy of the work, and Obadiah Rich procured a copy for Prescott, who ventured the assertion, when he wrote, that it had so little of popular interest that it would never probably be printed.[6]

Joaqn García
y
Icazbalceta

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[1] Those pertaining to Cortés in vols. i.–iv. of the *Documentos inéditos* (*España*) had already appeared. Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, pp. 213–215, enumerates the manuscripts which had been collected by Prescott. Clavigero had given accounts of the collections in the Vatican, at Vienna, and of those of Boturini, etc.

[2] Sabin, vol. xx. no. 34,153. In the Introduction to both volumes Icazbalceta discusses learnedly the authorship of the various papers, and makes note of considerable bibliographical detail. The edition was three hundred copies, with twelve on large paper.

[3] Vol. i. 281; see also *ante*, p. 215.

[4] Vol. i. 368. This plan is given on an earlier page. Cf. Bancroft, *Early American Chroniclers*, p. 15.

[5] See chap. v. p. 343.

[6] *Mexico*, ii. 96. A part of it was printed in the *Documentos inéditos* as "Ritos antiquos . . . de las Indias." Cf. Kingsborough, vol. ix.

Bancroft[1] calls the *Relacion* of Andrés de Tápia one of the most valuable documents of the early parts of the Conquest. It ends with the capture of Narvaez; recounting the antecedent events, however, with "uneven completeness." It is written warmly in the interests of Cortés. Icazbalceta got what seemed to be the original from the Library of the Academy of History in Madrid, and printed it in his second volume (p. 554). It was not known to Prescott, who quotes it at second hand in Gomara.[2]

The next most important collection is that published in Mexico from 1852 to 1857,[3] under the general title of *Documentos para la historia de México.* This collection of four series, reckoned variously in nineteen or twenty-one volumes, is chiefly derived from Mexican sources, and is largely illustrative of the history of northwestern Mexico, and in general concerns Mexican history of a period posterior to the Conquest.

There have been two important series of documents published and in part unearthed by José Fernando Ramirez, who became Minister of State under Maximilian. The first of these is the testimony at the examination of the charges which were brought against Pedro de Alvarado, and some of those made in respect to Nuño de Guzman, — *Procesos de residencia*,[4] which was published in Mexico in 1847;[5] the other set of documents pertain to the trial of Cortés himself. Such of these as were found in the Mexican Archives were edited by Ignacio L. Rayon under the title of *Archivo Mexicano; Documentos para la historia de México*, and published in the city of Mexico in 1852–1853, in two volumes. At a later day (1867–1868) Ramirez discovered in the Spanish Archives other considerable portions of the same trial, and these have been printed in the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos de las Indias*, vols. xxvi.–xxix.

The records of the municipality of Mexico date from March 8, 1524, and chronicle for a long time the sessions as held in Cortés' house; and are particularly interesting, as Bancroft says,[6] after 1524, when we no longer have Cortés' own letters to follow, down to 1529. Harrisse has told us what he found in the repositories of Italy, particularly at Venice, among the letters sent to the Senate during this period by the Venetian ambassadors at Madrid.[7] Three volumes have so far been published of a *Coleccion de documentos para la historia de Costa-Rica* at San José de Costa-Rica, under the editing of León Fernández, which have been drawn from the Archives of the Indies and from the repositories in Guatemala. A few letters of Alvarado and other letters of the Conquest period are found in the *Coleccion de documentos antiguous de Guatemala* published at Guatemala in 1857.[8]

No more voluminous contributor to the monographic and documentary history of Mexico can be named than Carlos Maria de Bustamante. There will be occasion in other connections to dwell upon particular publications, and some others are of little interest to us at present, referring to periods as late as the present century. Bustamante was a Spaniard, but he threw himself with characteristic energy into a heated advocacy of national Mexican feelings; and this warmly partisan exhibition of himself did much toward rendering the gathering of his scattered writings very difficult, in view of the enemies whom he made and of their ability to suppress obnoxious publications when they came into power. Most of these works date from 1812 to 1850, and when collected make nearly or quite fifty volumes, though frequently bound in fewer.[1] The completest list, however, is probably that included in the enumeration of authorities prefixed by Bancroft to his *Central America* and *Mexico*, which shows not only the printed works of Bustamante, but also the autograph originals, — which, Bancroft says, contain much not in the published works.[2] Indeed, these lists show an extremely full equipment of the manuscript documentary stores relating to the whole period of Mexican history,[3] including a copy of the *Archivo general de México*, as well as much from the catalogues of José Maria Andrade and José Fernando Ramirez, records of the early Mexican councils, and much else of an ecclesiastical and missionary character not yet put in print.[4]

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[1] *Mexico*, i. 405.

[2] Prescott, *Mexico*, ii. 147.

[3] Sabin, vol. ix. nos. 34,154–34,156; Quaritch, *Ramirez Collection* (1880), no. 89; priced it at £40.

[4] This institution is clearly defined by Helps, iii. 141. Cf. Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 250.

[5] Prescott, *Mexico*, ii. 272; Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 373; *Murphy Catalogue*, no. 2,092; *Pinart-Brasseur Catalogue*, no. 770. The book has a portrait of Alvarado, and is enriched with notes by Ramirez. The manuscript of the charges against Alvarado was discovered in 1846 among some supposed waste-papers in the Mexican Archives which the licentiate, Ignacio Rayon, was then examining (Bancroft, *Central America* ii. 104).

[6] *Mexico*, ii. 9. Bancroft says he uses a copy made from one which escaped the fire that destroyed so much in 1692, and which belonged to the Maximilian Collection. Quaritch offered, a few years since, as from the Ramirez Collection, for £175, the Acts of the Municipality of Mexico, 1524–1564, in six manuscript volumes. Bancroft (*Mexico*, iii. 508, etc.), enumerates the sources of a later period.

[7] *Bibl. Amer. Vet., Additions*, p. xxxiv.

[8] There appeared in 1882, in two volumes, in the *Biblioteca de los Americanistas*, a *Historia de Guatemala ó recordación Florida escrita el siglo XVII por el Capitán D. Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzman . . . publica por primera vez con notas é ilustraciones D. Justo Zaragoza.*

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[1] Quaritch in his *Catalogue*, no. 321, *sub* 11,807, shows a collection of forty-seven for £50, apparently the Ramirez Collection. Cf. Sabin, vol. iii. no. 9,567, etc.

[2] *Mexico*, vol. i. p. viii.

[3] Indeed, the footnotes of Prescott are meagre by comparison. The enumeration of the manuscript sources on the Conquest given in Charton's *Voyageurs*, iii. 420, shows what provision of this sort was most to be depended on thirty years ago. There is a set of nine folios in Harvard College Library, gathered by Lord Kingsborough, called *Documentos para el historia de México y Peru*. It includes some manuscripts; but they are all largely, perhaps wholly, of a later period than the Conquest.

[4] Quaritch, who in his *Catalogue* of 1870 (no. 259, *sub* 376) advertised for £105 the original manuscripts of three at least of these councils (1555, 1565, 1585), intimates that they never were returned into the Ecclesiastical Archives after Lorenzana had used them in preparing an edition of the Proceedings of these Councils. which he published in 1769 and 1770, — *Concilios provinciales de México*, — though in the third, and perhaps in the first, he had translated apparently his text from the Latin published versions. Bancroft describes these manuscripts in his *Mexico*, ii. 685. The Acts of the First Council had been printed (1556) before Lorenzana; but the book was suppressed, and the Acts of the Third Council had been printed in 1622 in Mexico, and in 1725 at Paris. The Acts of the Third also appeared in 1859 at Mexico with other documents. The readiest source for the English reader of the history of the measures for the conversion of the Indians and for the relation of the Church to the civil authorities in New Spain are sundry chapters (viii., xix., etc.) in Bancroft's *Central America*, and others (ix., xix., xxxi., xxxii.) in his *Mexico*. (Cf. references in Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, p. 209.) The leading Spanish authorities are Torobio Motolinia, Mendieta, and Torquemada, all characterized elsewhere. Alonso Fernandez' *Historia eclesiástica de nuestros tiempos* (Toledo, 1611) is full in elucidation of the lives of the friars and of their study of the native tongues. (Cf. Rich, 1832, £2 2*s.*; Quaritch, 1870, £5; Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 190.) Gil Gonzales Davila's *Teatro eclesiástico de la primitiva Iglesia de las Indias* (Madrid, 1649–1655) is more important and rarer (Quaritch, 1870, £8 8*s.*; Rosenthal, Munich, 1884, for 150 marks; Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 189). Of Las Casas and his efforts, see the preceding chapter in the present volume.

The Orders of friars are made the subject of special treatment in Bancroft's *Mexico*. The Franciscans were the earliest to arrive, coming, in response to the wish of Cortés, in 1524. There are various histories of their labors, — Francisco Gonzaga's *De origine seraphicæ religionis Franciscanæ*, Rome, 1587 (Carter-Brown, i. 372); sections of Torquemada and the fourth part of Vetancour's *Teatro Mexicano*, Mexico, 1697–1698; Francisco Vasquez' *Chronica . . . de Guatemala*, 1714; Espinosa's *Chronica apostolica*, 1746 (Sabin, vi. 239; Carter-Brown, iii. 827), etc. Of the Dominicans we have Antonio de Remesal's *Historia de la S. Vincent de Chyapa*, Madrid, 1619 (Bancroft, *Central America*, ii. 339, 736), and Davilla Padilla's *Santiago de México*, mentioned in the text. Of the Augustinian friars there is Juan de Grijalva's *Cronica*, Mexico, 1624. Of the books on the Jesuits who came late (1571, etc.), there is a note in Bancroft's *Mexico*, iii. 447, showing as of chief importance Francisco de Florencia's *Compañia de Jesus* (Mexico, 1694), while the subject was taken up under the same title by Francisco Javier Alegre, who told the story of their missions from 1566 in Florida to 1765. The manuscript of this work was not printed till Bustamante edited it in 1841.

The legend or belief in our Lady of Guadalupe gives a picturesque and significant coloring to the history of missions in Mexico, since from the day of her apparition the native worship, it is said, steadily declined. It is briefly thus: In 1531 a native who had received a baptismal name of Juan Diego, passing a hill neighboring

Of particular value for the documents which it includes is the *Historia de la fundacion y discurso de la provincia de Santiago de México, de la orden de predicadores, por las vidas de sus varones insignes y casos notables de Nueva España*, published in Madrid in 1596.[1] The author, Davilla Padilla, was born in Mexico in 1562 of good stock; he became a Dominican in 1579, and died in 1604. His opportunities for gathering material were good, and he has amassed a useful store of information regarding the contact of the Spanish and the Indians, and the evidences of the national traits of the natives. His book has another interest, in that we find in it the earliest mention of the establishment of a press in Mexico.[2]

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to the city of Mexico, was confronted by a radiant being who announced herself as the Virgin Mary, and who said that she wished a church to be built on the spot. The native's story, as he told it to the Bishop, was discredited, until some persons sent to follow the Indian saw him disappear unaccountably from sight.

It was now thought that witchcraft more than a heavenly interposition was the cause, until, again confronting the apparition, Diego was bidden to take some roses which the Lady had handled and carry them in his mantle to the Bishop, who would recognize them as a sign. When the garment was unrolled, the figure of the Virgin was found painted in its folds, and the sign was accepted. A shrine was soon erected, as the Lady had wished; and here the holy effigy was sacredly guarded, until it found a resting-place in what is thought to be the richest church in Mexico, erected between 1695 and 1709; and there it still is. It has been at times subjected to some ecclesiastical scrutiny, and there have been some sceptics and cavillers. Cf. Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 407, and authorities there cited. Lorenzana in his *Cartas pastorales* (1770) has given a minute account of the painting (Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 1,749; Sabin, vol. xii. no. 56,199; and the *Coleccion de obras pertenecientes a la milagrosa aparicion de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*).

[1] Carter-Brown, i. 496; Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii. 723. There is a copy in Harvard College Library. There were later editions at Brussels in 1625 (Carter-Brown, ii. 300; Stevens, *Historical Collection*, i. 177), and again at Valladolid in 1634 as *Varia historia de la Nueva España y Florida, segunda impresion* (Carter-Brown, ii. 412).

[2] We read in the 1596 edition (p. 670) that one Juan Pablos was the first printer in Mexico, who printed, as early as 1535, a religious manual of Saint John Climachus. The book, however, is not now known (Sabin, vi. 229), and there is no indisputable evidence of its former existence; though a similar story is told by Alonzo Fernandez in his *Historia eclesiástica* (Toledo, 1611), and by Gil Gonzales Davila in his *Teatro eclesiástico* (Madrid, 1649), — who gives, however, the date as 1532. The *Teatro* is of further interest for the map of the diocese of Michoacan and for the arms of the different dioceses. It is in two volumes, and is worth from thirty to forty dollars.

The subject of early printing in Mexico has been investigated by Icazbalceta in the *Diccionario universal de historia y de geografia*, v. 961 (published in Mexico in 1854), where he gives a list of Mexican imprints prior to 1600 (Carter-Brown, i. 129, 130). A similar list is given in connection with an examination of the subject by Harrisse in his *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 232. Mr. John Russell Bartlett gives another list (1540 to 1600) in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, i. 131, and offers other essays on the subject in the *Historical Magazine*, November, 1858, and February, 1865, and again in the new edition of Thomas's *History of Printing* (Worcester, 1875), i. 365, appendix.

The earliest remaining example of the first Mexican press which we have is a fragmentary copy of the *Manual de adultos* of Cristóbal Cabrera, which was originally discovered in the Library of Toledo, whence it disappeared, to be again discovered by Gayangos on a London bookstall in 1870. It is supposed to have consisted of thirty-eight leaves, and the printed date of Dec. 13, 1540, is given on one of the leaves which remain (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 232; *Additions*, no. 123, with fac-similes, of which a part is given in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, i. 131). Harrisse, perhaps, is in error, as Quaritch affirms (*Ramirez Collection*, 1880, no. 339), in assigning the same date, 1540, to an edition of the *Doctrina Christiana* found by him at Toledo; and there seem to have been one or two other books issued by Cromberger (*Catalogue Andrade*, nos. 2,366, 2,367, 2,369, 2,477) before we come to an acknowledged edition of the *Doctrina Cristiana* — which for a long time was held to be the earliest Mexican imprint — with the date of 1544. It is a small volume of sixty pages, "impressa en México, en casa de Juan Cromberger" (Rich, 1832, no. 14; Sabin, vol. iv. no. 16,777; Carter-Brown, i. 134, with fac-similes of title; *Bookworm*, 1867, p. 114; Quaritch, no. 321, *sub* 12,551). Of the same date is Dionisio Richel's *Compendio breve que tracta a' la manera de como se hā de hazer las processiones*, also printed, as the earlier one was, by command of Bishop Zumarraga, this time with a distinct date, — "Año de M. D.

One of the earliest of the modern collections of documents and early monographs is the *Historiadores primitivos de las Indias occidentales* of Andres Gonzales de Barcia Carballido y Zuniga (known usually as Barcia), published at Madrid in 1749 in three volumes folio, and enriched with the editor's notes. The sections were published separately; and it was not till after the editor's death (1743) that they were grouped and put out collectively with the above distinctive title. In this form the collection is rare, and it has been stated that not over one or two hundred copies were so gathered.[1]

First among all documents respecting the Conquest are the letters sent by Cortés himself to the Emperor; and of these a somewhat detailed bibliographical account is given in the Notes following this Essay, as well as an examination of the corrective value of certain other contemporaneous and later writers.

Justin Winsor

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xliiij." A copy which belonged to the Emperor Maximilian was sold in the Andrade sale (no. 2,667), and again in the Brinley sale (no. 5,317). Quaritch priced Ramirez' copy in 1880 at £52.

The lists above referred to show eight separate issues of the Mexican press before 1545. Icazbalceta puts, under 1548, the *Doctrina en Mexicano* as the earliest instance known of a book printed in the native tongue. Up to 1563, with the exception of a few vocabularies and grammars of the languages of the country, of the less than forty books which are known to us, nearly all are of a theological or devotional character. In that year (1663) Vasco de Puga's Collection of Laws — *Provisiones, cédulas, instrucciones de su Majestad* — was printed (Quaritch, *Ramirez Collection*, 1880, no. 236, £30). Falkenstein in his *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst* (Leipsic, 1840) has alleged, following Pinelo and others, that a Collection of Laws — *Ordinationes legumque collectiones* — was printed in 1649; but the existence of such a book is denied. Cf. Thomas, *History of Printing*, i. 372; Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 288.

[1] Quaritch, *Ramirez Collection* (1880), no. 28, £15; Sabin, vol. i. no. 3,349; Carter-Brown, iii. 893; Rich, *Bibl. Nova Amer.* (1835), p. 95; Stevens, *Bibliotheca historica*, no. 126; Leclerc, no. 50, — 400 francs; Field, *Indian Bibliography*, no. 79.

NOTES.

A. The Letters of Cortés. — I. *The Lost First Letter, July* 10, 1519. The series of letters which Cortés sent to the Emperor is supposed to have begun with one dated at Vera Cruz in July, 1519, which is now lost, but which Barcia and Wilson suppose to have been suppressed by the Council of the Indies at the request of Narvaez. There are contemporaneous references to show that it once existed. Cortés himself mentions it in his second letter, and Bernal Diaz implies that it was not shown by Cortés to his companions. Gomara mentions it, and is thought to give its purport in brief. Thinking that Charles V. may have carried it to Germany, Robertson caused the Vienna Archives to be searched, but without avail; though it has been the belief that this letter existed there at one time, and another sent with it is known to be in those Archives. Prescott caused thorough examinations of the repositories of London, Paris, and Madrid to be made, — equally without result.

Fortunately the same vessel took two other letters, one of which we have. This was addressed by the *justicia y regimiento* of La Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, and was dated July 10, 1519. It was discovered, by Robertson's agency, in the Imperial Library at Vienna. It rehearses the discoveries of Córdoba and Grijalva, and sustains the views of Cortés, who charged Velasquez with being incompetent and dishonest. This letter is sometimes counted as the first of the series; for though it was not written by Cortés, he is thought to have inspired it.[1]

The other letter is known only through the use of it which contemporary writers made. It was from some of the leading companions in arms of Cortés, who, while they praised their commander, had something to say of others not quite to the satisfaction of Cortés. The Conqueror, it is intimated, intrigued to prevent its reaching the Emperor, — which may account for its loss. Las Casas and Tapia both mention it.[2]

Beside the account given in Gomara of Cortés' early life and his doings in the New World up to the time of his leaving Cuba in 1519, there is a contemporary narrative, quite in Cortés' interest, of unknown authorship, which was found by Muñoz at Simancas.[3] The Latin version is called "De rebus gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii;" but it is called "Vida de Hernan Cortés" in the Spanish rendering which is given by Icazbalceta in his *Coleccion de documentos*, i. 309–357.[4]

A publication of Peter Martyr at Basle in 1521 is often taken as a substitute for the lost first epistle of Cortés. This is the *De nuper sub*

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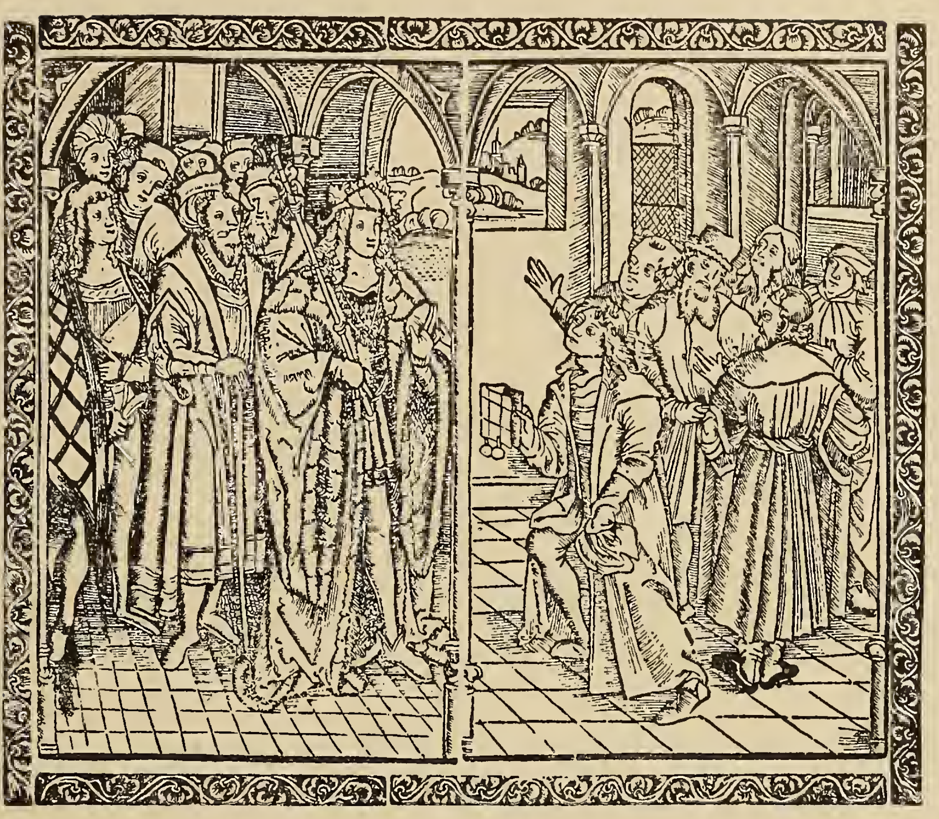
[1] Navarrete first printed it in his *Coleccion*, i. 421; it was included also in Vedia's *Historiadores primitivos de Indias* (Madrid, 1852); and Gayangos, in his *Cartas de Hernan Cortés* (Paris, 1866) does not hesitate to let it stand for the first letter, while he also annotates it. It is likewise printed in the *Biblioteca de autores Españoles*, vol. xxii., and by Alaman in his *Disertaciones sobre la historia de la República Mejicana*, vol. i., appendix, with a sketch of the expedition. Cf. Prescott's *Mexico*, i. 360, iii. 428; H. H. Bancroft's *Mexico*, i. 169.

[2] Bancroft, *Mexico*, i. 170. It is supposed that still a third letter went at the same time, which is now known to us. Three letters of this time were found in 1866 among some old account-books in a library sold in Austria. Two of them proved to be written in Spain upon the news of Cortés' discoveries, while one was written by a companion of Cortés shortly after the landing on the Mexican coast, but is not seemingly an original, for it is written in German, and the heading runs: *Newzeit wie unnsers aller-gnadigistn hern des Romischn und hyspaenischn Koningsleut Ain Costliche Newe Lanndschafft habn gefundn*, and bears date June 28, 1519. There are some contradictions in it to the received accounts; but these are less important than the mistake of a modern French translator, who was not aware of the application of the name of Yucatan, at that time, to a long extent of coast, and who supposed the letters referred to Grijalva's expedition. The original text, with a modern German and French version, appears in a small edition (thirty copies) which Frederic Muller, of Amsterdam, printed from the original manuscript (cf. his *Books on America*, 1872, no. 1,144; 1877, no. 2,296, priced at 120 florins) under the title of *Trois lettres sur la découverte de Yucatan*, Amsterdam, 1871 (Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 66; Muller, *Books on America*, 1877, no. 2,296; C. H. Berendt in *American Bibliopolist*, July and August, 1872; Murphy, no. 2,795).

One of the news-sheets of the time, circulated in Europe, is preserved in the Royal Library at Berlin. A photo-lithographic fac-simile was published (one hundred copies) at Berlin in 1873. It is called: *Newe Zeittung. von dem lande. das die Sponier funden haben ym* 1521. *iare genant Iucatan.* It is a small quarto in gothic type, of four unnumbered leaves, with a woodcut. Cf. *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 70, with fac-simile of title; Carter-Brown, i. 69; Muller (1877), no. 3,593; Sobolewski, no. 4,153.

[3] Prescott used a copy taken from Muñoz' transcript.

[4] Cf. Prescott, *Mexico*, i. 262; Bancroft, *Mexico*, i. 72.



D. Carolo repertis insulis . . . Petri Martyris enchiridion, which gives a narrative of the expeditions of Grijalva and Cortés, as a sort of supplement to what Peter Martyr had written on the affairs of the Indies in his Three Decades. It was afterward included in his Basle edition of 1533 and in the Paris *Extraict* of 1532.[1]

Harrisse[2] points out an allusion to the expedition of Cortés and a description of those of Córdoba and Grijalva, in *Ein Auszug ettlicher Sendbrieff . . . von wegen einer new gefunden Inseln*, published at Nuremberg in March, 1520;[3] and Harrisse supposes the information is derived from Peter Martyr.[4] Bancroft[5] points out a mere reference in a publication of 1522, — *Translationuss hispanischer Sprach*, etc.

II. *The Second Letter*, *Oct.* 30, 1520. We possess four early editions of this, — two Spanish (1, 2) and one Latin (3), and one Italian (4).

1. The earliest Spanish edition was published at Seville Nov. 8, 1522, as *Carta de relaciō*, having twenty-eight leaves, in gothic type.[6]

2. The second Spanish edition, *Carta de relacion*, was printed at Saragossa in 1524. It is in gothic letter, twenty-eight leaves, and has a cut of Cortés before Charles V. and his Court, of which a reduced fac-simile is herewith given.[7]

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[1] Cf. Stevens, *Bibliotheca historica* (1870), p. 103; *Historical Collections*, i. 342; and the section on "Early Descriptions of America" in the present work.

[2] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 179.

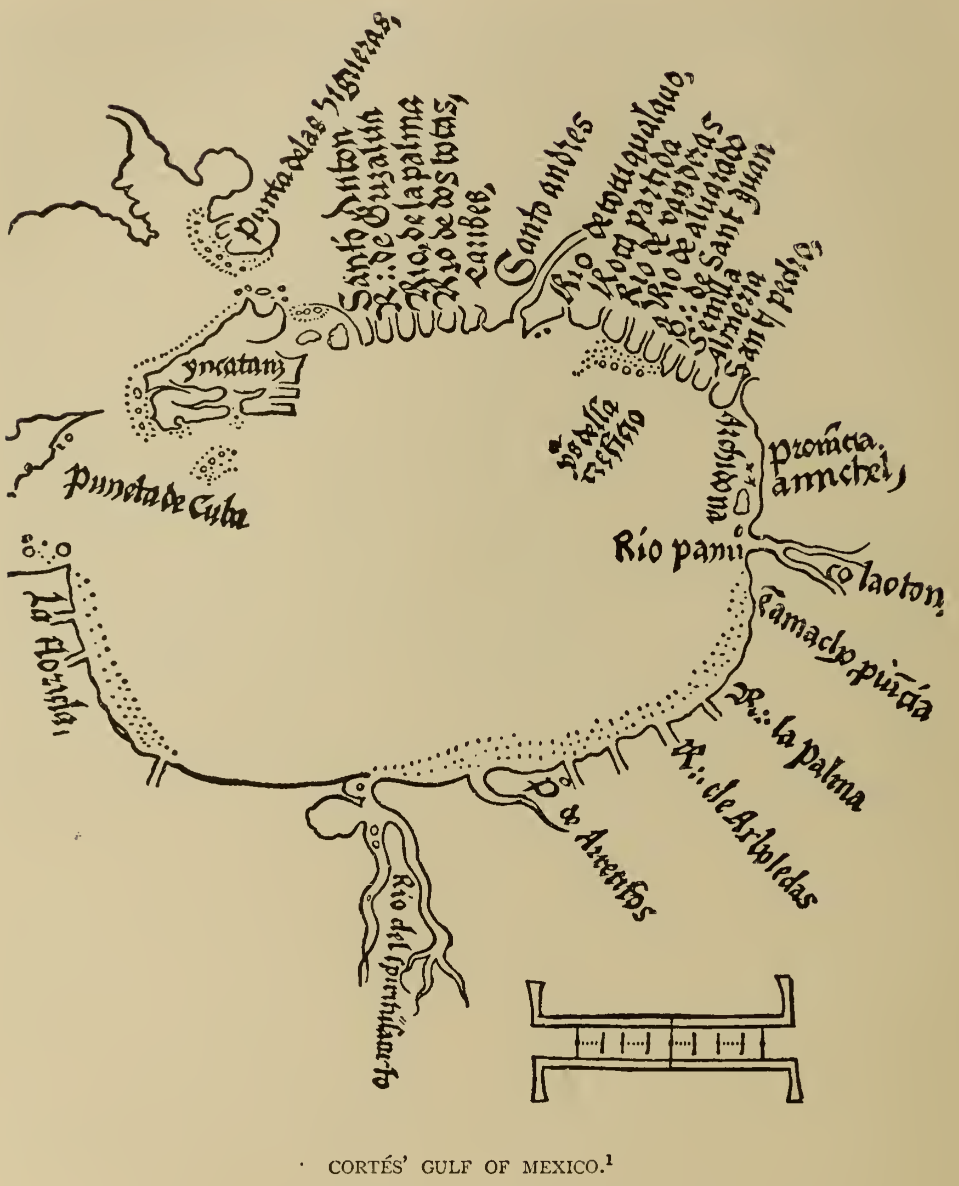
[3] Sabin, vi. 126; Carter-Brown, i. 63.

[4] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 105.

[5] *Mexico*, i. 547.

[6] Cf. Harrisse *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 118; Carter-Brown, i. 71; Brunet, ii. 310; Sabin, vol. iv. no. 16,933; Folsom, introduction to his edition. The Lenox and Barlow libraries have most, if not all, of the various early editions of the Cortés letters.

[7] Cf. Sabin, vol. iv. no. 16,934, Carter-Brown, i. 73; Brunet, ii. 311; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*. p. 84, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 120; Heber, vol. vii. no. 1,884; Ternaux, no. 27.



· CORTÉS' GULF OF MEXICO.[1]

3. The first Latin edition was published in folio at Nuremberg, in August, 1524, in roman type, with marginal notes in gothic, and was entitled: *Præclara Ferdinādi Cortesii de noua maris Oceani Hypania narratio.* It was the work of Pierre Savorgnanus.[2]

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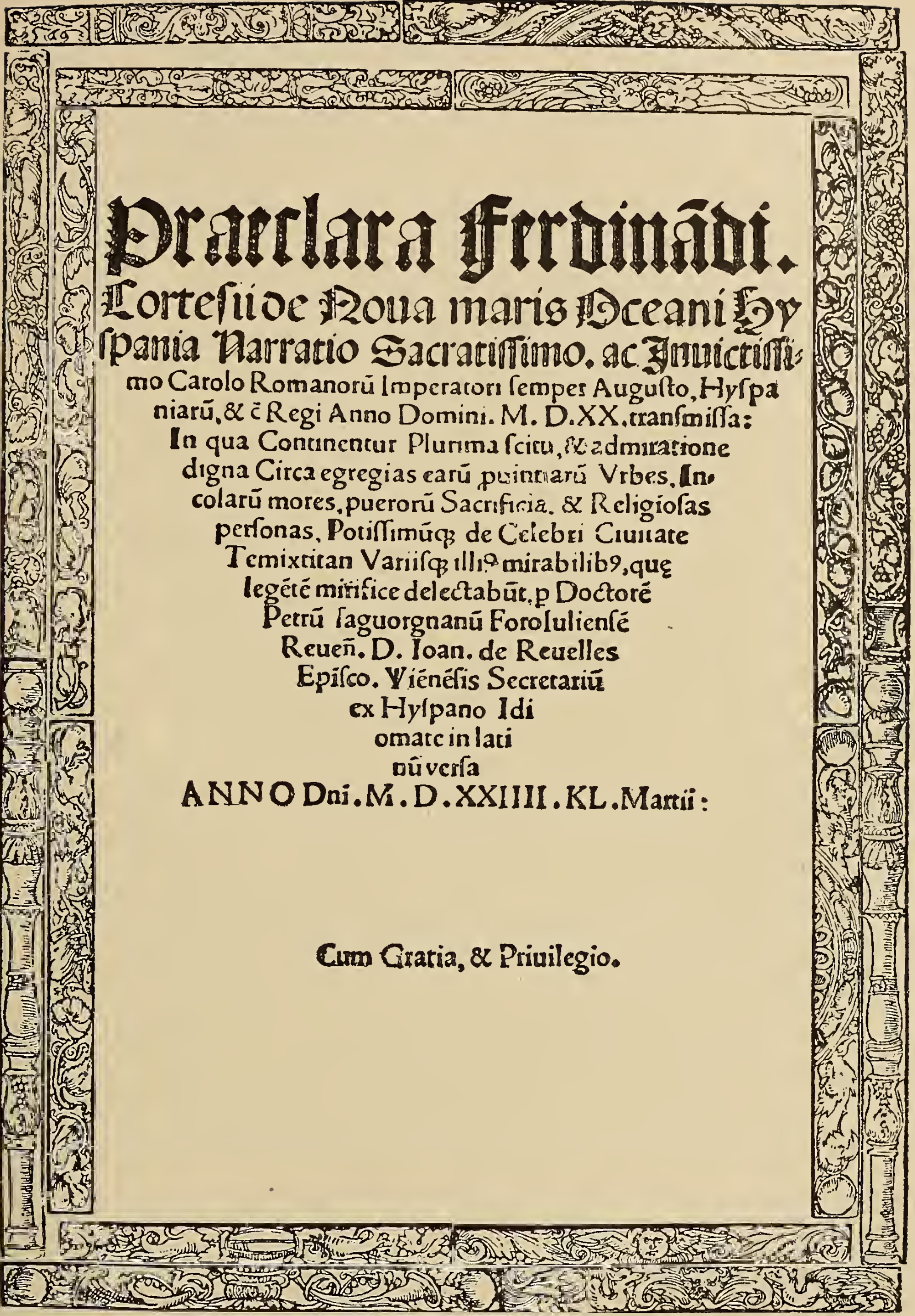
[1] This fac-simile follows the reproduction given by Stevens in his *American Bibliographer*, p. 86, and in his *Notes*, etc., pl. iv. Dr. Kohl published in the *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, neue Folge, vol. xv., a paper on the "Aelteste Geschichte der Entdeckung und Erforschung des Golfs von Mexico durch die Spanier von 1492 bis 1543." Cf. also Oscar Peschel's *Zeitalter der Entdeckungen* (1858), chap. vii., and Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 355.

[2] Cf. Carter-Brown, i. 81; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 118, 125; Brunet, ii. 312; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, p. 166; Huth, i. 353, C. Fiske Harris, *Catalogue*, no. 896; *Cooke Catalogue*, vol. iii. no. 623; Sunderland, vol. ii. no. 3,479; Sabin, vol. iv. no. 16,947; Panzer, vii. 466; Menzel, *Bibl. Hist.*, part i. p. 269; Ternaux,

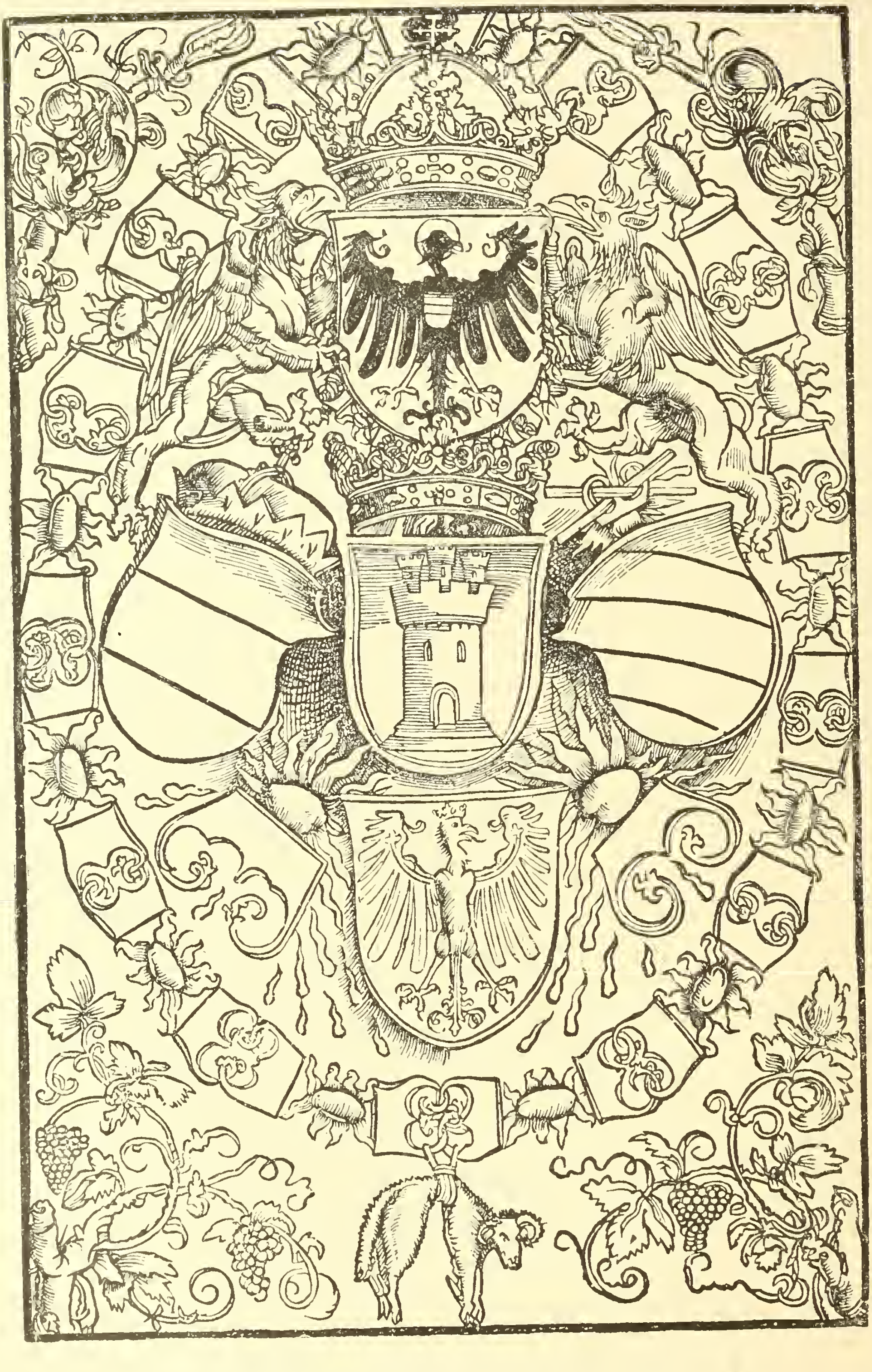


Praeclara Ferdinādi.
Corteſii de Noua maris Oceani Hy
ſpania Narratio Sacratiſſimo. ac Inuictiſſi-
mo Carolo Romanorū Imperatori ſemper Auguſto, Hyſpa
niarū, & c Regi Anno Domini. M. D.XX. tranſmiſſa:
In qua Continentur Plurima ſcitu, & admiratione
digna Circa egregias earū puintiarū Vrbes, In-
colarū mores, puerorū Sacrificia. & Religioſas
perſonas, Potiſſimūq; de Celebri Ciuitate
Temixtitan Variiſq; illi⁹ mirabilib⁹, quę
legētē mirifice delectabūt, p Doctorē
Petrū ſaguorgnanū Forolulienſē
Reueñ. D. Ioan. de Reuelles
Epiſco. Viēnēſis Secretariū
ex Hyſpano Idi
omate in lati
nū verſa
ANNO Dni. M. D. XXIIII. KL. Martii:

Cum Gratia, & Priuilegio.

TITLE OF THE LATIN CORTÉS, 1524.—REDUCED.

p. 32; Heber, vol. vi. no. 2,415 and ix. 910; Murphy Catalogue, no. 676; Stevens, *American Bibliographer*, p. 85. The book, when it contains the large folding plan of Mexico and the map of the Gulf of Mexico, is worth about $100. The plan and map are missing from the copy in the Boston Public Library. [D. 3101. 56, no. 1].



ARMS, ON THE REVERSE OF TITLE, OF THE LATIN CORTÉS, 1524.

CLE
VII
P M
Super Aspidem / et basiliscum ambulabis

CLEMENT VII.[1]

4. The Italian edition, *La preclara narratione di Ferdinando Cortese della Nuova Hispagna del Mare Oceano . . . per Nicolo Liburnio con fidelta . . . tradotta,* was printed at Venice in 1524. It follows the Latin version of Savorgnanus, and includes also the third letter.

This edition has a new engraving of the map in the Nuremberg edition, though Quaritch and others have doubted if such a map belongs to it. Leclerc (no. 151) chronicles copies with and without the map.[2] An abstract of the second letter in Italian, *Noue de le Isole et Terra Ferma*

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[1] Fac-simile of a cut in the Latin Cortés of 1524. It was this Pope who was so delighted with the Indian jugglers sent to Rome by Cortés. The Conqueror also made His Holiness other more substantial supplications for his favor, which resulted in Cortés receiving plenary indulgence for his and his companions' sins (Prescott, iii. 299).

[2] Cf. Brunet, ii. 312, and *Supplément,* col. 320; Carter-Brown, i. 82, which shows a map with inscriptions in Italian; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 129; Pinart, no. 262; Sabin, vol. iv. no. 16,951; Panzer, vol. viii. no. 1,248; Court, nos. 90, 91; Heber, vol. vi. no. 1,002, and x. 848; Walckenaer, no. 4,187. There are copies

nouamente trouate, had already appeared two years earlier, in 1522, at Milan.[1]

There were other contemporary abstracts of this letter. Sigmund Grimm, of Augsburg, is said to be the author of one, published about 1522 or 1523, called *Ein schöne newe Zeytung, so kayserlich Mayestet auss India yetz newlich zūkommen seind.* It is cited in Harrisse and the *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*; and Ternaux (no. 5) is thought to err in assigning the date of 1520 to it, as if printed in Augsburg. Of about the same date is another described by Sabin (vol. iv. no. 16,952) as printed at Antwerp, and called *Tressacree Imperiale et Catholique Mageste . . . eust nouvelles des marches ysles et terre ferme oceanes.* This seems to be based, according to Brunet, *Supplément*, vol. i. col. 320), on the first and second letters, beginning with the departure, in 1519, from Vera Cruz, and ending with the death of Montezuma.[2]

The second letter forms part of various collected editions, as follows: —

In Spanish. Bancroft (*Mexico*, i. 543) notes the second and third letters as being published in the Spanish *Thesóro de virtudes* in 1543.

Barcia's *Historiadores primitivos* (1749); also edited by Enrique de Vedia, Madrid, 1852–1853.

Historia de Nueva España, escrita por su esclarecido Conquistador Hernan Cortés, aumentada con otros documentos y notas por Don Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, arzobispo de México, Mexico, 1770. This important work, embracing the second, third, and fourth letters, has a large view of the great temple of Mexico, a map of New Spain,[3] and thirty-one plates of a hieroglyphic register of the tributaries of Montezuma, — the same later reproduced in better style by Kingsborough. Lorenzana was born in 1722, and rising through the gradations of his Church, and earning a good name as Bishop of Puebla, was made Archbishop of Toledo shortly after he had published the book now under consideration. Pius VI. made him a cardinal in 1789, and he died in Rome in 1804. Icazbalceta was not able to ascertain whether the Bishop had before him the original editions of the letters or Barcia's reprint; but he added to the value of his text by numerous annotations. In 1828 an imperfect reprint of this book, "á la ortografía moderna," was produced in New York for the Mexican market, by Manuel del Mar, under the title of *Historia de Méjico*,[4] to which a life of Cortés, by R. C. Sands, was added.[5] Icazbalceta notes some of the imperfections of this edition in his *Coleccion*, vol. i. p. xxxv.[6]

Cartas y relaciones al Emperador Carlos V., colegidas é ilustradas por P. de Gayangos, Paris, 1866. Besides the Cortés letters, this distinguished scholar included in this book various other contemporary documents relating to the Conquest, embracing letters sent to Cortés' lieutenants; and he also added an important introduction. He included the fifth letter for the first time in the series, and drew upon the archives of Vienna and Simancas with advantage.[7]

P de Gayangos

The letters were again included in the *Biblioteca histórica de la Iberia* published at Mexico in 1870.

In Latin. The second and third letters, with the account of Peter Martyr, were issued at Cologne in 1532, with the title *De insulis nuper inventis*, etc., as shown in the annexed fac-simile of the title, with its portrait of Charles V. and the escutcheons of Spanish towns and provinces.[8]

In French. Harrisse (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, *Additions*, no. 73) notes a French rendering of a

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with another colophon (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 130), connecting two printers with it, — Lexona and Sabio. F. S. Ellis, London, 1884 (no. 60), priced a copy at £52 10*s*., and Dufossé (no. 14,184) at 200 francs.

[1] Cf. Sabin, vol. iv. no. 16,950, and xiii. 56,052; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 119; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, p. 166.

[2] It is very rare, but Tross, of Paris, had a copy in his hands in 1866.

[3] Annexed herewith in fac-simile.

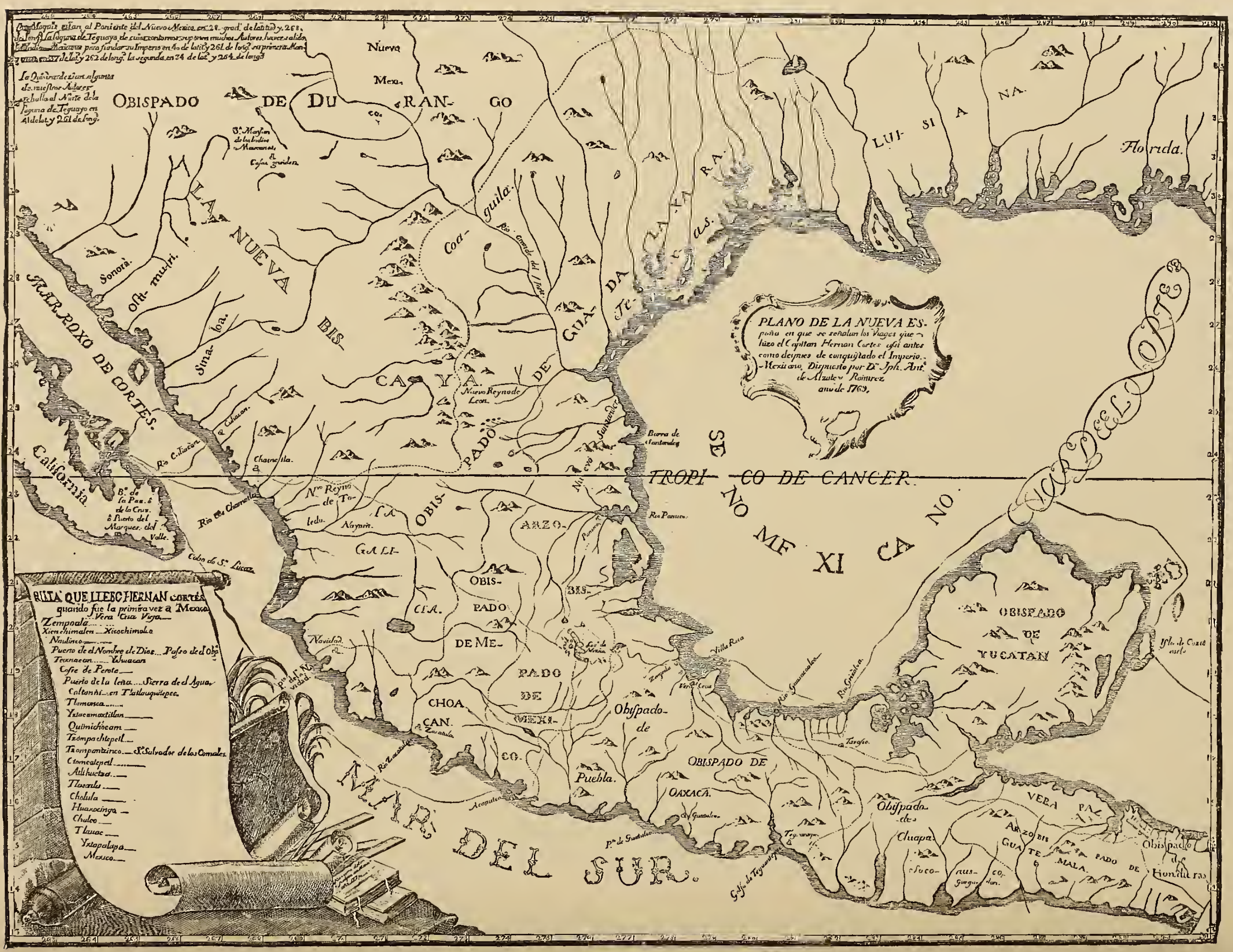
[4] Cf. Arana, *Bibliografía de obras anónimas* (1882) no. 244.

[5] Cf. the notice of Cortés in R. C. Sands's *Writings*, vol. i.

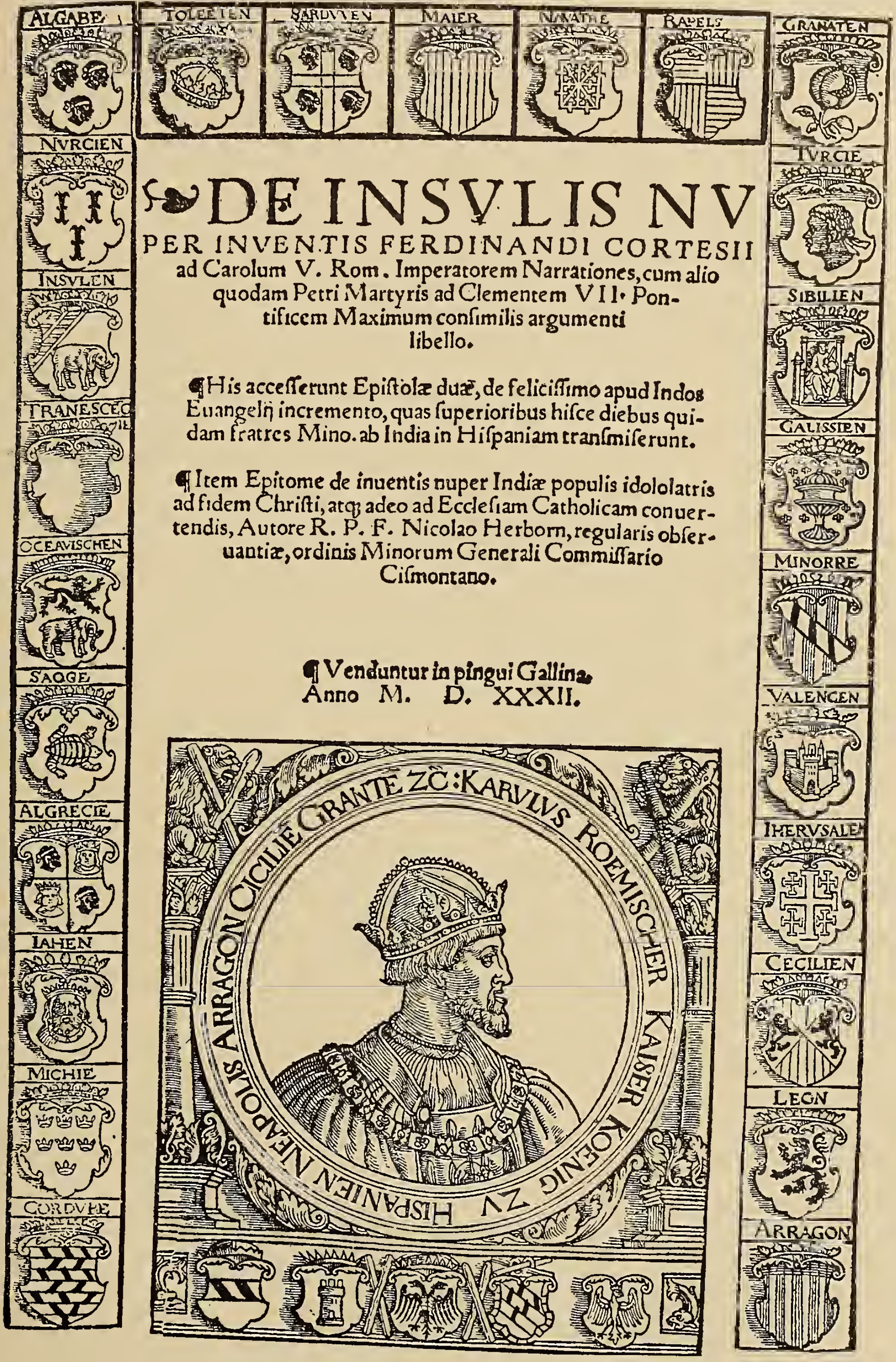
[6] The original edition of Lorenzana is usually priced at $10 to $20. Cf. Sabin, vol. iv. nos. 16,938, 16,939, and vol. x. p. 462; H. H. Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii. 378 (with a sketch of Lorenzana); Brunet, *Supplément*, i. 321; Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 1,750; Leclerc, no. 155; Sobolewski, no. 3,767; F. S. Ellis (1884), £2 2*s*.

[7] Sabin, vol. iv. no. 16,942. Bancroft (*Mexico*, i. 549), speaking of Gayangos' edition, says: "Although a few of Lorenzana's blunders find correction, others are committed; and the notes of the archbishop are adopted without credit and without the necessary amendment of date, etc., — which often makes them absurd."

[8] The book is variously priced from $20 to $60. Cf. *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 168; Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 100; *Biblioteca Grenvilliana*, p. 167; Leclerc, no. 152; Sunderland, no. 3,480; Pinart, no. 261; O'Callaghan, no. 683; Sabin, vol. iv. nos. 16,947–16,949. There were also Latin versions in the *Novus orbis* of Grynæus, 1555 and 1616.



LORENZANA'S MAP OF NEW SPAIN.



DE INSVLIS NV
PER INVENTIS FERDINANDI CORTESII
ad Carolum V. Rom. Imperatorem Narrationes, cum alio
quodam Petri Martyris ad Clementem VII. Pon-
tificem Maximum conſimilis argumenti
libello.

¶His acceſſerunt Epiſtolæ duæ, de feliciſſimo apud Indos
Euangelij incremento, quas ſuperioribus hiſce diebus qui-
dam fratres Mino. ab India in Hiſpaniam tranſmiſerunt.

¶Item Epitome de inuentis nuper Indiæ populis idololatris
ad fidem Chriſti, atq; adeo ad Eccleſiam Catholicam conuer-
tendis, Autore R. P. F. Nicolao Herborn, regularis obſer-
uantiæ, ordinis Minorum Generali Commiſſario
Ciſmontano.

¶Venduntur in pingui Gallina.
Anno M. D. XXXII.

text, seemingly made up of the first and second letters, and probably following a Spanish original, now lost, which was printed at Antwerp in 1523.[1] This second letter is also epitomized in the French *Extraict ou recueil des isles nouvellement trouvées* of Peter Martyr, printed at Paris in 1532, and in Bellegarde's *Histoire universelle des voyages* (Amsterdam, 1708), vol. i.

The principal French translation is one based on Lorenzana, abridging that edition somewhat, and numbering the letters erroneously first, second, and third. It was published at Paris in 1778, 1779, etc., under the title *Correspondance de Fernand Cortes avec l'Empereur Charles Quint*, and was translated by the Vicomte de Flavigny.[2] The text of Flavigny's second letter is included in Charton's *Voyageurs*, iii. 368–420. There were also editions of Flavigny printed in Switzerland and at Frankfort.

In German. A translation of the second and third letters, made by Andrew Diether and Birck, was published at Augsburg in 1550 as *Cortesi von dem Newen Hispanien*. After the second letter, which constitutes part i., the beginning of part ii. is borrowed from Peter Martyr, which is followed by the third letter of Cortés; and this is succeeded in turn, on folios 51–60, by letters from Venezuela about the settlements there (1534–1540), and one from Oviedo written at San Domingo in 1543. There are matters which are not contained in any of the Spanish or Latin editions.[3]

The second, third, and fourth letters — translated by J. J. Stapfer, who supplied a meritorious introduction and an appendix — were printed at Heidelberg in 1779 as *Eroberung von Mexico*, and again at Berne in 1793.[4] Another German version, by Karl Wilhelm Koppe, — *Drei Berichte des General-Kapitäns Cortes an Karl V.*, — with an introduction and notes, was published at Berlin in 1834. It has the tribute-registers and map of New Spain, as in Lorenzana's edition.[5]

In Dutch and Flemish. Harrisse (*Bibl. Amer. Vet., Additions*, no. 72) notes a tract of thirty leaves, in gothic letter, called *De Contreyen vanden Eylanden*, etc., which was printed in Antwerp in 1523 (with a French counterpart at the same time), and which seems to have been based on the first and second letters, combined in a Spanish original not now known. There is a copy in the National Library at Paris. There was a Dutch version, or epitome, in the Dutch edition of Grynæus, 1563, and a Flemish version appeared in Ablyn's *Nieuwe Weerelt*, at Antwerp, 1563. There was another Dutch rendering in Gottfried and Vander Aa's *Zee-en landreizen* (1727)[6] and in the *Brieven van Ferdinand Cortes*, Amsterdam, 1780.[7]

In Italian. In the third volume of Ramusio.

In English. Alsop translated from Flavigny the second letter, in the *Portfolio*, Philadelphia, 1817. George Folsom, in 1843, translated from Lorenzana's text the second, third, and fourth letters, which he published as *Despatches written during the Conquest*, adding an introduction and notes, which in part are borrowed from Lorenzana.[8] Willes in his edition of Eden, as early as 1577, had given an abridgment in his *History of Travayle*.[9] (See Vol. III. p. 204.)

III. *The Third Letter, covering the interval, Oct.* 30, 1520, *to May* 15, 1522. It is called *Carta tercera de relaciō*, and was printed (thirty leaves) at Seville in 1523.[10]

The next year, 1524, a Latin edition (*Tertia narratio*) appeared at Nuremberg in connection with the Latin of the second letter of that date.[11] This version was also made by Savorgnanus, and was reprinted in the *Novus orbis* of 1555.[12]

This third letter appeared also in collective editions, as explained under the head of the second letter. This letter was accompanied by what is known as the "secret letter," which was first printed in the *Documentos inéditos*, i. 11, in Kingsborough, vol. viii., and in Gayangos' edition of the letters.

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[1] The only copy known is noted in Tross's *Catalogue*, 1866, no. 2,881. It is in Roman letter, sixteen leaves.

[2] Cf. Sabin, vol. iv. no. 16,953.

[3] Cf. *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 297; Ternaux, p. 57; Trömel, p. 14; Brunet, ii. 312; Stevens, *Nuggets*, i. 188; O'Callaghan, no. 989; Sobolewski, no. 3,766; J. J. Cooke, iii. 624 (copy now in Harvard College Library). It is usually priced at £2 or £3. Dufossé (1884, no. 14,185) held a copy at 100 francs.

[4] Cf. Sabin, vol. iv. no. 16,958.

[5] Cf. Sabin, vol. iv. no. 16,959.

[6] Cf. Carter-Brown, iii. 113.

[7] Cf. Sabin, vol. iv. no. 16,962.

[8] Cf. Sabin, vol. iv. 16,964.

[9] Cf. on the second letter, Prescott, *Mexico*, Kirk's ed., ii. 425.

[10] Cf. Rich, (1832) no. 5, — £10 10*s.*; Stevens, *American Bibliographer*, p. 84; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, p. 166; Panzer, vii. 122; Heber, vol. vii. no. 1,884; Ternaux, no. 26; Brunet, ii. 311; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 121; Carter-Brown, i. 74; Sabin, vol. iv. no. 16,935.

[11] Priced by F. S. Ellis (1884) at £18 18*s*.

[12] Cf. Carter-Brown, i. 83; Ternaux, no. 33; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 126; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, p. 167, Brunet, ii. 312; Sabin, vol. iv. no. 16,948; Stevens, *American Bibliographer*, p. 87. There is a copy of the 1524 edition in the Boston Public Library. [D. 3101. 56, no. 2].

IV. *The Fourth Letter, covering the interval, May*, 1522, *to October*, 1524. There were two Spanish editions (*a*, *b*).

a. *La quarta relacion* (Toledo, 1525), in gothic letter, twenty-one leaves.[1]

b. *La quarta relaciō* (Valencia, 1526), in gothic type, twenty-six leaves.[2]

This letter was accompanied by reports to Cortés from Alvarado and Godoy, and these are also included in Barcia, Ramusio, etc.

A secret letter (dated October 15) of Cortés to the Emperor, — *Esta es una carta que Hernando Cortés escrivio al Emperador*, — sent with this fourth letter, is at Simancas. It was printed by Icazbalceta in 1855 (Mexico, sixty copies),[3] who reprinted it in his *Coleccion*, i. 470. Gayangos, in 1866, printed it in his edition (p. 325) from a copy which Muñoz had made. Icazbalceta again printed it sumptuously, "en caracteres góticos del siglo XVI.," at Mexico in 1865 (seventy copies).[4] This letter also appears in collections mentioned under the second letter. It was in this letter that Cortés explained to the Emperor his purpose of finding the supposed strait which led from the Atlantic to the south sea.

V. *The fifth letter*, *dated Sept.* 3, 1526. It pertains to the famous expedition to Honduras.[5] It is called *Carta quinta de relacion*, and was discovered through Robertson's instrumentality, but not printed at length till it appeared in the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos* (*España*), iv. 8–167, with other "relaciones" on this expedition. George Folsom reprinted it in New York in 1848 as "carta sexta . . . publicada ahora por primera vez" by mistake for "carta quinta."[6] It was translated and annotated by Gayangos for the Hakluyt Society in 1868.[7] Gayangos had already included it in his edition of the *Cartas*, 1866, and it had also been printed by Vedia in Ribadeneyras' *Biblioteca de autores Españoles* (1852), vol. xxii., and later in the *Biblioteca histórica de la Iberia* (1870). Extracts in English are given in the appendix of Prescott's *Mexico*, vol. iii. Mr. Kirk, the editor of Prescott, doubts if the copy in the Imperial Library at Vienna is the original, because it has no date. A copy at Madrid, purporting to be made from the original by Alonzo Diaz, is dated Sept. 3, 1526,[8] and is preferred by Gayangos, who collated its text with that of the Vienna Library. Various other less important letters of Cortés have been printed from time to time.[9]

In estimating the letters of Cortés as historical material, the soldierly qualities of them impressed Prescott, and Helps is struck with their directness so strongly that he is not willing to believe in the prevarications or deceits of any part of them. H. H. Bancroft,[10] on the contrary, discovers in them "calculated misstatements, both direct and negative." It is well known that Bernal Diaz and Pedro de Alvarado made complaints of their leader's too great willingness to ignore all others but himself.[11]

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[1] Cf. Sabin, vol. iv. no. 16,936; Carter-Brown, i. 85; Brunet, ii. 311; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 135; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, p. 166.

[2] The only copy known is that in the Carter-Brown Library (*Catalogue*, no. 88). Cf. Sabin, vol. iv. no. 16,937; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 138; Stevens, *American Bibliographer*, p. 85; Brunet, ii. 312; Panzer. x. 28; Heber, vol. vii. no. 1,884; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, p. 166; Ternaux, no. 34.

[3] Sabin, vol. iv. no. 16,940.

[4] Cf. Sabin, vol. iv. no. 16,941; Carter-Brown, i. 84; Court, no. 89; Prescott, *Mexico*, iii. 248.

[5] A letter about the Olid rebellion is lost; Helps, iii. 37.

[6] Cf. Sabin, vol. iv. no. 16,943.

[7] Cf. H. Vattemare in *Revue contemporaine*, 1870, vii. 532.

[8] Prescott's *Mexico*, iii. 266. Cf. references on this expedition to Honduras in H. H. Bancroft's *Central America*, i. 537, 567, 582; ii. 144; and his *Native Races*, iv. 79. This Honduras expedition is also the subject of one of Ixtlilxochitl's *Relaciones*, printed in Kingsborough's ninth volume.

[9] *Cartas al Emperador* (Sept. 11, 1526, Oct. 10, 1530), in *Documentos inéditos* (*España*), i. 14, 31, and in Kingsborough's *Mexico*, vol. viii.; *Memorial al Emperador* (1539) in *Documentos inéditos*, iv. 201. Cf. also Purchas, v. 858, and Ramusio, iii. 187. His *Última y sentidisima carta*, Feb. 3, 1544, is given in *Documentos inéditos*, i. 41, and in Prescott's *Mexico*, Kirk's ed., iii. 460. Other letters of Cortés are in the Pacheco *Coleccion* and in that of Icazbalceta. The twelfth volume of the *Biblioteca histórica de la Iberia* (Mexico, 1871), with the special title of *Escritos sueltos de Cortés*, gives nearly fifty documents. Icazbalceta, in the introduction of vol. i. p. xxxvii. of his *Coleccion*, gives a list of the *escritos sueltos* of Cortés in connection with a full bibliography of the series of *Cartas*, with corrections, derived largely from Harrisse, in vol. ii. p. lxiii.

[10] *Mexico*, i. 549, 696. "Ever ready with a lie when it suited his purpose; but he was far too wise a man needlessly to waste so useful an agent." — *Early American Chroniclers*, p. 16.

[11] Harrisse (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*) gives numerous references on Cortés. It is somewhat singular that there is no mention of him in the *Novus orbis* of 1532, and none in De Bry. Mr. Brevoort prepared the article on Cortés in Sabin's *Dictionary*.

B. Three Contemporary Writers, — Gomara, Bernal Diaz, and Sahagun. — Fortunately we have various other narratives to qualify or confirm the recitals of the leader.

In 1540, when he was thirty years old, Francisco Lopez Gomara became the chaplain and secretary of Cortés. In undertaking an historical record in which his patron played a leading part, he might be suspected to write somewhat as an adulator; and so Las Casas, Diaz, and many others have claimed that he did, and Muñoz asserts that Gomara believed his authorities too easily.[1] That the Spanish Government made a show of suppressing his book soon after it was published, and kept the edict in their records till 1729, is rather in favor of his honest chronicling. Gomara had good claims for consideration in a learned training, a literary taste, and in the possession of facilities which his relations with Cortés threw in his way; and we find him indispensable, if for no other reason, because he had access to documentary evidence which has since disappeared. His questionable reputation for bias has not prevented Herrera and other later historians placing great dependence on him, and a native writer of the beginning of the seventeenth century, Chimalpain, has translated Gomara, adding some illustrations for the Indian records.[2]

Gomara's book is in effect two distinct ones, though called at first two parts of a *Historia general de las Indias*. Of these the second part — *La conquista de México* — appeared earliest, at Saragossa in 1552, and is given to the Conquest of Mexico, while the first part, more particularly relating to the subjugation of Peru, appeared in 1553.[3] What usually passes for a second edition appeared at Medina del Campo, also in 1553;[4] and it was again reprinted at Saragossa in 1554, this time as two distinct works, — one, *Cronica de la Nueva España con la conquista de México;* and the other, *La historia general de las Indias y Nuevo Mundo.*[5] The same year (1554) saw several editions in Spanish at Antwerp, with different publishers.[6] An Italian edition followed in 1555–1556, for one titlepage, *Historia del . . . capitano Don Ferdinando Cortés*, is dated 1556, and a second, *Historia de México*, has 1555, — both at Rome.[7] Other editions, more or less complete, are noted as published in Venice

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[1] Ticknor, *Spanish Literature*, ii. 30; Prescott's *Mexico*, i. 474, and *Peru*, ii. 304, 457; H. H. Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 314, his *Mexico*, and his *Early American Chroniclers*, p. 21.

[2] There are curious stories about this book, in which there is not entire accord with one another. The fact seems to be that Bustamante got hold of the manuscript, and supposed it an original work of Chimalpain, and announced it for publication in a Spanish dress, as translated from the Nahuatl, under the title of *Historia de las conquistas de Hernando Cortés*, under which name it appeared in two volumes in Mexico in 1826 (*Ticknor Catalogue*, p. 207). Bandelier and others referring to it have supposed it to be what the title represented (*Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, new series, i. 84; cf. *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, p. 204); but it is printed in Spanish nevertheless, and is nothing more than a translation of Gomara. Bustamante in his preface does not satisfy the reader's curiosity, and this Mexican editor's conduct in the matter has been the subject of apology and suspicion. Cf. Quaritch's *Catalogues*, nos. 11,807, 12,043, 17,632; H. H. Bancroft, *Central America*, i. 315; Sabin, vii. no. 27,753. Quaritch adds that Bustamante's text seems rather like a modern improvement of Gomara than a retranslation, and that a manuscript apparently different and called Chimalpain's history was sold in the Abbé Fischer's sale in 1869.

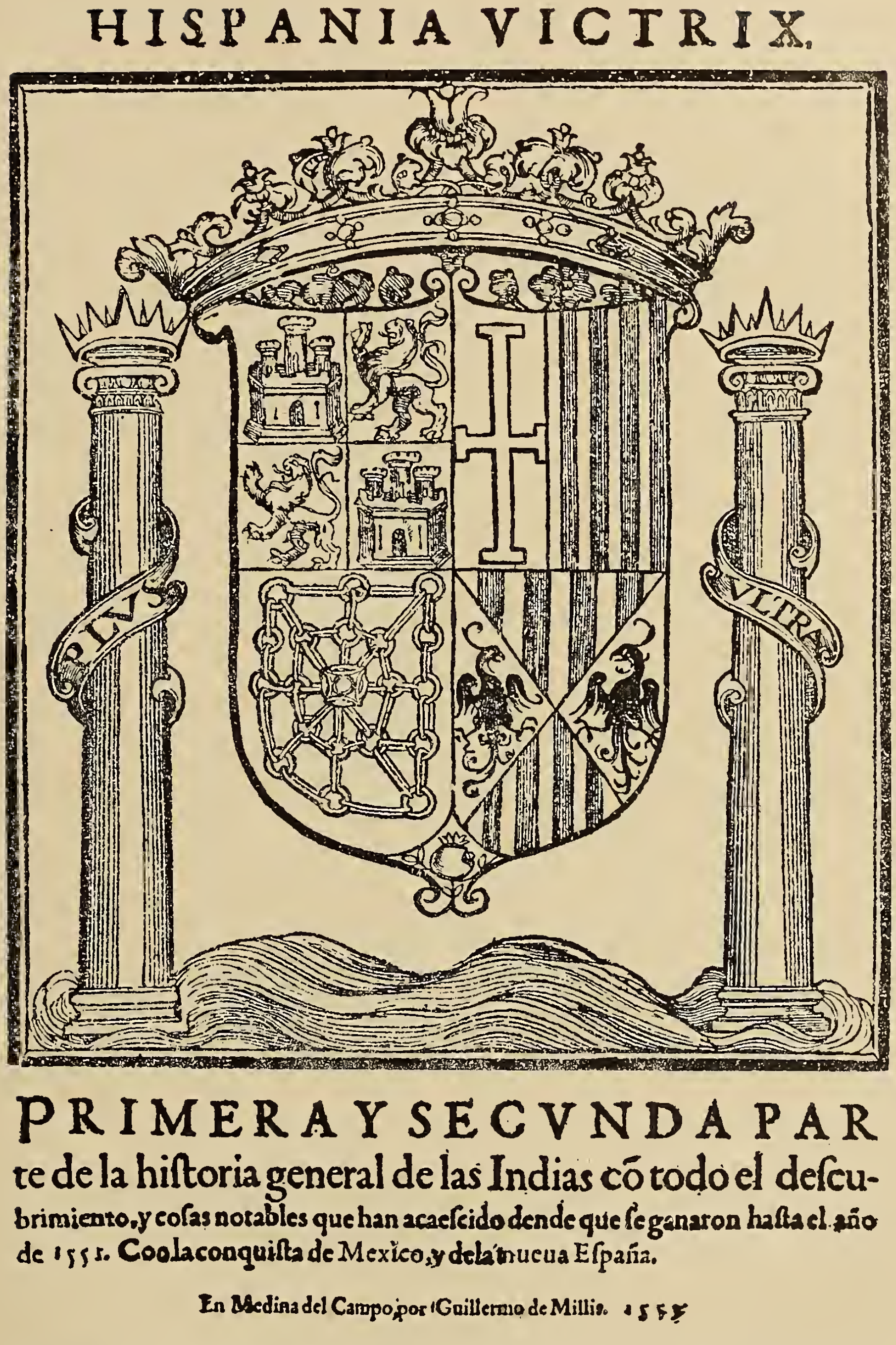
[3] It is a small folio, and has become extremely rare, owing, perhaps, in part to the attempted suppression of it. Quaritch in 1883 priced a copy at £75. It should have two maps, one of the Indies, the other of the Old World (Ternaux, no. 61; Carter-Brown, nos. 177, 178; Sunderland, vol. iii. no. 7,575; *Library of an Elizabethan Admiral*, 1883, no. 338; Leclerc, no. 2,779; Rich (1832), no. 23, £10 10*s.*; Sabin, vol. vii. no. 27,724; Murphy, no. 1,062).

[4] Carter-Brown, vol. i. nos. 179, 180; Sabin, vol. vii. no. 27,725; Leclerc, 800 francs. Mr. J. C. Brevoort has a copy. Sabin (no. 27,726) notes a *Conquista de México* (Madrid, 1553) which he has not seen, but describes it at second hand as having the royal arms where the Medina edition has the arms of Cortés, and intimates that this last may have been the cause of the alleged suppression.

[5] Carter-Brown, vol. i. nos. 187, 188, with a fac-simile of the title of the former; and on p. 169 is noted another Saragossa edition of 1555. Sabin, vol. vii. nos. 27,727, 27,728.

[6] *Historia de México*, Juan Steelsio, and again Juan Bellero (with his map); *La historia general de las Indias*, Steelsio. These are in Harvard College Library. Sabin (vol. vii. nos. 27,729–27,732) notes of these Antwerp editions, — *Historia general*, Nucio, Steelsio, and Bellero; *Historia de México*, Bellero, Lacio, Steelsio; and *Conquista de México*, Nucio. The *Carter-Brown Catalogue* (nos. 189–193) shows the *Historia de México* with the Steelsio and Bellero imprints, and copies of the *Historia general* with the imprints of Bellero and Martin Nucio. Quaritch prices the Bellero *México* at £5 5*s.* Rich priced it in 1832 at £3 3*s.* There is a Steelsio *México* in the Boston Public Library. Cf. *Huth Catalogue*, ii. 605; Murphy, nos. 1,057–1,059; Court nos. 146, etc. Of the later Spanish texts, that in Barcia's *Historiadores primitivos* (1748–1749) is mutilated; the best is that in the *Biblioteca de autores Españoles*, published at Madrid in 1852.

[7] Such, at least, is the condition of the copy in Harvard College Library; while the two titles are attached to different copies in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, vol. i. nos. 199, 210. The *México* is also in the Boston Athenæum. Cf. *O'Callaghan Catalogue*, no. 989. Sabin (vol. vii. nos. 27,734–27,735) says the 1555 title is a



HISPANIA VICTRIX.

PRIMERA Y SECVNDA PAR
te de la hiſtoria general de las Indias cõ todo el deſcu-
brimiento, y coſas notables que han acaeſcido dende que ſe ganaron haſta el año
de 1551. Coo la conquiſta de Mexico, y dela nueua Eſpaña.

En Medina del Campo, por Guillermo de Millis. 1553

cancelled one. Mr. Brevoort possesses a *Historia generale delle Indie occidentali* (Rome, 1556), which he calls a translation of part i. Cf. Sabin, vol. vii. no. 27,736; Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 200. F. S. Ellis (1884, no. 111) prices a copy at £2 2*s*. Sabin (no. 27,737) also notes a Gomara, as published in 1557 at Venice, as the second part of a history, of which Cieza de Leon's was the first part.

in 1560, 1564, 1565, 1566, 1570, 1573, 1576, and 1599.[1] The earliest French edition appeared at Paris in 1568 and 1569, for the two dates and two imprints seem to belong to one issue; and its text — a not very creditable translation by Fumée — was reproduced in the editions of 1577, 1578, 1580, and with some additions in 1584, 1587, 1588, and 1597.[2] The earliest edition in English omits much. It is called *The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India, now called New Spayne, atchieved by the worthy Prince Hernando Cortes, Marques of the valley of Huaxacac, most delectable to reade, translated out of the Spanishe tongue by T[homas] N[icholas]*, published by Henry Bynneman in 1578.[3] Gomara himself warned his readers against undertaking a Latin version, as he had one in hand himself; but it was never printed.[4]

Gomara had, no doubt, obscured the merits of the captains of Cortés in telling the story of that leader's career. Instigated largely by this, and confirmed in his purpose, one of the partakers in the glories and hardships of the Conquest was impelled to tell the story anew, in the light of the observation which fell to a subordinate. He was not perhaps so much jealous of the fame of Cortés as he was hurt at the neglect by Gomara of those whose support had made the fame of Cortés possible. This was Bernal Diaz del Castillo, and his book is known as the *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, which was not printed till 1632 at Madrid, nor had it been written till half a century after the Conquest, during which interval the name of Cortés had gathered its historic prestige. Diaz had begun the writing of it in 1568 at Santiago in Guatemala, when, as he tells us, only five of the original companions of Cortés remained alive.[5] It is rudely, or rather simply, written, as one might expect. The author has none of the practised arts of condensation; and Prescott[6] well defines the story as long-winded and gossiping, but of great importance. It is indeed inestimable, as the record of the actor in more than a hundred of the fights which marked the progress of the Conquest. The untutored air of the recital impressed Robertson and Southey with confidence in its statements, and the reader does not fail to be conscious of a minute rendering of the life which made up those eventful days. His criticism of Cortés himself does not, by any means, prevent his giving him great praise; and, as Prescott says,[7] he censures his leader, but he does not allow any one else to do the same. The lapse of time before Diaz set about his literary task did not seem to abate his zeal or check his memory; but it does not fail, however, to diminish our own confidence a good deal. Prescott [8] contends that the better the acquaintance with Diaz' narrative, the less is the trust which one is inclined to put in it.[9] The Spanish text which we possess is taken, it is said, directly from the original manuscript, which had slumbered in private hands till Father Alonso Rémon found it, or a copy of it, in Spain, and obtained a decree to print it,[1] about fifty years after Diaz' death, which occurred in 1593, or thereabouts.

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[1] Carter-Brown, vol. i. nos. 232, 233, 250, 306, 541; Sabin, vol. vii. nos. 27,739–27,745. The *Historia general* was published in Venice in 1565 as the second part of a *Historie dell' Indie*, of which Cieza de Leon's *Historie del Peru* was the first part, and Gomara's *Conquista di Messico* (1566) was the third. This Italian translation was made by Lucio Mauro. The three parts are in Harvard College Library and in the Boston Public Library (Sabin, vol. vii. no. 27,738).

[2] Carter-Brown, vol. i. nos. 273, 274, 314, 324, 334, 357, 371, 375; Sabin, vol. vii. nos. 27,746–27,750; Murphy, nos. 1,059*, 1,061; O'Callaghan, no. 990. F. S. Ellis (1884, no. 108) prices the 1569 edition at £10 10*s*. The 1578 and 1588 editions are in Harvard College Library, — the latter is called *Voyages et conquestes du Capitaine Ferdinand Courtois*. Cf. Sabin, vol. iv. no. 16,955. Harrisse says that Oviedo, as well as Gomara, was used in this production. There were later French texts in 1604, 1605, and 1606. Cf. Carter-Brown, vol. ii. nos. 34, 46; Rich (1832), no. 104; Sabin (vol. vii. no. 27,749) also says of the 1606 edition that pp. 67–198 are additional to the 1578 edition.

[3] Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 323; Menzies, no. 814; Crowninshield, no. 285; Rich (1832), no. 58; Brinley, no. 5,309; Murphy, no. 1,060. There are copies of this and of the 1596 reprint in Harvard College Library; and of the 1578 edition in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library and in Mr. Deane's Collection; cf. Vol. III. pp. 27, 204. An abridgment of Gomara had already been given in 1555 by Eden in his *Decades*, and in 1577 in Eden's *History of Travayle*; and his account was later followed by Hakluyt.

[4] The bibliography of Gomara in Sabin (vol. vii. p. 395) was compiled by Mr. Brevoort. The *Carter-Brown Catalogue* (vol. i. p. 169) gives a list of editions; cf. Leclerc, no. 243, etc.

[5] Bancroft (*Mexico*, ii. 339) gives references for tracing the Conquerors and their descendants.

[6] *Mexico*, ii. 146; cf. H. H. Bancroft, *Early Chroniclers*, p. 14.

[7] Ibid., ii. 459.

[8] Ibid., i. 473.

[9] Bancroft speaks of the account's "exceeding completeness, its many new facts, and varied version (*Mexico*, i. 697).

The nearest approach among contemporaries to a survey of the story of the Conquest from the Aztec side is that given by the Franciscan, Sahagun, in connection with his great work on the condition of the Mexican peoples prior to the coming of the Spaniards. Sahagun came to Mexico in 1529. He lived in the new land for over sixty years, and acquired a proficiency in the native tongue hardly surpassed by any other of the Spaniards. He brought to the new field something besides the iconoclastic frenzy that led so many of his countrymen to destroy what they could of the literature and arts of the Aztecs, — so necessary in illustration of their pagan life and rites. This zealous and pious monk turned aside from seeking the preferments of his class to study the motives, lives, and thoughts of the Aztec peoples. He got from them their hieroglyphics; these in turn were translated into the language of their speech, but expressed in the Roman character; and the whole subjected more than once to the revising of such of the natives as had, in his day, been educated in the Spanish schools.[2] Thirty years were given to this kind of preparation; and when he had got his work written out in Mexican, the General of his Order seized it, and some years elapsed before a restitution of it was made. Sahagun had got to be eighty years old when, with his manuscript restored to him, he set about re-writing it, with the Mexican text in one column and the Spanish in another. The two huge volumes of this script found their way to Spain, and were lost sight of till Muñoz discovered them in the convent of Tolosa in Navarre, not wholly unimpaired by the vicissitudes to which they had been subjected.

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[1] Scherzer (in his edition of Ximenes' *Las historias del origen de los Indios de esta provincia de Guatemala*, 1857) says that the text as published is very incorrect, and adds that the original manuscript is in the city library at Guatemala. Brasseur says he has seen it there. It is said to have a memorandum to show that it was finished in 1605 at Guatemala. We have no certain knowledge of Diaz' death to confirm the impression that he could have lived to the improbable age which this implies. (Cf. *Magazine of American History*, i. 129, 328–329.) There are two editions of it, in different type, which have the seal of authenticity. One was dated in 1632; the other, known as the second edition, is without date, and has an additional chapter (numbered wrongly ccxxii.) concerning the portents among the Mexicans which preceded the coming of the Spaniards. It is explained that this was omitted in the first edition as not falling within the personal observation of Diaz. (Cf. Sabin, vol. vi. nos. 19,978, 19,979; Carter-Brown, ii. 387; Murphy, no. 790; Court, nos. 106, 107; Leclerc, no. 1,115. Rich priced it in his day at $10; it now usually brings about $30.) There are later editions of the Spanish text, — one issued at Mexico in 1794–1795, in four small volumes (Sabin, vol. vi. no. 19,980; Leclerc, no. 1,117, 40 francs); a second, Paris, 1837 (Sabin, vol. vi. no. 19,981); and another, published in 1854, in two quarto volumes, with annotations from the Cortés letters, etc. It is also contained in Vedia's edition of the *Historiadores primitivos*, vol. ii. There are three German editions, one published at Hamburg in 1848, with a preface by Karl Ritter, and others bearing date at Bonn, 1838 and 1843 (Sabin, vi. no. 19,986–19,987). There are two English versions, — one by Maurice Keating, published at London in 1800 (with a large map of the Lake of Mexico), which was reprinted at Salem, Mass., in 1803 (Sabin, vol. vi. nos. 19,984–19,985). Mr. Deane points out how Keating, without any explanation, transfers from chap. xviii. and other parts of the text sundry passages to a preface. A second English translation, —*Memoirs of Diaz*,— by John Ingram Lockhart, was published in London in 1844 (Sabin, vol. vi. no. 19,983), and is also included in Kerr's *Voyages*, vols. iii. and iv. Munsell issued an abridged English translation by Arthur Prynne at Albany in 1839 (Sabin, vol. vi. no. 19,982). The best annotated of the modern issues is a French translation by D. Jourdanet, *Histoire véridique de la conquête de la Nouvelle Espagne*, Paris, 1876. In the following year a second edition was issued, accompanied by a study on the human sacrifices of the Aztecs, and enriched with notes, a bibliography, and a chapter from Sahagun on the vices of the Mexicans. It also contained a modern map of Mexico, showing the marches of Cortés; the map of the valley, indicating the contraction of the lake (the same as used by Jourdanet in other works), and a reproduction of a map of the lake illustrating the operations of Cortés, which follows a map given in the Mexican edition of Clavigero. A list of the *Conquistadores* gives three hundred and seventy-seven names, which are distinguished apart as constituting the followers of Cortés, Camargo, Salcedo, Garay, Narvaez, and Ponçe de Leon. This list is borrowed from the *Diccionario universal de historia y de geografía, . . . especialmente sobre la república Mexicana*, 1853–1856. (Cf. *Norton's Literary Gazette*, Jan. 15, 1835, and *Revue des questions historiques*, xxiii. 249.) This *Diccionario* was published at Mexico, in 1853–1856, in ten volumes, based on a similar work printed in Spain, but augmented in respect to Mexican matters by various creditable collaborators, while vols. viii., ix., and x. are entirely given to Mexico, and more particularly edited by Manuel Orozco y Berra. The work is worth about 400 francs. The *Cartas de Indias* (Madrid, 1877) contained a few unpublished letters of Bernal Diaz.

[2] Sahagun's study of the Aztec tongue was a productive one. Biondelli published at Milan in 1858, from a manuscript by Sahagun, an *Evangelarium epistolarium et lectionarium Aztecum sive Mexicanum, ex antiquo codice Mexicano nuper reperto;* and Quaritch in 1880 (*Catalogue*, p. 46, no. 261, etc.) advertised various other manuscripts of his *Sermones in Mexicano*, etc. Jourdanet in his edition (p. x.) translates the opinion of Sahagun given by his contemporary and fellow-Franciscan, Fray Geronimo Mendieta, in his *Historia eclesiastica Indiana* (Mexico, 1860) p. 633. There is a likeness of Sahagun in Cumplido's edition of Prescott's *Mexico*, published at Mexico in 1846, vol. iii.

The Nahuatl text, which made part of it, is still missing.[1]

It was not long afterward (1829–1830) printed by Cárlos María Bustamante in three volumes as *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*,[2] to which was added, as a fourth volume, also published separately, *Historia de la conquista de México*, containing what is usually cited as the twelfth book of Sahagun. In this, as in the other parts, he used a copy which Muñoz had made, and which is the earlier draft of the text as Sahagun formed it. It begins with a recital of the omens which preceded the coming of Grijalva, and ends with the fall of the city; and it is written, as he says, from the evidence, in large part, of the eye-witnesses, particularly on the Aztec side, though mixed, somewhat confusedly, with recollections from old Spanish soldiers. Harrisse[3] speaks of this edition as "castrated in such a way as to require, for a perfect understanding of this dry but important book, the reading of the parts published in vols. v. and vi. of Kingsborough." The text, as given in Kingsborough's *Mexico*, began to appear about a year later, that edition only giving, in the first instance, book vi., which relates to the customs of the Aztecs before the Conquest; but in a later volume he reproduced the whole of the work without comment. Kingsborough had also used the Muñoz text, and has made, according to Simeon, fewer errors in transcribing the Nahuatl words than Bustamante, and has also given a purer Spanish text. Bustamante again printed, in 1840, another text of this twelfth book, after a manuscript belonging to the Conde de Cortina, appending notes by Clavigero and others, with an additional chapter.[4] The Mexican editor claimed that this was the earlier text; but Prescott denies it. Torquemada is thought to have used, but without due acknowledgment, still another text, which is less modified than the others in expressions regarding the Conquerors. The peculiar value of Sahagun's narrative hardly lies in its completeness, proportions, or even trustworthiness as an historical record. "His accuracy as regards any historical fact is not to be relied on," says Helps.[5] Brevoort calls the work of interest mainly for its records of persons and places not found elsewhere.[6] Prescott thinks that this twelfth book is the most honest record which the natives have left us, as Sahagun embodies the stories and views prevalent among the descendants of the victims of the Conquest. "This portion of the work," he says, "was re-written by Sahagun at a later period of his life, and considerable changes were made in it; yet it may be doubted if the reformed version reflects the traditions of the country as faithfully as the original draft."[7] This new draft was made by Sahagun in 1585, thirty years after the original writing, for the purpose, as he says, of adding some things which had been omitted, and leaving out others. Prescott could not find, in comparing this later draft with the earlier, that its author had mitigated any of the statements which, as he first wrote them, bore so hard on his countrymen. The same historian

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[1] A part of the original manuscript of Sahagun was exhibited, says Brinton (*Aboriginal American Authors*, p. 27), at the Congrès des Américanistes at Madrid in 1881.

[2] Field, *Indian Bibliography*, no. 1,348. Stevens (*Historical Collections*, vol. i., no. 1,573) mentions a copy of this edition, which has notes and collations with the original manuscript made by Don J. F. Ramirez. Cf. *Ticknor Catalogue*, p. 316.

[3] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 208.

[4] The book was called: *La aparicion de N^{tra}. Señora de Guadalupe de México, comprobada con la refutacion del argumento negativo que presenta Muñoz, fundandose en el testimonio del P. Fr. Bernardino Sahagun; ó sea: Historia original de este escritor, que altera la publicada en* 1829 *en el equivocado concepto de ser la unica y original de dicho autor. Publícala, precediendo una disertacion sobre la aparicion guadalupana, y con notas sobre la conquista de México.* Cf. *Ticknor Catalogue*, p. 46.

[5] *Spanish Conquest*, ii. 346.

[6] *Magazine of American History* (November, 1881) p. 378. Cf. other estimates in H. H. Bancroft's *Mexico*, i. 493, 696; *Native Races*, iii. 231–236; *Early Chroniclers*, pp. 19, 20. Bernal Diaz and Sahagun are contrasted by Jourdanet in the introduction to his edition of the latter. Cf. also Jourdanet's edition of Bernal Diaz and the article on Sahagun by Ferdinand Denis in the *Revue des Deux Mondes.*

[7] Prescott's *Mexico*, Kirk's ed. ii. 38.

thinks there is but little difference in the intrinsic value of the two drafts.[1]

The best annotated edition of Sahagun is a French translation, published in Paris in 1880 as *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle Espagne*, seemingly from the Kingsborough text, which is more friendly to the Spaniards than the first of Bustamante. The joint editors are Denis Jourdanet and Remi Siméon, the latter, as a Nahuatl scholar, taking charge of those portions of the text which fell within his linguistic range, and each affording a valuable introduction in their respective studies.[2]

C. Other Early Accounts. — The *Voyages, Relations, et Mémoires* of Ternaux-Compans (Paris, 1837–1840) offer the readiest source of some of the most significant of the documents and monographs pertaining to early Mexican history. Two of the volumes[3] gather some of the minor documents. Another volume[4] is given to Zurita's "Rapport sur les différentes classes des chefs de la Nouvelle Espagne." Three others[5] contain an account of the cruelties practised by the Spaniards at the Conquest, and the history of the ancient kings of Tezcuco, — both the work of Ferdinando d'Alva Ixtlilxochitl.[6] The former work, not correctly printed, and called, somewhat arbitrarily, *Horribles crueldades de los Conquistadores de México*, was first published by Bustamante, in 1829, as a supplement to Sahagun. The manuscript (which was no. 13 of a number of *Noticias*, or *Relaciones históricas*, by this native writer) had been for a while after the writer's death (about 1648) preserved in the library of the Jesuit College in Mexico, and had thence passed to the archivo-general of the State. It bears the certificate of a notary, in 1608, that it had been compared with the Aztec records and found to be correct. The original work contained several *Relaciones*, but only the one (no. 13) relating to the Conquest was published by Bustamante and Ternaux.[7]

The other work of Ixtlilxochitl was first printed (after Veytia's copy) in Spanish by Kingsborough, in his ninth volume, before Ternaux, who used another copy, included it in his collection under the title of *Histoire des Chichimeque ou des anciens Rois de Tezcuco*. This is the only work of Ixtlilxochitl which has been printed entire. According to Clavigero, these treatises were written at the instance of the Spanish viceroy; and as a descendant of the royal line of Tezcuco (the great great-grandson, it is said, of the king of like name) their author had great advantages, with perhaps great predispositions to laudation, though he is credited with extreme carefulness in his statements;[8] and Prescott affirms that he has been followed with confidence by such as have had access to his writings. Ixtlilxochitl informs us that he has derived his material from such remains of his ancestral documents as were left to him. He seems also to have used Gomara and other accessible authorities. He lived in the early part of the seventeenth century, and as interpreter of the viceroy maintained a respectable social position when many of his royal line were in the humblest service. His *Relaciones* are hardly regular historical compositions, since they lack independent and compact form; but his *Historia Chichimeca* is the best of them, and is more depended upon by Prescott than the others are. There is a certain charm in his simplicity, his picturesqueness, and honesty; and readers accept these qualities often in full recompense for his credulity and want of discrimination, — and perhaps for a certain servility to the Spanish masters, for whose bounty he could press the claims of a line of vassals of his own blood.[9]

D. Native Writers. — The pious vandalism of the bishops of Mexico and Yucatan, which doomed to destruction so much of the native records of days antecedent to the Conquest,[10] fortunately was not so ruthlessly exercised later, when native writers gathered up what they could, and told the story of their people's downfall, either in the language of the country or in an acquired Spanish.[11] Brasseur de Bourbourg, in the introduction to his *Nations civilisées du Mexique* (Paris, 1857–1859), enumerates the manuscript sources to which he had access,[1] largely pertaining to the period anterior to the Spaniards, but also in part covering the history of the Conquest, which in his fourth volume[2] he narrates mainly from the native point of view, while he illustrates the Indian life under its contact with the Spanish rule.

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[1] Prescott, *Mexico*, iii. 214.

[2] Mr. Brevoort reviewed this edition in the *Magazine of American History*.

[3] Vols. x. and xvi. In one of these is the *Chronica Compendiosissima* of Amandus (Antwerp, 1534), which contains the letters of Peter of Ghent, or De Mura, — *Recueil des pièces relatives à la Conquête du Mexique*, pp. 193–203. Cf. Sabin, vol. i. no. 994.

[4] Vol. xi. Zurita is also given in Spanish in the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos*, vol. ii. (1865), but less perfectly than in Ternaux. The document was written about 1560.

[5] Vols. viii., xii., xiii.

[6] Field, *Indian Bibliography*, nos. 1540–1541.

[7] Ibid., no. 767.

[8] Ibid., no. 766; Sabin, vol. ix. p. 168. Cf. Brinton, *Aboriginal American Authors*, p. 15.

[9] Prescott, *Mexico*, vol. i. pp. 163, 174, 206, 207; vol. iii. p. 105; and H. H. Bancroft, *Mexico*, vol. i. pp. 339, 697; vol. ii. p. 24; Kingsborough, vol. ix.

[10] Brinton, *Aboriginal American Literature*, p. 24.

[11] Icazbalceta, in his *Apuntes para un Catálogo de Escritores en lenguas indigenas de America* (Mexico 1866), gives a summary of the native literature preserved to us. Cf. Brinton's *Aboriginal American Authors*, p. 14, etc., on natives who acquired reputation as writers of Spanish.

Brasseur was fortunate in having access to the Aubin Collection of manuscripts,[3] which had originally been formed between 1736 and 1745 by the Chevalier Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci; and that collector in 1746 gave a catalogue of them at the end of his *Idea de una nueva historia general de la America septentrional*, published at Madrid in that year.[4] Unfortunately, the labors of this devoted archæologist incurred the jealousy of the Spanish Government, and his library was more or less scattered; but to him we owe a large part of what we find in the collections of Bustamante, Kingsborough, and Ternaux. Mariano Veytia[5] was his executor, and had the advantages of Boturini's collections in his own *Historia Antigua de Mejico*.[6] Boturini's catalogue, however, shows us that much has disappeared, which we may regret. Such is the *Cronica* of Tlaxcala, by Juan Ventura Zapata y Mendoza, which brought the story down to 1689, which Brinton hopes may yet be discovered in Spain.[7] One important work is saved,—that of Camargo.

Muñoz Camargo was born in Mexico just after the Conquest, and was connected by marriage with leading native families, and attained high official position in Tlaxcala, whose history he wrote, beginning its composition in 1576, and finishing it in 1585. He had collected much material. Ternaux[8] printed a French translation of a mutilated text; but it has never been printed in the condition, fragmentary though it be, in which it was recovered by Boturini. Prescott says the original manuscript was long preserved in a convent in Mexico, where Torquemada used it. It was later taken to Spain, when it found its way into the Muñoz Collection in the Academy of History at Madrid, whence Prescott got his copy. This last historian speaks of the work as supplying much curious and authentic information respecting the social and religious condition of the Aztecs. Camargo tells fully the story of the Conquest, but he deals out his applause and sympathy to the conquerors and the conquered with equal readiness.[9]

Other manuscripts have not yet been edited. Chimalpain's *Cronica Mexicana*, in the Nahuatl tongue, which covers the interval from A. D. 1068 to 1597, is one of these. Another Nahuatl manuscript in Boturini's list is an anonymous history of Culhuacan and Mexico. An imperfect translation of this into Spanish, by Galicia, has been made in Mexico. Brasseur copied it, and called it the *Codex Chimalpopoca*.[10] In 1879 the Museo Nacional at Mexico began to print it in their *Anales* (vol. ii.), adding a new version by Mendoza and Solis, under the title of *Anales de Cuanhtitlan*.[11]

Bancroft's list, prefixed to his *Mexico*, makes mention of most of these native Mexican sources. Of principal use among them may be mentioned Fernando de Alvaro Tezozomoc's *Cronica Mexicana*, or *Histoire du Mexique*, written in 1598, and published in 1853, in Paris, by Ternaux-Compans.[12]

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[1] Vol. i. p. lxxiv; and on p. lxxviii he gives accounts of various manuscripts, chiefly copies, owned by himself. He also traces the rise of his interest in American studies, while official position in later years gave him unusual facilities for research. His conclusions and arguments are often questioned by careful students. Cf. Bandelier, in *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1880, p. 93.

[2] In the introduction to this volume Brasseur reviews the native writers on the Conquest. Bancroft (*Mexico*, vol. i. p. 493, vol. ii. p. 488) thinks he hardly does Cortés justice, and is prone to accept without discrimination the native accounts, to the discredit of those of the conquerors. Brasseur gives abundant references; and since the publication of the *Pinart-Brasseur Catalogue*, we have a compact enumeration of his own library.

[3] He enumerates a few of the treasures, vol. i. p. lxxvi.

[4] The list is not found in all copies. *Murphy Catalogue*, p. 300. F. S. Ellis (London, 1884) prices a copy at £2 2*s*.

[5] Born at Puebla 1710; died 1780.

[6] Published in three volumes in Mexico in 1836. Edited by C. F. Ortega. Cf. Prescott, *Mexico*, book i. chap. i. Veytia also edited from Boturini's collection, and published with notes at Mexico in 1826, *Tezcuco en los ultimos tiempos de sus antiguos reyes* (*Murphy Catalogue*, no. 428).

[7] *Aboriginal American Authors*, p. 26, where are notices of other manuscripts on Tlaxcalan history.

[8] Cf. *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* (1845), vol. ii. p. 129, etc.

[9] Prescott, *Mexico*, vol. ii. p. 286; Bancroft, *Mexico*, vol. i. p. 200.

[10] *Pinart-Brasseur Catalogue*, no. 237.

[11] Brinton's *Aboriginal American Authors*, p. 26. Mr. A. F. Bandelier is said to be preparing an edition of it.

[12] Cf. *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, 1844–1849. Ternaux's translation is much questioned. Cf. also Kingsborough, vol. ix., and the *Biblioteca Mexicana* of Vigel, with notes by Orozco y Berra.

Brinton has published in the first volume of his library of *Aboriginal American Literature* (1882, p. 189) the chronicle of Chac-xulub-chen, written in the Maya in 1562, which throws light on the methods of the Spanish Conquest.

There was a native account, by Don Gabriel Castañeda, of the conquest of the Chichimecs by the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza in 1541; but Brinton[1] says all trace of it is lost since it was reported to be in the Convent of Ildefonso in Mexico.

Perhaps the most important native contribution to the history of Guatemala is Francisco Ernandez Arana Xahila's *Memorial de Tecpan Atitlan*, written in 1581 and later in the dialect of Cakchiquel, and bringing the history of a distinguished branch of the Cakchiquels down to 1562, from which point it is continued by Francisco Gebuta Queh. Brasseur de Bourbourg loosely rendered it, and from this paraphrase a Spanish version has been printed in Guatemala; but the original has never been printed. Brinton (in his *Aboriginal American Authors*, p. 32) says he has a copy; and another is in Europe. It is of great importance as giving the native accounts of the conquest of Guatemala.[2] An ardent advocacy of the natives was also shown in the *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España* of the Padre Diego Duran, which was edited by Ramirez, so far as the first volume goes, in 1867, when it was published in Mexico with an atlas of plates after the manuscript; but this publication is said not to present all the drawings of the original manuscript. The overthrow of Maximilian prevented the completion of the publication. The incoming Republican government seized what had been printed, so that the fruit of Ramirez's labor is now scarce. Quaritch priced the editor's own copy at £8 10*s*. The editor had polished the style of the original somewhat, and made other changes, which excited some disgust in the purists; and this action on his part may have had something to do with the proceedings of the new Government. Ramirez claimed descent from the Aztecs, and this may account for much of his stern judgment respecting Cortés.[3] The story in this first volume is only brought down to the reign of Montezuma. The manuscript is preserved in the royal library at Madrid.[1] Duran was a half-breed, his mother being of Tezcuco. He became a Dominican; but a slender constitution kept him from the missionary field, and he passed a monastic life of literary labors. He had finished in 1579 the later parts of his work treating of the Mexican divinities, calendars, and festivals; and then, reverting to the portions which came first in the manuscript, he tells the story of Mexican history rather clumsily, but with a certain native force and insight, down to the period of the Honduras expedition. The manuscript of Duran passed, after his death in 1588, to Juan Tovar, and from him, perhaps with the representations that Tovar (or Tobar) was its author, to José de Acosta, who represents Tovar as the author, and who had then prepared, while in Peru, his *De Natura Novi Orbis.*

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[1] *Aboriginal American Authors*, p. 28.

[2] Bancroft, *Central America*, vol. i. p. 686. Bandelier has given a partial list of the authorities on the conquest of Guatemala in the *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1880; and Bancroft (*Central America*, vol. i. p. 703, vol. ii. p. 736) characterizes the principal sources. Helps (end of book xv. of his *Spanish Conquest*) complained of the difficulty in getting information of the Guatemala affairs; but Bancroft makes use of all the varied published collections of documents on Spanish-American history, which contain so much on Guatemala; and to his hands, fortunately, came also all the papers of the late E. G. Squier. A *Coleccion de Documentos Antiguos de Guatemala*, published in 1857, has been mentioned elsewhere, as well as the *Proceso* against Alvarado, so rich in helpful material. The general historians must all be put under requisition in studying this theme,— Oviedo, Gomara, Diaz, Las Casas, Ixtlilxochitl, and Herrera, not to name others. Antonio de Remesal's is the oldest of the special works, and was written on the spot. His *Historia de Chyapa* is a Dominican's view; and being a partisan, he needs more or less to be confirmed. A Franciscan friar, Francisco Vasquez, published a *Chronica de la Provincia del Santissimo Nombre de Jesus de Guatemala* in 1714, a promised second volume never appearing. He magnified the petty doings of his brother friars; but enough of historical interest crept into his book, together with citations from records no longer existing, to make it valuable. He tilts against Remesal, while he constantly uses his book; and the antagonism of the Franciscans and Dominicans misguides him sometimes, when borrowing from his rival. He lauds the conquerors, and he suffers the charges of cruelty to be made out but in a few cases (Bancroft, *Central America*, vol. ii. pp. 142, 736). The *Historia de Guatemala* of Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzman is quoted by Bancroft from a manuscript copy (*Central America*, vol. ii. p. 736), but it has since been printed in Madrid in 1882–1883, in two volumes, with annotations by Justo Zaragoza, as one of the series *Biblioteca de los Americanistes*. Bancroft thinks he has many errors and that he is far from trustworthy, wherever his partiality for the conquerors is brought into play. The chief modern historian of Guatemala is Domingo Juarros, who was born in that city in 1752, and died in 1820. His *Compendio de la historia de la Ciudad de Guatemala* was published there, the first volume in 1808 and the second in 1818; and both were republished in 1857. It was published in English in London in 1823, with omissions and inaccuracies,— according to Bancroft. The story of the Conquest is told in the second volume. Except so far as he followed Fuentes, in his partiality for the conquerors, Juarros' treatment of his subject is fair; and his industry and facilities make him learned in its details. Bancroft (*Central America*, vol. ii. pp. 142, 737) remarks on his omission to mention the letters of Alvarado, and doubts, accordingly, if Juarros could have known of them.

Of the despatches which Alvarado sent to Cortés, we know only two. Bandelier (*American Antiquarian Society's Proceedings*, October, 1880) says that Squier had copies of them all; but Bancroft (*Central America*, vol. i. p. 666), who says he has all of Squier's papers, makes no mention of any beyond the two,— of April 11 and July 28, 1524,— which are in print in connection with Cortés' fourth letter, in Ramusio's version, except such as are of late date (1534–1541), of which he has copies, as his list shows (Cf. also Ternaux, vol. x., and Barcia, vol. i. p. 157). Ternaux is said to have translated from Ramusio. Oviedo uses them largely, word for word. Herrera is supposed to have used a manuscript History of the Conquest of Guatemala by Gonzalo de Alvarado.

[3] Prescott, *Mexico*, vol. ii. p 165.

E. THE EARLIER HISTORIANS. — José de Acosta was born about 1540 in Spain; but at fourteen he joined the Jesuits. He grew learned, and in 1571 he went to Peru, in which country he spent fifteen years, becoming the provincial of his Order. He tarried two other years in Mexico — where he saw Tovar — and in the islands. He then returned to Spain laden with manuscripts and information, became a royal favorite, held other offices, and died as rector of Salamanca in 1600,[2] having published in his books on the New World the most popular and perhaps most satisfactory account of it up to that time; while his theological works give evidence, as Markham says, of great learning.

Acosta's first publication appeared at Salamanca in 1588 and 1589, and was in effect two essays, though they are usually found under one cover (they had separate titles, but were continuously paged), *De natura Novi Orbis libri duo, et de promulgatione evangelii apud barbaros, . . . libri sex.* In the former he describes the physical features of the country, and in the latter he told the story of the conversion of the Indians.[3] Acosta now translated the two books of the *De natura* into Spanish, and added five other books. The work was thus made to form a general cosmographical treatise, with particular reference to the New World; and included an account of the religion and government of the Indians of Peru and Mexico. He also gave a brief recital of the Conquest. In this extended form, and under the title of *Historia natvral y moral de las Indias, en qve se tratan las cosas notables del cielo, y elementos, metales, plantas, y animales dellas; y los ritos, y ceremonias, leyes, y gouierno, y guerras de los Indios,* it was published at Seville in 1590.[4]

Two other accounts of this period deserve notice. One is by Joan Suarez de Peralta, who

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[1] A copy is in the Force Collection, Library of Congress, and another in Mr. Bancroft's, from whose *Mexico*, vol. i. p. 461, we gather some of these statements.

[2] Cf. Backer, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus;* Markham's introduction to his edition of Acosta in the Hakluyt Society's publications.

[3] The original edition of the *De natura* is scarce. Rich priced it at £1 1*s.* fifty years ago; Leclerc, no. 2,639, at 150 francs (cf. also Carter-Brown, i. 379; Sabin, i. 111, — for a full account of successive editions; Sunderland, i. 23). It was reprinted at Salamanca in 1595, and at Cologne in 1596. The latter edition can usually be bought for $3 or $4. Cf. Field, no. 9; Stevens, *Bibliotheca Historica*, no. 9; Murphy, no. 11, etc.

[4] Rich priced it in 1832 at £1 10*s.*; ordinary copies are now worth about £2 or £3, but fine copies in superior binding have reached £12 12*s.* (Cf. Leclerc, no. 5 — 200 francs; Sunderland, i. 24; J. A. Allen, *Bibliography of Cetacea*, p. 24, — where this and other early books on America are recorded with the utmost care.) Other Spanish editions are Helmstadt, 1590 (Bartlett); Seville, 1591 (Brunet, Backer); Barcelona, 1591 (Carter-Brown, i. 478; Leclerc, no. 7); Madrid, 1608 (Carter-Brown, ii. 61; Leclerc, no. 8) and 1610 (Sabin); Lyons, 1670; and Madrid, 1792, called the best edition, with a notice of Acosta.

The French editions followed rapidly: Paris, by R. Regnault, 1597 (Brunet, Markham); 1598 (Leclerc, no. 10 — 100 francs; Dufossé, 125 francs, 140 francs, 160 francs); 1600 (Leclerc, no. 11; Bishop Huet's copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris has notes which are printed by Camus in his book on De Bry); 1606 (Leclerc, nos. 12, 13); 1616 (Carter-Brown, ii. 177; Leclerc, no. 2,639 — 50 francs); 1617 (Leclerc, no. 14); 1619 (Sabin); 1621 (Rich). An Italian version, made by Gallucci, was printed at Venice in 1596 (Leclerc, no. 15).

There were more liberties taken with it in German. It was called *Geographische und historische Beschreibung der America*, when printed at Cologne in 1598, with thirty maps, as detailed in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, i. 520. Antonio (*Biblioteca Hispana Nova*) gives the date 1599. At Cologne again in 1600 it is called *New Welt* (Carter-Brown, i. 548), and at Wesel, in 1605, *America oder West India*, which is partly the same as the preceding (Carter-Brown, ii. 31). Antonio gives an edition in 1617.

The Dutch translation, following the 1591 Seville edition, was made by Linschoten, and printed at Haarlem in 1598 (Leclerc, no. 16); and again, with woodcuts, in 1624 (Carter-Brown, ii. 287; Murphy, no. 9). It is also in Vander Aa's collection, 1727. It was from the Dutch version that it was turned (by Gothard Arthus for De Bry in his *Great Voyages*, part ix.) into German, in 1601; and into Latin, in 1602 and 1603.

The first English translation did not appear till 1604, at London, as *The naturall and morall historie of the East und West Indies. Intreating of the remarkable things of Heaven, of the Elements, Mettalls, Plants,* was born in Mexico in 1536, and wrote a *Tratado del descubrimiento de las Yndias y su conquista*, which is preserved in manuscript in the library at Toledo in Spain. It is not full, however, on the Conquest; but is more definite for the period from 1565 to 1589. It was printed at Madrid in 1878, in the *Noticias históricas de la Nueva España publicadas con la protection del ministerio de fomento por Don Justo Zaragoza.* The other is Henrico Martinez' *Repertorio de los Tiempos y historia natural de la Nueva España*, published at Mexico in 1606. It covers the Mexican annals from 1520 to 1590.[1]

One of the earliest to depend largely on the native chroniclers was Juan de Torquemada, in his *Monarquia Indiana.* This author was born in Spain, but came young to Mexico; and was a priest of the Franciscan habit, who finally became (1614–1617) the provincial of that Order. He had assiduously labored to collect all that he could find regarding the history of the people among whom he was thrown; and his efforts were increased when, in 1609, he received orders to prepare his labors for publication. His book is esteemed for the help it affords in understanding these people. Ternaux calls it the most complete narrative which we possess of the ancient history of Mexico. He took the history, as the native writers had instructed him, of the period before the Conquest, and derived from them and his own observation much respecting the kind of life which the conquerors found prevailing in the country. In his account of the Conquest, which constitutes the fourth book in vol. i., Torquemada seems to depend largely on Herrera, though he does not neglect Sahagun and the native writers. Clavigero tells us that Torquemada for fifty years had known the language of the natives, and spent twenty years or more in arranging his history.

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and Beasts which are proper to that Country; Together with the Manners, Ceremonies, Lawes, Governements, and Warres of the Indians. Written in Spanish by Ioseph Acosta, and translated into English by E[dward] G[rimston]. Rich priced it fifty years ago at £1 16*s.*; it is usually priced now at from four to eight guineas (cf. Carter-Brown, ii. 21; Field, no. 8; Menzies, no. 4; Murphy, no. 8). It was reprinted, with corrections of the version, and edited by C. R. Markham for the Hakluyt Society in 1880.

[1] This is extremely rare. Quaritch, who said in 1879 that only three copies had turned up in London in thirty years, prices an imperfect copy at £5. (*Catalogue*, no. 326 *sub.* no. 17,635.)

It is worth while to note how events in the New World, during the early part of the sixteenth century, were considered in their relation to European history. Cf. for instance, Ulloa's *Vita dell' imperator Carlo V.* (Rome, 1562), and such chronicles as the *Anales de Aragon*, first and second parts. Harrisse (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.* and *Additions*), and the *Carter-Brown Catalogue* (vol. i.) will lead the student to this examination, in their enumeration of books only incidentally connected with America. To take but a few as representative:

Maffeius, *Commentariorum urbanorum libri*, Basle, 1530, with its chapter on "loca nuper reperta." (Harrisse, *Additions*, no. 93; edition of 1544, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.* no. 257, and *Additions*, no. 146. Fabricius cites an edition as early as 1526.)

Laurentius Frisius, *Der Cartha Marina*, Strasburg, 1530. (Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 151, *Additions*, no. 90.)

Gemma Phrysius, *De Principiis Astronomiæ et Cosmographicæ*, with its cap. xxix., "De insulis nuper inventis." (Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, *Additions*, no. 92.) There are later editions in 1544 (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 252), 1548; also Paris, in French, 1557, etc.

Sebastian Franck, *Weltbuch*, Tübingen, 1533–1534, in which popular book of its day a separate chapter is given to America. The book in this first edition is rare, and is sometimes dated 1533, and again 1534. (Cf. Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 174, 197; Sabin, vi. 570; Carter-Brown, i. 111; Muller, 1877, no. 1,151; H. H. Bancroft, *Mexico*, i. 250.) There was another edition in 1542 (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 238; Stevens, *Bbliotheca Historica*, no. 738), and later in Dutch and German, in 1558, 1567, 1595, etc. (Leclerc, nos. 212, 217, etc.).

George Rithaymer, *De orbis terrarum*, Nuremberg, 1538, with its "De terris et insulis nuper repertis" (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, *Additions*, no. 119).

Achilles P. Gassarum, *Historiarum et chronicarum mundi epitomes libellus*, Venice, 1538, with its "insulæ in oceano antiquioribus ignotæ."

Ocampo, *Chronica general de España*, 1543, who, in mentioning the discovery of the New World, forgets to name Columbus (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 242; Sabin, vol. xiii.).

Guillaume Postel, *De orbis terræ concordia*, Basle, about 1544 (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, *Additions*, no. 145).

John Dryander, *Cosmographiæ introductio*, 1544 (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, *Additions*, no. 147).

Biondo, *De ventis et navigatione*, Venice, 1546, with cap. xxv. on the New World (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 274).

Professor J. R. Seeley, in his *Expansion of England* (p. 78), has pointed out how events in the New World did not begin to react upon European politics, till the attacks of Drake and the English upon the Spanish West Indies instigated the Spanish Armada, and made territorial aggrandizement in the New World as much a force in the conduct of politics in Europe as the Reformation had been. The power of the great religious revolution gradually declined before the increasing commercial interests arising out of trade with the New World.

He also tells us of the use which Torquemada made of the manuscripts which he found in the colleges of Mexico, of the writings of Ixtlilxochitl, Camargo, and of the history of Cholula by another writer of native origin, Juan Batista Pomar. Another book of considerable use to him was the work of a warm eulogist of the natives, if not himself of their blood; and this was the *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*, a work written by Gerónimo de Mendieta near the end of the sixteenth century. Mendieta was in Mexico from 1554 to 1571,[1] and his work, finished in 1596, after having remained for two hundred years in manuscript, was printed and annotated by Icazbalceta at Mexico, in 1870.[2]

The *Monarquía Indiana*, in which these and other writers were so freely employed as to be engrafted in parts almost bodily, was first printed in three volumes at Madrid in 1615; but before this the Inquisition had struck out from its pages some curious chapters, particularly, says Rich, one comparing the migration of the Toltecs to that of the Israelites. The colophon of this edition shows the date of 1614.[3] It is said that most of it was lost in a shipwreck, and this accounts, doubtless, for its rarity. The original manuscript, however, being preserved, it served Barcia well in editing a reprint in 1723, published at Madrid, which is now considered the standard edition.[4] Torquemada doubtless derived something of his skill in the native tongue from his master, Fray Joan Baptista, who had the reputation of being the most learned scholar of the Mexican language in his time.[5]

The *Teatro Mexicano* of Augustin de Vetancurt, published at Mexico in 1697–1698,[6] is the next general chronicle after Torquemada. Vetancourt, also, was a Franciscan, born in Mexico in 1620, and died in 1700. He had the literary fecundity of his class; but the most important of his works is the one already named; and in the third part of the first volume we find his history of the Conquest. He seldom goes behind his predecessor, and Torquemada must stand sponsor for much of his recital.

F. MODERN HISTORIANS. — The well-known work of Solis (*Historia de la Conquista de México*,[7] published at Madrid in 1684) is the conspicuous precursor of a long series of histories of the Conquest, written without personal knowledge of the actors in this extraordinary event. Solis ended his narrative with the fall of the city, the author's death preventing any further progress, though it is said he had gathered further materials; but they are not known to exist. A work by Ignacio Salazar y Olarte, continuing the narrative down to the death of Cortés, is called a second part, and was published at Cordova in 1743, under the title of *Historia de la conquista de México, poblacion y progressos de la América septentrional conocida por el nombre de Nueva España*. This continuation was reprinted at Madrid in 1786, and in the opinion of Bancroft[8] abounds "in all the faults of the superficial and florid composition of Solis."

Solis, who was born at Alcala in 1610, was educated at Salamanca, and had acquired a great reputation in letters, when he attracted the attention of the Court, and was appointed historiographer of the Indies. Some time afterward (1667) he entered the Church, at fifty-six; but to earn his salary as official chronicler, — which was small enough at best, — he turned, with a good deal of the poetic and artistic instinct which his previous training had developed, to tell the story of the Conquest, with a skill which no one before had employed upon the theme. The result was a work which, "to an extraordinary degree," as Ticknor[9] says, took on "the air of an historical epic, so exactly are all its parts and episodes modelled into a harmonious whole, whose catastrophe is the fall of the great Mexican Empire." The book was a striking contrast to the chronicling spirit of all preced-

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[1] Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 667. He died in 1604.

[2] Sabin, vol. xii. no. 47,812. Icazbalceta showed Torquemada's debt to Mendieta by collations. (Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 668.) No author later than Torquemada cites it. Barcia was not able to find it, and it was considered as hopelessly lost. In 1860 its editor was informed that the manuscript had been found among the papers left by D. Bartolomé José Gallardo. Later it was purchased by D. José M. Andrade, and given to Icazbalceta, at whose expense it has been published (*Boston Public Library Catalogue*).

[3] Carter-Brown, ii. 176; Sunderland, vol. v. no. 12,536. Some of the bibliographies give the date 1613, and the place Seville. Cf. further on Torquemada, Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 786; *Early American Chroniclers*, p. 23; Prescott, *Mexico*, i. 53.

[4] Carter-Brown, iii. 339; Leclerc, no. 370; Field, no. 1,557; Court, no. 354. It is in three volumes. Kingsborough in his eighth volume gives some extracts from Torquemada.

[5] Baptista published various devotional treatises in both Spanish and Mexican, some of which, like his *Compassionario* of 1599, are extremely rare. Cf. Leclerc, no. 2,306; Quaritch, *The Ramirez Collection*, 1880 nos. 25, 26.

[6] Again in four volumes, Mexico, 1870–1871. Cf. Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii. 507.

[7] Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,300.

[8] *Mexico*, i. 187.

[9] *Spanish Literature*, vol. iii. no. 196.

SOLIS.[1]

ing recitals. The world soon saw — though the sale of the book was not large at once, and the author died very poor two years later (1686) — that the strange story had been given its highest setting. Solis gives no notes; and one needs to know the literature of the subject, to track him to his authorities. If this is done, however, it appears that his investigation was far from deep, and that with original material within his reach he rarely or never used it, but took the record at second hand. Robertson, who had to depend on him more or less, was aware of this, and judged him less solicitous of discovering truth than of glorifying the splendor of deeds. This panegyrical strain in the book has lowered its reputation, particularly among foreign critics, who fail to share the enthusiasm which Solis expresses for Cortés. We may call his bitter denunciations of the natives bigotry or pious zeal; but Ticknor accounts for it by saying that Solis "refused to see the fierce and marvellous contest except from the steps of the altar where he had been consecrated." The religion and national pride of the Spaniards have not made this quality detract in the least from the estimation in which the book has long been held; but all that they say of the charm and purity of its style, despite something of tiresomeness in its even flow, is shared by the most conspicuous of foreign critics, like Prescott and Ticknor. Rich, who had opportunities for knowing, bears evidence to the estimation in Spain of those qualities which have insured the fame of Solis.[1]

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[1] Fac-simile of engraving in his *Historia*, published at Venice in 1715. There are other likenesses in the Madrid (1783) edition, and in Cumplido's Mexican edition of Prescott's *Mexico*, vol. iii.

The story was not told again with the dignity of a classic, — except so far as Herrera composed it, — till Robertson, in his *History of America*, recounted it. He used the printed sources with great fidelity; but he was denied a chance to examine the rich manuscript material which was open to Solis, and which Robertson would doubtless have used more abundantly. In a Note (xcvii.) he enumerates his chief authorities, and they are only the letters of Cortés and the story as told by Gomara, Bernal Diaz, Peter Martyr, Solis, and Herrera.[2] Of Solis, Robertson says he knows no author in any language whose literary fame has risen so far beyond his real merits. He calls him "destitute of that patient industry in research which conducts to the knowledge of truth, and a stranger to that impartiality which weighs evidence with cool attention. . . . Though he sometimes quotes the despatches of Cortés, he seems not to have consulted them; and though he sets out with some censure on Gomara, he frequently prefers his authority — the most doubtful of any — to that of the other contemporary historians." Robertson judged that Herrera furnished the fullest and most accurate information, and that if his work had not in its chronological order been so perplexed, disconnected, and obscure, Herrera might justly have been ranked among the most eminent historians of his country. William Smyth, in the twenty-first section of his *Lectures on Modern History*, in an account which is there given of the main sources of information respecting the Conquest, as they were accessible forty or fifty years ago, awards high praise — certainly not undeserved for his time — to Robertson. Southey accused Robertson of unduly depreciating the character and civilization of the Mexicans; and others have held the opinion that he had a tendency to palliate the crimes of the invaders. Robertson, in his later editions, replied to such strictures, and held that Clavigero and others had differed from him chiefly in confiding in the improbable narratives and fanciful conjectures of Torquemada and Boturini.

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[1] Cf., for accounts and estimates, Ticknor, *Spanish Literature*, vol. iii. no. 196; Prescott, *Mexico*, vol. iii. p. 208; Bancroft, *Mexico*, vol. i. pp. 186, 697; *Early Chroniclers*, p. 22. Editions of Solis became, in time, numerous in various languages. Most of them may be found noted in the following list: —

In Spanish. Barcelona, 1691, accompanied by a Life of Solis, by Don Juan de Goyeneche, Madrid, 1704, a good edition; Brussels, 1704, with numerous plates; Madrid, 1732, two columns, without plates; Brussels, 1741, with Goyeneche's Life; Madrid, 1748, said to have been corrected by the author's manuscript; Barcelona, 1756; Madrid, 1758; Madrid, 1763; Barcelona, 1771; Madrid, 1776; Madrid, 1780; Madrid, 1783–1784, — a beautiful edition, called by Stirling "the triumph of the press of Sancha" (cf. Ticknor Catalogue, p. 335; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,300); Barcelona, 1789; Madrid, 1791, 1798, 1819, 1822; Paris, 1827; Madrid, 1828, 1829, 1838; Barcelona, 1840; Paris, 1858, with notes. Sabin (vol. iv. nos. 16,944–16,945) gives abridged editions, — Barcelona, 1846, and Mexico, 1853. An edition, London, 1809, is "Corregida por Augustin Luis Josse," and is included in the *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, in 1853.

In French. The earliest translation was made by Bon André de Citri et de la Guette, and appeared with two different imprints in Paris in 1691 in quarto (Carter-Brown, vol. ii. 1427–1428). Other editions followed, — La Haye, 1692, in 12mo; Paris, 1704, with folding map and engravings reduced from the Spanish editions; Paris, 1714, with plates; Paris, 1730, 1759, 1774, 1777, 1844, etc.; and a new version by Philippe de Toulza, with annotations, published in Paris in 1868.

In Italian. The early version was published at Florence in 1699, with portraits of Solis, Cortés, and Montezuma (Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,577). An edition at Venice in 1704 is without plates; but another, in 1715, is embellished. There was another at Venice in 1733.

In Danish. Copenhagen, 1747 (Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 859).

In English. Thomas Townsend's English version was published in London in 1724, and was reissued, revised by R. Hooke in 1753, both having a portrait of Cortés, by Vertue, copied "after a head by Titian," with other folding plates based on those of the Spanish editions (Carter-Brown, vol. iii. nos. 350, 588; Field, *Indian Bibliography*, nos. 1,464, 1,465). There were later editions in 1753.

It was when he was twenty-eight years old, that Prescott took his first lesson in Spanish history in reading Solis, at Ticknor's recommendation.

[2] The story as the English had had it up to this time — except so far as they learned it in translations of Solis — may be found in Burke's *European Settlements in America*, 1765, part i. pp. 1–166.

Francisco Saverio Clavigero was a Jesuit, who had long resided in Mexico, being born at Vera Cruz in 1731; but when expelled with his Order, he took up his abode in Italy in 1767. He had the facilities and the occasion for going more into detail than Robertson. His *Storia antica del Messico cavata da' migliori storici spagnuoli, e da' manoscritti; e dalle pitture antiche degl'Indiani: divisa in dieci libri, e corredata di carte geografiche, e di varie figure: e dissertazioni sulla terra, sugli animali, e sugli abitatori del Messico*,[1] was published in four volumes at Cesena in 1780–1781. He gives the names of thirty-nine Indian and Spanish writers who had written upon the theme, and has something to say of the Mexican historical paintings which he had examined. H. H. Bancroft esteems him a leading authority,[2] and says he rearranged the material in a masterly manner, and invested it with a philosophic spirit, altogether superior to anything presented till Prescott's time.[3] It is in his third volume that Clavigero particularly treats of the Conquest, having been employed on the earlier chronicles and the manners and customs of the people in the first and second, while the fourth volume is made up of particular dissertations. Clavigero was not without learning. He had passed three years at the Jesuit College at Tepozotlan, and had taught as a master in various branches. At Bologna, where he latterly lived, he founded an academy; and here he died in 1787, leaving behind him a *Storia della California*, published at Venice in 1789.[4]

Fifteen years ago it was the opinion of Henry Stevens,[5] that all other books which have been elaborated since on the same subject, instead of superseding Clavigero's, have tended rather to magnify its importance.[6]

The most conspicuous treatment of the subject, in the minds of the elders of the present generation, is doubtless that of Prescott, who published his *Conquest of Mexico* in 1843, dividing it into three distinct parts, — the first showing a survey of the Aztec civilization; the second depicting the Conquest; while the final period brought down the life of Cortés to his death. Charton[7] speaks of Solis as a work "auquel le livre de Prescott a porté un dernier coup." Prescott was at great expense and care in amassing much manuscript material never before used, chiefly in copies, which Rich and others had procured for him, and he is somewhat minute in his citations from them. They have since been in large part printed, and doubtless very much more is at present accessible in type to the student than was in Prescott's day.[8]

Prescott was of good New England stock, settled in Essex County, Massachusetts, where (in Salem) he was born in 1796. His father removed to Boston in 1808, and became a judge of one of the courts. A mischance at Harvard, in a student's frolic, deprived young Prescott of the use of one eye; and the other became in time permanently affected. Thus he subsequently labored at his historical studies under great disadvantage,[9] and only under favorable circumstances and for short periods could he read for himself. In this way he became dependent upon the assistance of secretaries, though he generally wrote his early drafts by the aid of a noctograph. From 1826 to 1837 he was engaged on his *Ferdinand and Isabella*, and this naturally led him to the study of his Mexican and Peruvian themes; and Irving, who had embarked on

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[1] Sabin, vol. iv. no. 13,518. It was written in Spanish, but translated into Italian for publication. A Spanish version, *Historia Antigua de Mégico*, made by Joaquin de Mora, was printed in London in 1826, and reprinted in Mexico in 1844 (Leclerc, nos. 1,103, 1,104, 2,712). A German translation, *Geschichte von Mexico*, was issued at Leipsic in 1789–1790, with notes. This version is not made from the original Italian, but from an English translation printed in London in 1787 as *The History of Mexico*, translated by Charles Cullen. It was reprinted in London in 1807, and in Philadelphia in 1817 (Field, *Indian Bibliography*, p. 326).

[2] *Early American Chronicles*, p. 24.

[3] Bancroft, *Mexico*, i. 697; also Prescott, *Mexico*, i. 53.

[4] Bancroft, *Mexico*, i. 700; Leclerc, no. 846.

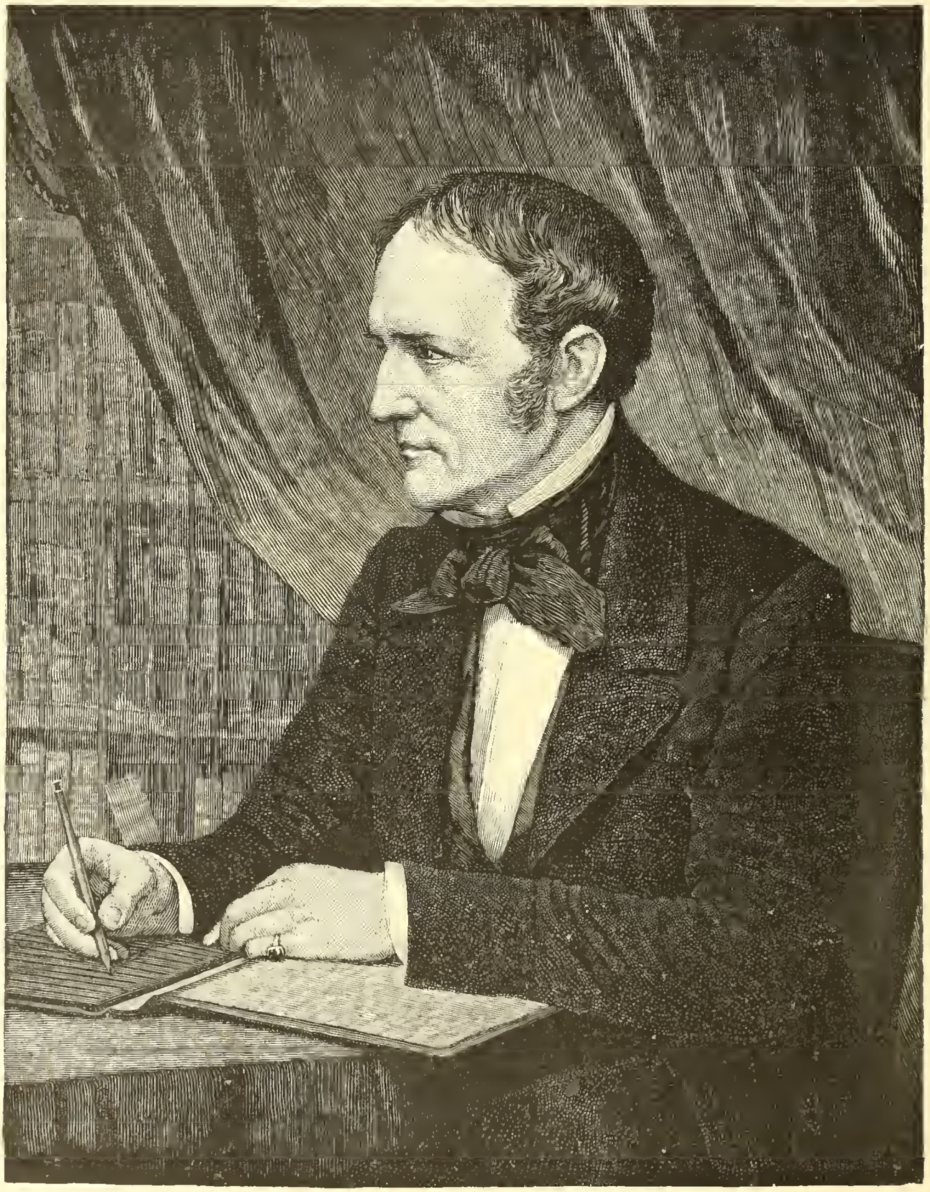
[5] *Bibliotheca Historica*, no. 377.

[6] There is a portrait of Clavigero in Cumplido's edition of Prescott's *Mexico* (1846), vol. iii.

[7] *Voyageurs*, iii. 422.

[8] Mr. H. H. Bancroft (*Mexico*, vol. i, p. 7, *note*), however, charges his predecessor with parading his acquisition of this then unprinted material, and with neglecting the more trustworthy and more accessible chroniclers. He also speaks (*Mexico*, i. 701) of an amiable weakness in Prescott which sacrificed truth to effect, and to a style which he calls "magnificent," and to a "philosophic flow of thought," — the latter trait in Prescott being one of his weakest; nor is his style what rhetoricians would call "magnificent."

[9] Mr. R. A. Wilson makes more of it than is warranted, in affirming that "Prescott's inability to make a personal research" deprives us of the advantage of his integrity and personal character (*New Conquest of Mexico*, p. 312).



WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT.[1]

them as a literary field, generously abandoned his pursuit to the new and rising historian.[2] The *Conquest of Mexico* appeared in 1843,[3] and has long remained a charming book, as fruitful in authority as the material then accessible could make it.

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[1] This cut follows an engraving in mezzotint in the *Eclectic Magazine* (1858), and shows him using his noctograph. The likeness was thought by his wife and sister (Mrs. Dexter) to be the best ever made, as Mr. Arthur Dexter informs me. See other likenesses in Ticknor's *Life of Prescott; Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, lv. 167; and *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* (1868), p. 226.

[2] Ticknor's *Prescott*, quarto edition, pp. 167–172.

[3] It was soon afterward reprinted in London and in Paris.

In the Preface to his *Mexico* Mr. Prescott tells of his success in getting unpublished material, showing how a more courteous indulgence was shown to him than Robertson had enjoyed. By favor of the Academy of History in Madrid he got many copies of the manuscripts of Muñoz and of Vargas y Ponçe, and he enjoyed the kind offices of Navarrete in gathering this material. He mentions that, touching the kindred themes of Mexico and Peru, he thus obtained the bulk of eight thousand folio pages. From Mexico itself he gathered other appliances, and these largely through the care of Alaman, the minister of foreign affairs, and of Calderon de la Barca, the minister to Mexico from Spain. He also acknowledges the courtesy of the descendants of Cortés in opening their family archives; that of Sir Thomas Phillipps, whose manuscript stores have become so famous, and the kindness of Ternaux-Compans.

To Mr. John Foster Kirk, who had been Prescott's secretary, the preparation of new editions of Prescott's works was intrusted, and in this series the *Mexico* was republished in 1874. Kirk was enabled, as Prescott himself had been in preparing for it, to make use of the notes which Ramirez had added to the Spanish translation by Joaquin Navarro, published in Mexico in 1844, and of those of Lúcas Alaman, attached to another version, published also in Mexico.[1]

Almost coincident with the death of Prescott, was published by a chance Mr. Robert Anderson Wilson's *New History of the Conquest of Mexico*.[2] Its views were not unexpected, and indeed Prescott had been in correspondence[3] with the author. His book was rather an extravagant argument than a history, and was aimed to prove the utter untrustworthiness of the ordinary chroniclers of the Conquest, charging the conquerors with exaggerating and even creating the fabric of the Aztec civilization, to enhance the effect which the overthrow of so much splendor would have in Europe. To this end he pushes Cortés aside as engrafting fable on truth for such a purpose, dismisses rather wildly Bernal Diaz as a myth, and declares the picture-writings to be Spanish fabrications. This view was not new, except in its excess of zeal. Albert Gallatin had held a similar belief.[4] Lewis Cass had already seriously questioned, in the *North American Review*, October, 1840, the consistency of the Spanish historians. A previous work by Mr. Wilson had already, indeed, announced his views, though less emphatically. This book had appeared in three successive editions, — as *Mexico and its Religion* (New York, 1855); then as *Mexico, its Peasants and its Priests* (1856); and finally as *Mexico, Central America, and California*.

It was easy to accuse Wilson of ignorance and want of candor, — for he had laid himself open too clearly to this charge, — and Mr. Prescott's friend, Mr. George Ticknor, arraigned him in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1859.[5]

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[1] Cf. the collation of criticisms on the *Mexico*, given by Allibone in his *Dictionary of Authors*, and by Poole in his *Index to Periodical Literature*. Archbishop Spalding, in his *Miscellanea*, chapters xiii. and xiv., gives the Catholic view of his labors; and Ticknor, in his *Life of Prescott*, prints various letters from Hallam, Sismondi, and others, giving their prompt expressions regarding the book. In chapters xiii., xiv., and xv. of this book the reader may trace Prescott through the progress of the work, not so satisfactorily as one might wish however, for in his diaries and letters the historian failed often to give the engaging qualities of his own character. It is said that Carlyle, when applied to for letters of Prescott which might be used by Ticknor in his Life of the historian, somewhat rudely replied that he had never received any from Prescott worth preserving. Prescott's library is, unfortunately, scattered. He gave some part of it to Harvard College, including such manuscripts as he had used in his *Ferdinand and Isabella*; and some years after his death a large part of it was sold at public auction. It was then found that, with a freedom which caused some observation, the marks of his ownership had been removed from his books. Many of his manuscripts and his noctograph were then sold, perhaps through inadvertence, for the family subsequently reclaimed what they could. The noctograph and some of the manuscripts are now in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society (cf. *Proceedings*, vol. xiii. p. 66), and other manuscripts are in the Boston Public Library (*Bulletin of Boston Public Library*, iv. 122). A long letter to Dr. George E. Ellis, written in 1857, and describing his use of the noctograph, is in the same volume (*Proceedings*, vol. xiii. p. 246). The estimate in which Prescott was held by his associates of that Society may be seen in the records of the meeting at which his death was commemorated, in 1859 (*Proceedings*, iv. 167, 266). There is a eulogy of Prescott by George Bancroft in the *Historical Magazine*, iii. 69. Cf. references in Poole's *Index*, p. 1047.

[2] Philadelphia and London, 1859.

[3] This correspondence was civil, to say the least. Bancroft (*Mexico*, i. 205), with a rudeness of his own, calls Wilson "a fool and a knave."

[4] *American Ethnological Society Transactions*, vol. i.

[5] Also in *Boston Daily Courier*, May 3, 1859. Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* v. 101; *Atlantic Monthly*, April and May, 1859, by John Foster Kirk; Allibone's *Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 1669. L. A. Wilmer, in his *Life of De Soto* (1859) is another who accuses Prescott of accepting exaggerated statements. Cf. J. D. Washburn on the failure of Wilson's arguments to convince, in *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, October 21, 1879, p. 18.

He reminded Wilson that he ought to have known that Don Enrique de Vedia, who had published an edition of Bernal Diaz in 1853, had cited Fuentes y Guzman, whose manuscript history of Guatemala was before that editor, as referring in it to the manuscript of Bernal Diaz (his great-grandfather), which was then in existence, — a verity and no myth. Further than this, Brasseur de Bourbourg, who chanced then to be in Boston, bore testimony that he had seen and used the autograph manuscript of Bernal Diaz in the archives of Guatemala.

In regard to the credibility of the accounts which Prescott depends upon, his editor,[1] Mr. Kirk, has not neglected to cite the language of Mr. E. B. Tylor, in his *Anahuac*,[2] where he says, respecting his own researches on the spot, that what he saw of Mexico tended generally to confirm Prescott's History, and but seldom to make his statements appear improbable. The impeachment of the authorities, which Wilson attacks, is to be successful, if at all, by other processes than those he employs.

Meanwhile Arthur Helps,[3] in tracing the rise of negro slavery and the founding of colonial government in Spanish America, had published his *Conquerors of the New World and their Bondsmen* (London, 1848–1852), — a somewhat speculative essay, which, with enlargement of purpose and more detail, resulted in 1855–1861 in the publication of his *Spanish Conquest in America*, reprinted in New York in 1867. He gives a glowing account of the Aztec civilization, and, excerpting the chapters on the Conquest, he added some new details of the private life of Cortés, and published it separately in 1871 as an account of that leader, which is attractive as a biography, if not comprehensive as a history of the Conquest. "Every page affords evidence of historic lore," says Field, "and almost every sentence glows with the warmth of his philanthropy."[4] Helps has himself told the object and method of his book, and it is a different sort of historical treatment from all the others which we are passing in review. "To bring before the reader, not conquest only, but the results of conquest; the mode of colonial government which ultimately prevailed; the extirpation of native races, the introduction of other races, the growth of slavery, and the settlement of the *encomiendas* on which all Indian society depended, — has been the object of this history."[5]

Among the later works not in English we need not be detained long. The two most noteworthy in French are the *Histoire des nations civilisées du Mexique* of Brasseur de Bourbourg, more especially mentioned on another page, and Michel Chevalier's *Mexique avant et pendant la Conquête*, published at Paris in 1845.[6] In German, Theodor Arnim's *Das Alte Mexico und die eroberung Neu Spaniens durch Cortes*, Leipsic, 1865, is a reputable book.[7] In Spanish, beside the *Vida de Cortés* given by Icazbalceta in his *Coleccion*, vol. i. p. 309, there is the important work of Lúcas Alaman, the *Disertaciones sobre la Historia de la República Mejicana*, published at Mexico in three volumes in 1844–1849, which is a sort of introduction to his *Historia de Méjico*, in five volumes, published in 1849–1852.[8] He added not a little in his appendixes from the archives of Simancas, and the latter book is considered the best of the histories in Spanish. In 1862 Francisco Carbajal Espinosa's *Historia de México*, bringing the story down from the earliest times, was begun in Mexico. Bancroft calls it pretentious, and mostly borrowed from Clavigero.[9]

Returning to the English tongue, in which the story of Mexico has been so signally told more than once from the time of Robertson, we find still the amplest contribution in the *History of Mexico*, a part of the extended series of the *History of the Pacific States*, published under the superintendence of Hubert H. Bancroft. Of Bancroft and these books mention is made in another place. The *Mexico* partakes equally of the merits and demerits attaching to his books and their method. It places the student under more obligations than any of the histories of the Conquest which have gone before, though one tires of the strained and purely extraneous classical allusions, — which seem to have been affected by his staff, or by some one on it, during the progress of this particular book of the series.

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[1] Edition of 1874, ii. 110.

[2] Page 147.

[3] Born about 1817, and knighted in 1872.

[4] *Indian Bibliography*, no. 682.

[5] Cf. H. H. Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 488.

[6] Cf. *Revue des deux mondes*, 1845, vol. xi. p. 197. The book was later translated into English. He also published in 1863 and in 1864 *Le Mexique ancien et moderne*, which was also given in an English translation in London in 1864. Cf. *British Quarterly Review*, xl. 360.

[7] Ruge, in his *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, tells the story with the latest knowledge.

[8] Both books command good prices, ranging from $25 to $50 each.

[9] *Mexico*, i. 697; ii. 788, — where he speaks of N. de Zamacois' *Historia de Méjico*, Barcelona, 1877-1880, in eleven volumes, as "blundering;" and Mora's *Méjico y sus Revoluciones*, Paris, 1836, in three volumes, as "hasty." Bancroft's conclusion regarding what Mexico itself has contributed to the history of the Conquest is "that no complete account of real value has been written." Andrés Cavo's *Tres siglos de México* (Mexico, 1836–1838, in three volumes) is but scant on the period of the Conquest (Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii. 508). It was reprinted in 1852, with notes and additions by Bustamante, and as part of the *Biblioteca Nacional y Extranjera*. and again at Jalapa in 1860.

G. YUCATAN. — With the subsequent subjugation of Yucatan Cortés had nothing to do. Francisco de Montejo had been with Grijalva when he landed at Cozumel on the Yucatan coast, and with Cortés when he touched at the same island on his way to Mexico. After the fall of the Aztecs, Montejo was the envoy whom Cortés sent to Spain, and while there the Emperor commissioned him (Nov. 17, 1526) to conduct a force for the settlement of the peninsula. Early in 1527 Montejo left Spain with Alonso de Avila as second in command. For twenty years and more the conquest went on, with varying success. At one time not a Spaniard was left in the country. No revolts of the natives occurred after 1547, when the conquest may be considered as complete. The story is told with sufficient fulness in Bancroft's *Mexico.*[1] The main sources of our information are the narrative of Bernal Diaz, embodying the reports of eye-witnesses, and the histories of Oviedo and Herrera. Bancroft[2] gives various incidental references. The more special authorities, however, are the *Historia de Yucathan* of Diego Lopez Cogolludo, published at Madrid in 1688,[3] who knew how to use miracles for his reader's sake, and who had the opportunity of consulting most that had been written, and all that had been printed up to his time. He closes his narrative in 1665.[4] The Bishop of Yucatan, Diego de Landa, in his *Relation des choses de Yucatan*, as the French translation terms it, has left us the only contemporary Spanish document of the period of the Conquest. The book is of more interest in respect to the Maya civilization than as to the progress of the Spanish domination. It was not printed till it was edited by Brasseur de Bourbourg, with an introduction, and published in Paris in 1864.[5]

Landa was born in 1524, and was one of the first of his Order to come to Yucatan, where he finally became Bishop of Mérida in 1572, and died in 1579. Among the books commonly referred to for the later period is the first part (the second was never published) of Juan de Villagutierre Sotomayor's *Historia de la Conquista de la provincia de el Itza*, etc., Madrid, 1701. It deals somewhat more with the spiritual and the military conquests, but writers find it important.[6]

The latest English history of the peninsula is that by Charles St. J. Fancourt, *History of Yucatan*, London, 1854;[7] but a more extended, if less agreeable, book is Ancona's *Historia de Yucatan desde la época mas remota hasta nuestros dias*, published at Mérida in four volumes in 1878–1880. It gives references which will be found useful.[8]

H. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MEXICO. — The earliest special bibliography of Mexico of any moment is that which, under the title of *Catalogo de sa museo historico Indiano*, is appended to Boturini Benaduci's *Idea de una nueva historia general de la America septentrional* (Madrid, 1746), which was the result of eight years' investigations into the history of Mexico. He includes a list of books, maps, and manuscripts, of which the last remnants in 1853 were in the Museo Nacional in Mexico.[9] Of the list of New Spain authors by Eguiara y Eguren, only a small part was published in 1755 as *Bibliotheca Mexicana.*[10] It was intended to cover all authors born in New Spain; but though he lived to arrange the work through the letter J, only A, B, and C were published. All titles are translated into Latin. Its incompleteness renders the bibliographical parts of Maneiro's *De Vitis Mexicanorum* (1791) more necessary, and makes Beristain's *Bibliotheca Hispano-Americano Septentrional*,[11] of three volumes, published at Mexico in 1816, 1819, and 1821, of more importance than it would otherwise be. Beristain, also, only partly finished his work; but a nephew completed the publication. It has become rare; and its merits are not great, though its notices number 3,687.

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[1] Vol. ii. chaps. xxi. and xxx., p. 648.

[2] *Mexico*, ii. 455–456.

[3] Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,350.

[4] Rich, 1832, no. 422; Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 650. It was reprinted at Mérida in 1842, and again in 1867.

[5] Leclerc, nos. 1,172, 2,289. *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1880, p. 85, where will be found Bandelier's partial bibliography of Yucatan.

[6] Cf. Field, 1605; *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1880, p. 89. The book is not so rare as it is sometimes claimed; Quaritch usually prices copies at from £2 to £5.

[7] Field, p. 522.

[8] The *Registro Yucateco*, a periodical devoted to local historical study, and published in Mérida, only lived for two years, 1845–1846.

[9] Cf. Sabin, vol. ii. no. 6,834, and references. There is a copy of Boturini Benaduci in Harvard College Library. A portrait of him is given in Cumplido's edition of Prescott's *Mexico*, vol iii.

[10] It is rare. Quaritch in 1880 priced Ramirez' copy at £12. It was printed, "Mexici in Ædibus Authoris."

[11] Trübner, *Bibliographical Guide*, p. xiii.

Of more use to the student of the earlier history, however, is the list which Clavigero gives in his *Storia del Messico* published in 1780. A Jesuit, and a collector, having a book-lover's keen scent, he surpassed all writers on the theme who had preceded him, in amassing the necessary stores for his special use. Since his day the field has been surveyed more systematically both by the general and special bibliographers. The student of early Spanish-Mexican history will of course not forget the help which he can get from general bibliographers like Brunet, from the *Dictionary* of Sabin, the works of Ternaux and Harrisse, the *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, not to speak of other important library catalogues.

The sale catalogues are not without assistance. Principal among them are the collections which had been formed by the Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, — which was sold in Leipsic in 1869 as the collection of José Maria Andrade,[1] — and the *Bibliotheca Mexicana* formed by José Fernando Ramirez, which was sold in London in 1880.[2]

All other special collections on Mexico have doubtless been surpassed by that which has been formed in San Francisco by Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft, as a component part of his library pertaining to the western slope of America. Lists of such titles have been prefixed to his histories of *Central America* and of *Mexico*, and are to be supplemented by others as his extended work goes on. He has explained, in his preface to his *Mexico* (p. viii), the wealth of his manuscript stores; and it is his custom, as it was Prescott's, to append to his chapters, and sometimes to passages of the text, considerable accounts, with some bibliographical detail, of the authorities with which he deals.[3] Helps, though referring to his authorities, makes no such extended references to them.[4]

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[1] It contained nearly fourteen hundred entries about Mexico, or its press. Another collection, gathered by a gentleman attached to Maximilian's court, was sold in Paris in 1868; and still another, partly the accumulation of Père Augustin Fischer, the confessor of Maximilian, was dispersed in London in 1869 as a *Biblioteca Mejicana*. Cf. Jackson's *Bibliographies Géographiques*, p. 223.

[2] Many of these afterwards appeared in B. Quaritch's *Rough List*, no. 46, 1880. The principal part of a sale which included the libraries of Pinart and Brasseur de Bourbourg (January and February, 1884) also pertained to Mexico and the Spanish possessions.

[3] Cf. for instance his *Native Races*, iv. 565; *Central America*, i. 195; *Mexico*, i. 694, ii. 487, 784; *Early Chroniclers*, p. 19, etc. It is understood that his habit has been to employ readers to excerpt and abstract from books, and make references. These slips are put in paper bags according to topic. Such of these memoranda as are not worked into the notes of the pertinent chapter are usually massed in a concluding note.

[4] The general bibliographies of American history are examined in a separate section of the present work and elsewhere in the present chapter something has been said of the bibliographical side of various other phases of the Mexican theme. Mr. A. F. Bandelier has given a partial bibliography of Yucatan and Central America, touching Mexico, however, only incidentally, in the *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1880. Harrisse, in his *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, p. 212, has given a partial list of the poems and plays founded upon the Conquest. Others will be found in the *Chronological List of Historical Fiction* published by the Boston Public Library. Among the poems are Gabriel Lasso de la Vega's *Cortés Valeroso*, 1588, republished as *Mexicana* in 1594 (Maisonneuve, no. 2,825 — 200 francs); Saavedra Guzman's *El Peregrino indiano*, Madrid, 1599 (Rich, 1832, no. 86, £4 4*s*.); Balbuena's *El Bernardo*, a conglomerate heroic poem (Madrid, 1624), which gives one book to the Conquest by Cortés (Leclerc, no. 48 — 100 francs); Boesnier's *Le Mexique Conquis*, Paris, 1752; Escoiquiz, *México Conquistada*, 1798; Roux de Rochelle, *Ferdinand Cortez*; P. du Roure, *La Conquête du Mexique*.

Among the plays, — Dryden's *Indian Emperor* (Cortés and Montezuma); Lope de Vega's *Marquez del Valle;* Fernand de Zarate's *Conquista de México;* Canizares, *El Pleyto de Fernan Cortes;* F. del Rey, *Hernand Cortez en Tabasco;* Piron, *Cortes;* Malcolm MacDonald, *Guatemozin* (Philadelphia, 1878), etc.

DISCOVERIES

ON THE

PACIFIC COAST OF NORTH AMERICA.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE cartographical history of the Pacific coast of North America is one of shadowy and unstable surmise long continued.[1] The views of Columbus and his companions, as best shown in the La Cosa and Ruysch maps,[2] precluded, for a considerable time after the coming of Europeans, the possibility of the very existence of such a coast; since their Asiatic theory of the new-found lands maintained with more or less modification a fitful existence for a full century after Columbus. In many of the earliest maps the question was avoided by cutting off the westerly extension of the new continent by the edge of the sheet; [3] but the confession of that belief was still made sometimes in other ways, as when, in the Portuguese *portolano*, which is placed between 1516 and 1520, Mahometan flags are placed on the coasts of Venezuela and Nicaragua.[4]

In 1526 a rare book of the monk Franciscus, *De orbis situ ac descriptione Francisci epistola*,[5] contained a map which represented South America as a huge island disjoined from the Asiatic coast by a strait in the neighborhood of Tehuantepec, with the legend, "Hoc orbis hemisphærium cedit regi Hispaniæ." [6] A few years later we find two other maps showing this Asiatic connection, — one of which, the Orontius Finæus globe, is well known, and is the earliest engraved map showing a return to the ideas of Columbus. It appeared in the Paris edition of the *Novus Orbis* of Simon Grynæus, in 1532,[7] and was made the previous year. It is formed on a cordiform projection, and is entitled "Nova et integra universi orbis descriptio." It is more easily understood by a reference to Mr.

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[1] Dr. Kohl's studies on the course of geographical discovery along the Pacific coast were never published. He printed an abstract in the *United States Coast Survey Report*, 1855, pp. 374, 375. A manuscript memoir by him on the subject is in the library of the American Antiquarian Society (*Proceedings*, 23 Apr. 1872, pp. 7, 26) at Worcester. So great advances in this field have since been made that it probably never will be printed. There is a chronological statement of explorations up the Pacific coast in Duflot de Mofras' *Exploration du territoire de l'Orégon* (Paris, 1844), vol. i. chap. iv.; but H. H. Bancroft's *Pacific States*, particularly his *Northwest Coast*, vol. i., embodies the fullest information on this subject. In the enumeration of maps in the present paper, many omissions are made purposely, and some doubtless from want of knowledge. It is intended only to give a sufficient number to mark the varying progress of geographical ideas.

[2] See *ante*, pp. 106, 115.

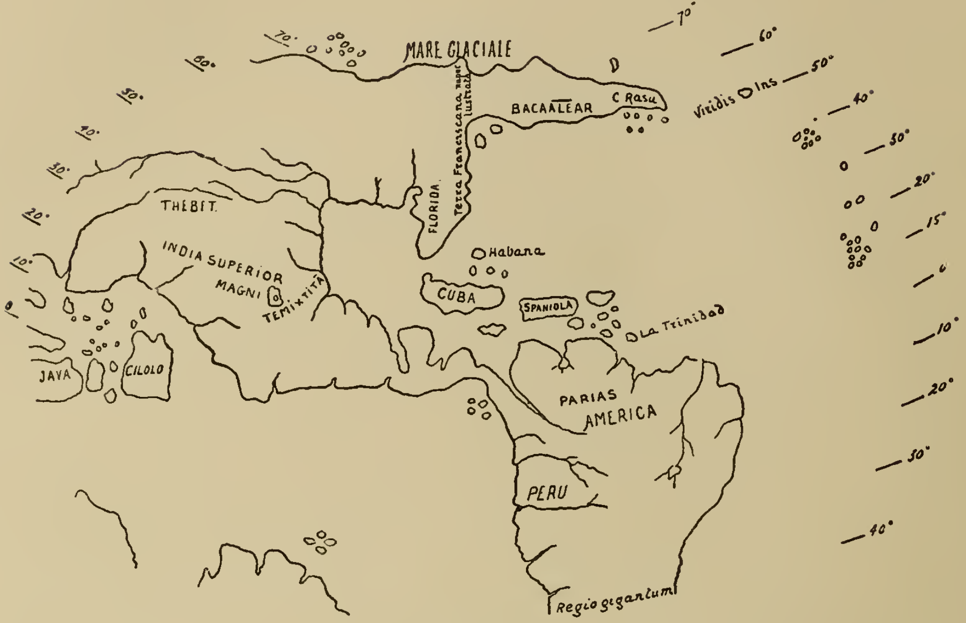
[3] Cf. maps *ante*, on pp. 108, 112, 114, 127.

[4] This map is preserved in the Royal Library at Munich, and is portrayed in Kunstmann's *Atlas*, pl. iv., and in Stevens's *Notes*, pl. v. Cf. Kohl, *Discovery of Maine* (for a part), no. 10; and Harrisse's *Cabots*, p. 167.

[5] Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no 131.

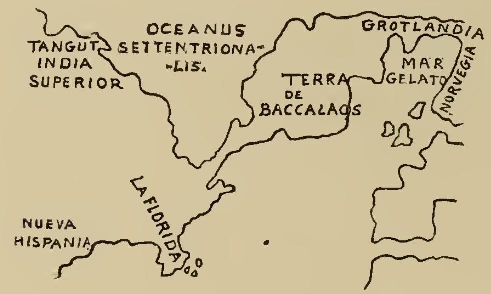
[6] A sketch of the map is given by Lelewel, pl. xlvi.

[7] The *Novus Orbis* (Paris) has sometimes another map; but Harrisse says the Finæus one is the proper one. *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 172, 173.



SLOANE MANUSCRIPTS, 1530.[1]

Brevoort's reduction of it to Mercator's projection, as shown in another volume.[2] The same map, with a change in the inserted type dedication, appeared in the Pomponius Mela of 1540,[3] and it is said also to be found much later in the *Geografia* of Lafreri published at Rome, 1554–1572.



RUSCELLI, 1544.[5]

The other of the two maps already referred to belongs to a manuscript, *De Principiis Astronomie*, preserved in the British Museum among the Sloane manuscripts.[4] It closely resembles the Finæus map. The authorities place it about 1530, or a little later. In 1533, in his *Opusculum Geographicum*, Schöner maintained that the city of Mexico was the Quinsay of Marco Polo; and about the same time Francis I., in commissioning Cartier for his explorations, calls the St. Lawrence valley a part of Asia.

What is known as the Nancy Globe preserved the same idea, as will be seen by the sketch of it annexed, which follows an engraving published in the *Compte Rendu* of the

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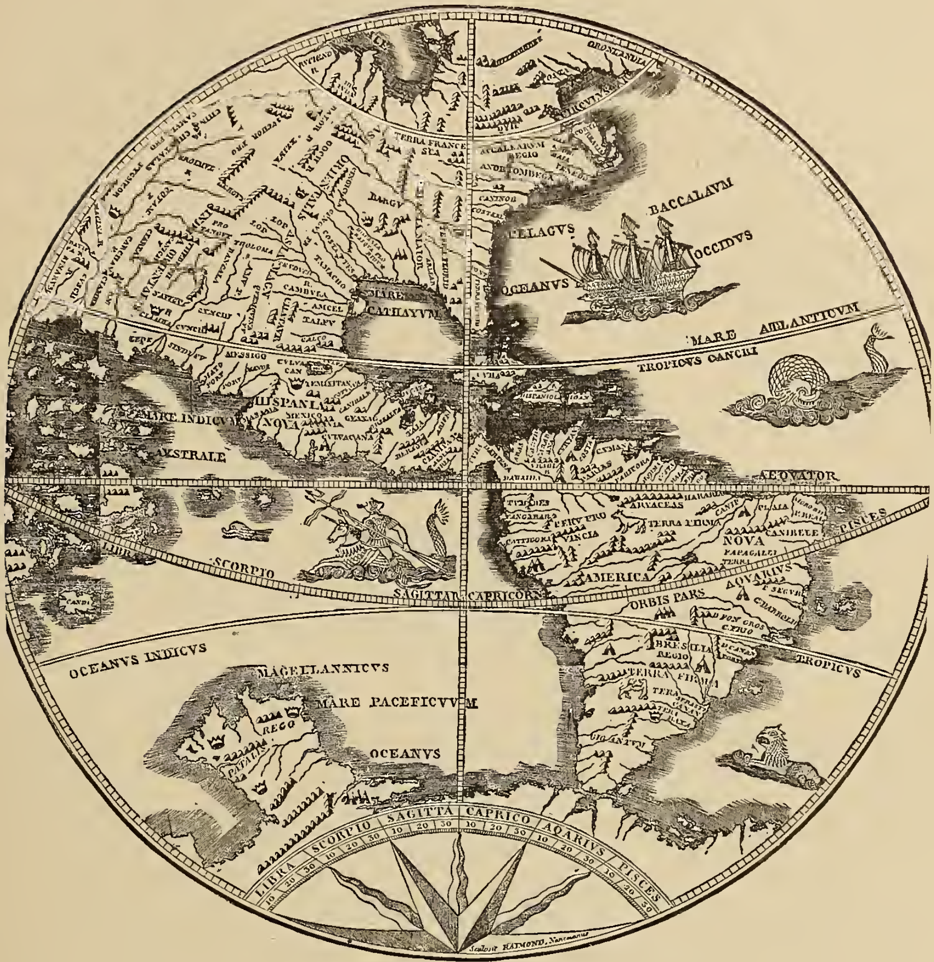
[1] This follows a drawing in Kohl's Washington Collection.

[2] Vol. III. p. 11. This reduction, there made from Stevens's *Notes*, pl. iv., is copied on a reduced scale in Bancroft's *Central America*, vol. i. p. 149. Stevens also gives a fac-simile of the original, and a greatly reduced reproduction is given in Daly's *Early Cartography*. Its names, as Harrisse has pointed out (*Cabots*, p. 182), are similar to the two Weimar charts of 1527 and 1529 The bibliography of this Paris Grynæus is examined elsewhere.

[3] *Bibl. Amer. Vet., Additions*, no. 127.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Maps*, 1844, p. 22.

[5] This follows a sketch given by Dr. Kohl in his *Discovery of Maine*, pl. xv., which is also



THE NANCY GLOBE.

Congrès des Américanistes.[1] The same view is maintained in a manuscript map of Ruscelli, the Italian geographer, preserved in the British Museum. Perhaps the earliest instance of a connection of America and Europe, such as Ruscelli here imagines, is the map of "Schondia," which Ziegler the Bavarian published in his composite work at Strasburg in 1532,[2] in which it will be observed he makes "Bacallaos" a part of Greenland, preserving the old notion prevailing before Columbus, as shown in the maps of the latter part of the fifteenth century, that Greenland was in fact a prolongation of northwestern Europe, as Ziegler indicates at the top of his map, the western half of which only is here reproduced. In this feature, as in others, there is a resemblance in these maps of Ziegler and Ruscelli to two maps by Jacopo Gastaldi, "le coryphée des géographes de péninsule

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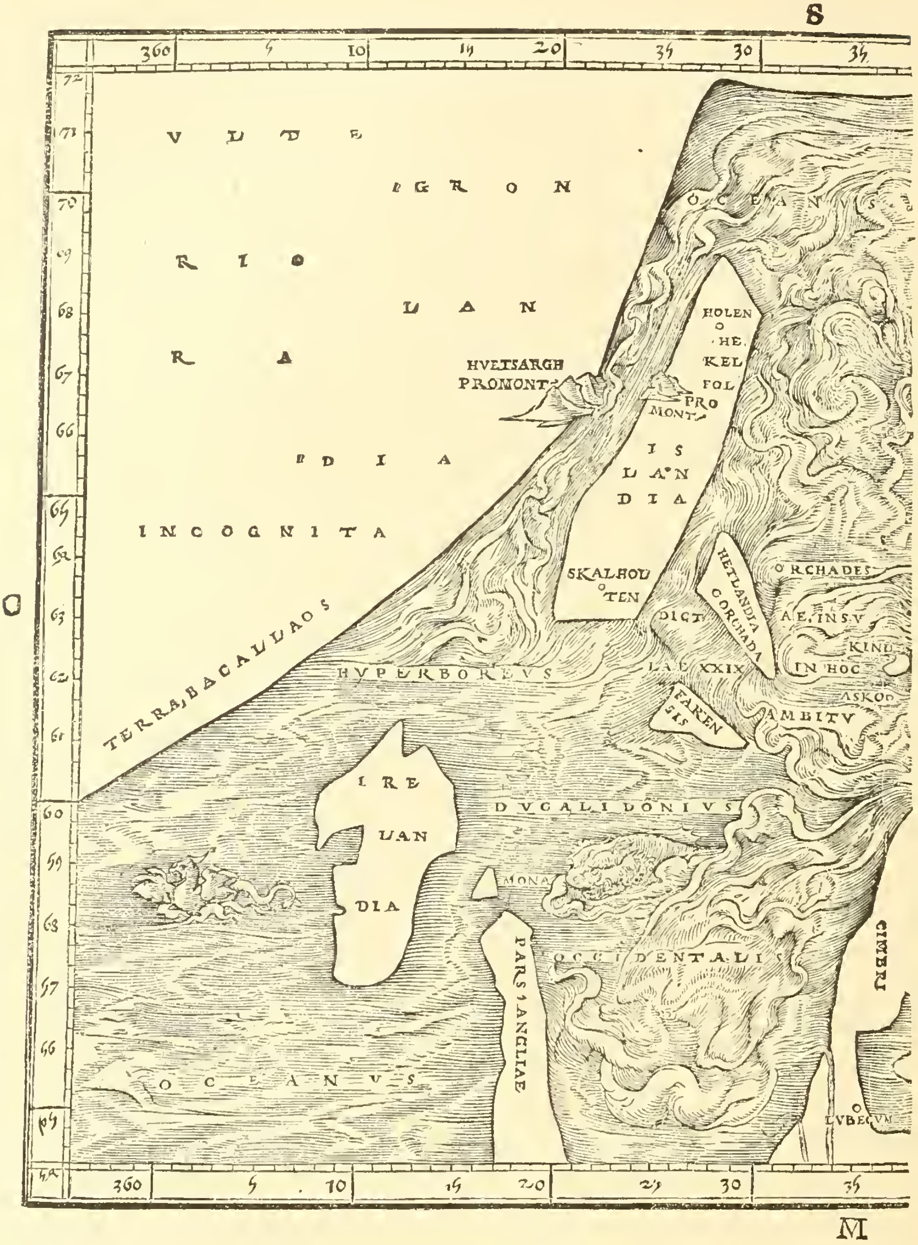
copied in Bancroft's *Central America*, vol. i. p. 148. Cf. Lelewel, p. 170; Peschel, *Geschichte der Erdkunde* (1865), p. 371.

[1] Vol. for 1877, p. 359. Cf. the present History, Vol. I. p. 214; IV. 81.

[2] See Vol. III. p. 18.



ZIEGLER'S SCHONDIA, 1532.[1]

italique," as Lelewel[2] calls him. These maps appeared in the first Italian edition of Ptolemy, published at Venice in 1548.[3] The first (no. 59), inscribed "Dell' universale nuova," is an elliptical projection of the globe, showing a union of America and Asia, somewhat different in character of contour from that represented in the other (no. 60), a "Carta Marina Universale," of which an outline sketch is annexed. This same map was

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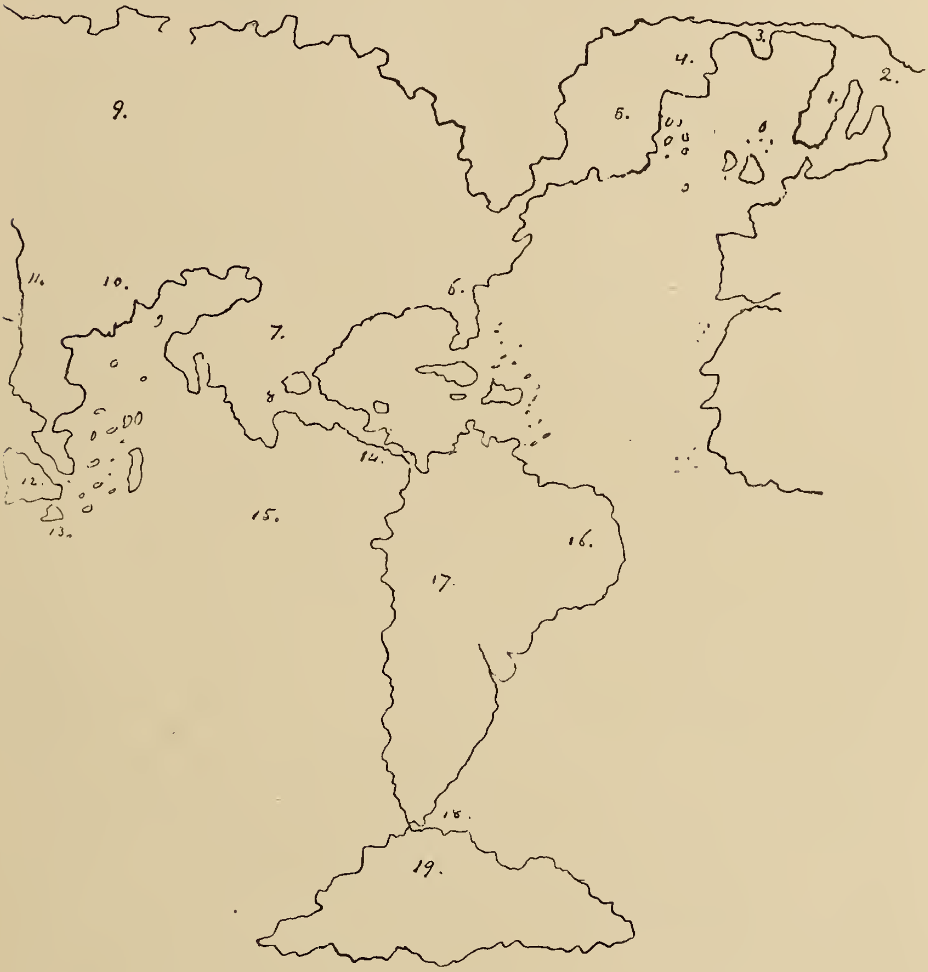
[1] This is a fac-simile made from Mr. Charles Deane's (formerly the Murphy) copy. Cf. Dr. A. Breusing's *Leitfaden durch das Wiegenalter der Kartographie bis zum Jahre* 1600, Frankfurt a. M., 1883, p. 11.

[2] *Epilogue*, p. 219.

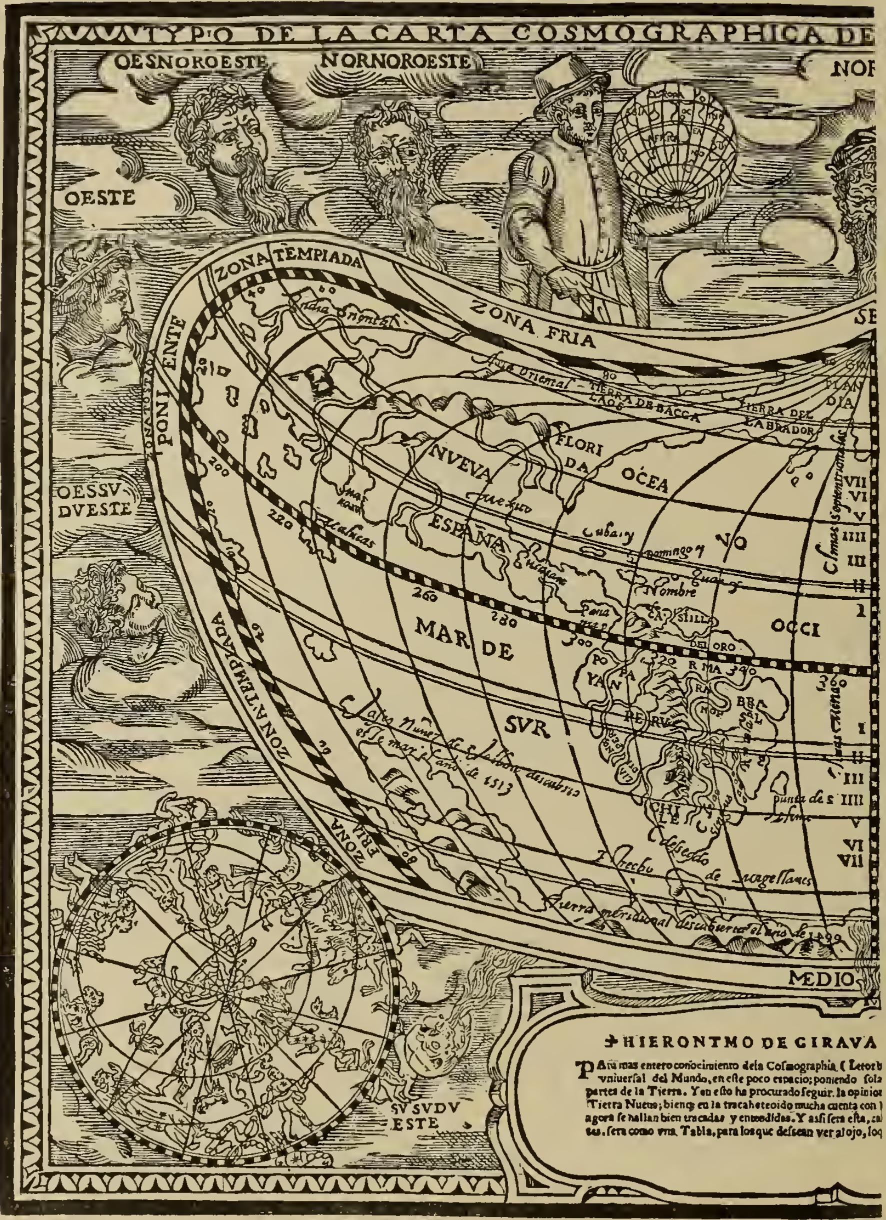
[3] This edition was in small octavo, with sixty maps, engraved on metal, of which there are seven of interest to students of American cartography. They are of South America (no. 54).



CARTA MARINA, 1548.[1]

New Spain (no. 55), "Terra nova Bacalaos" or Florida to Labrador (no. 56), Cuba (no. 57), and Hispaniola (no. 58). The copies in America which have fallen under the Editor's observation are those in the Library of Congress, in the Astor and Carter-Brown libraries, and in the collections of Mr. Barlow and Mr. Kalbfleisch in New York, and of Prof. Jules Marcou in Cambridge. There was one in the Murphy Collection, no. 2,067. It is worth from $15 to $25. Cf. on Gastaldi's maps, Zurla's *Marco Polo* ii. 368; the *Notizie di Jacopo Gastaldi*, Torino, 1881; Castellani's *Catalogo delle più rare opere geografiche*, Rome, 1876, and other references in Winsor's *Bibliography of Ptolemy*, sub anno 1548; and Vol. IV. p. 40 of the present History.

[1] The key is as follows: 1. Norvegia. 2. Laponia. 3. Gronlandia. 4. Tierra del Labrador. 5. Tierra del Bacalaos. 6. La Florida. 7. Nueva Hispania. 8. Mexico. 9. India Superior. 10. La China. 11. Ganges. 12. Samatra. 13. Java. 14. Panama. 15. Mar del Sur. 16. El Brasil. 17. El Peru. 18. Strecho de Fernande Magalhaes. 19. Tierra del Fuego. This map is also repro-


TYPO DE LA CARTA COSMOGRAPHICA DE
OESNOROESTE
NORNOROESTE
NOR
OESTE
ZONA TEMPIADA
ZONA FRIA
PONIENTE
OESSVDVESTE
Aqua Oriental
TIERRA DE BACCALAOS
TIERRA DEL LABRADOR
FLORIDA
NVEVA ESPAÑA
OCEA
NO
Cuba
Domingo
Nombre
CASTILLA DEL ORO
OCCI
MAR DE SVR
PERV
CHILE
Punta de S.
desseado de Magellanes
Tierra meridional descubierta al año de 1499
ZONA TEMPIADA
ZONA FRIA
SVSVDVESTE
MEDIO
HIERONYMO DE GIRAVA
PAra mas entero conocimiento dela Coſmographia (Letor
vniuerſal del Mundo, en eſte poco espacio; poniendo ſola
partes de la Tierra. Y en eſto he procurado ſeguir la opinio
Tierra Nueva; bienque en la tracahe teoido mucha cuenta con
agora ſe hallan bien tracadas y entendidas. Y aſsi ſera eſta,
tas. ſera como vna Tabla, para los que deſsean ver al ojo, lo

VOPELLIO, 1556.

(Reduction of western half.)

adopted (as no. 2) by Ruscelli in the edition of Ptolemy which he published at Venice in 1561,[1] though in the "Orbis descriptio" (no. 1) of that edition Ruscelli hesitates to accept

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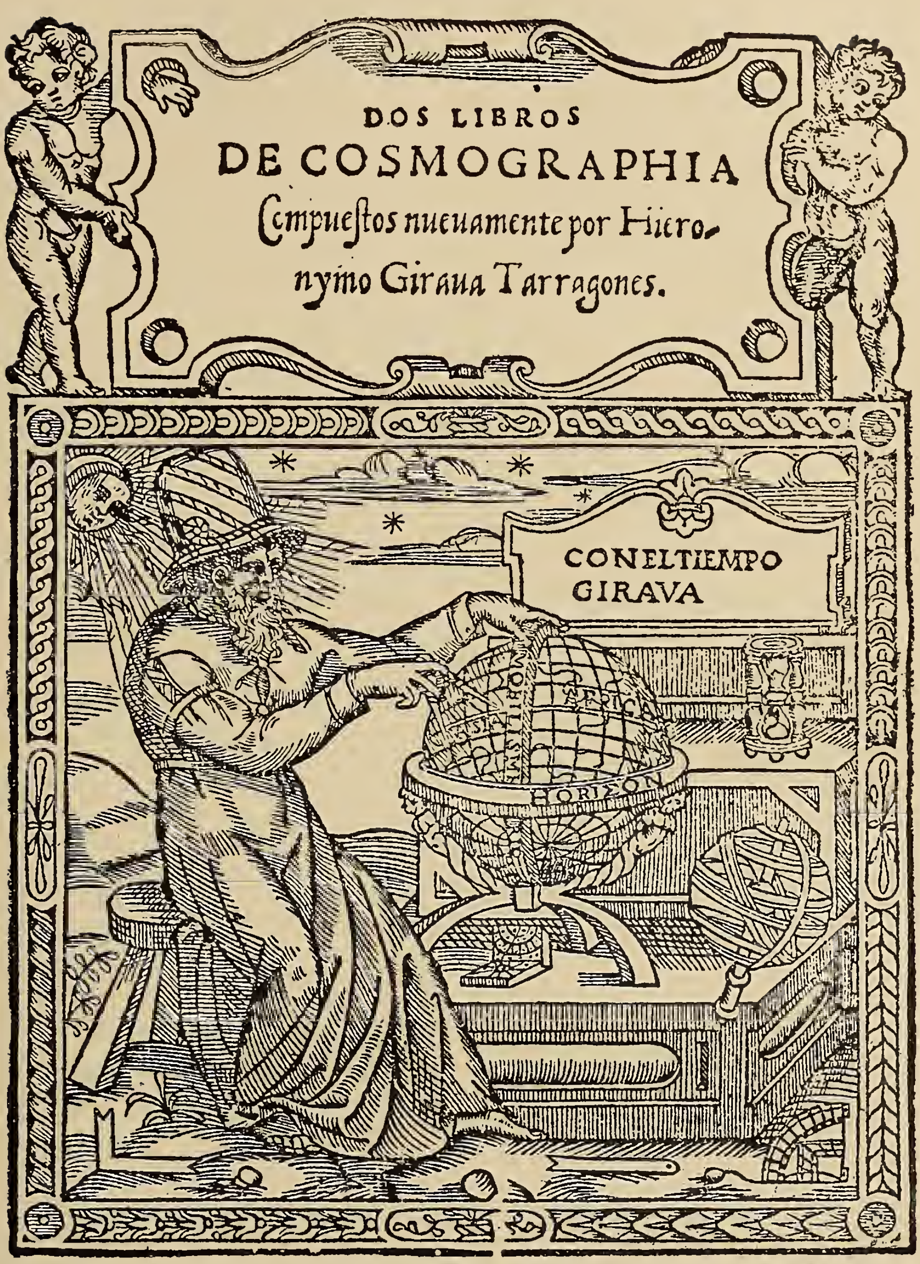
duced in Nordenskiöld's *Bröderna Zenos*, Stockholm, 1883.

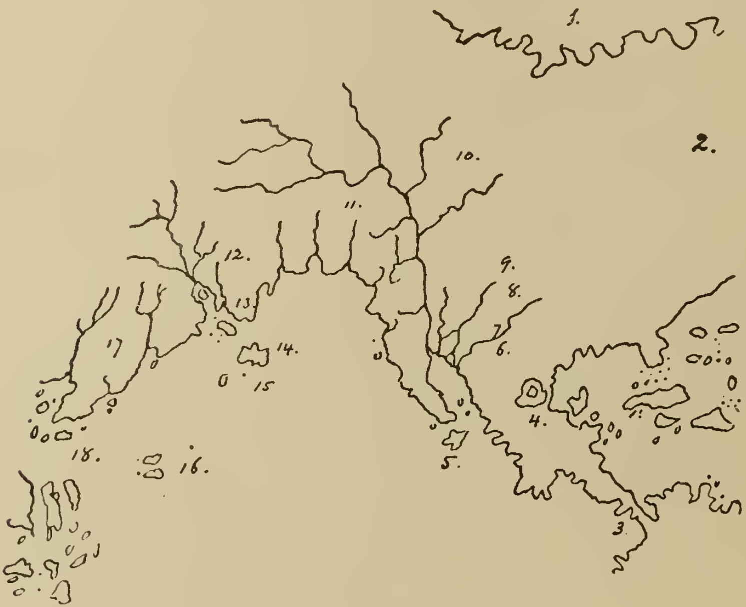
[1] This edition is in small quarto and contains six American maps: no. 1, "Orbis De-



the Asiatic theory, and indicates a "littus incognitum," as Gastaldi did in the map which he made for Ramusio in 1550.

scriptio;" no. 2, "Carta Marina;" no. 3, a reproduction of the Zeni map; no. 4, "Schonlandia" (Greenland region, etc.); no. 5, South America; no. 6, New Spain; no. 7, "Tierra nueva," or eastern coast of North America; no. 8, Brazil; no. 9, Cuba; no. 10, Hispaniola. These maps were repeated in the 1562, 1564, and 1574 editions of Ptolemy. The copies in

Wuttke[1] has pointed out two maps preserved in the Palazzo Riccardi at Florence, which belong to about the year 1550, and show a similar Asiatic connection.[2] The map of Gaspar Vopellius, or Vopellio (1556), also extended the California coast to the Ganges. It appeared in connection with Girava's *Dos Libros de Cosmographia*, Milan, 1556,[3] but when a new titlepage was given to the same sheets in 1570, it is doubtful if the map was retained, though Sabin says it should have the map.[4] The Italian cartographer, Paulo de Furlani, made a map in 1560, which according to Kohl is preserved in the British Museum. It depicts Chinamen and elephants in the region of the Mississippi Valley. From Kohl's sketch, preserved in his manuscript in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, the annexed outline is drawn. Furlani is reported to have received it from a



PAULO DE FURLANI'S MAP, 1560.[5]

America of these editions known to the Editor are in the following libraries: Library of Congress, 1561, 1562, 1574; Boston Public Library, 1561; Harvard College Library, 1562; Carter-Brown Library, 1561, 1562, 1564, 1574; Philadelphia Library, 1574; Astor Library, 1574; S. L. M. Barlow's, 1562, 1564; James Carson Brevoort's, 1562; J. Hammond Trumbull's, 1561; Trinity College (Hartford), 1574; C. C. Baldwin's (Cleveland) 1561; Murphy Catalogue, 1561, 1562, 1574, — the last two bought by President A. D. White of Cornell University. These editions of Ptolemy's *Geographica* are described, and their American maps compared with the works of other contemporary cartographers, in Winsor's *Bibliog. of Ptolemy's Geography* (1884).

[1] *Jahresbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde in Dresden*, 1870, pages 62; plates vi., vii., ix.

[2] These and other maps of the Palazzo are noted in *Studi biografici e bibliografici della società geografica italiana*, Rome, 1882, ii. 169, 172.

[3] *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, i. 209; Leclerc, *Bibliotheca Americana*, no. 240; *Murphy Catalogue*, no. 1,047. The map is very rare. Henry Stevens published a fac-simile made by Harris. This and a fac-simile of the title of the book are annexed. Cf. Orozco y Berra, *Cartografia Mexicana*, 37.

[4] Sabin, *Dictionary of books relating to America*, vii. 27,504; Stevens, *Historical Collections*, i. 2,413 (books sold in London, July, 1881). The Harvard College copy lacks the map. Mr. Brevoort's copy has the map, and that gentleman thinks it belongs to this edition as well as to the other.

[5] The key is this: 1. Oceano settentrionale. 2. Canada. 3. panaman. 4. Mexico. 5. s. tomas. 6. Nova Ispania. 7. Cipola. 8. Le sete cita. 9. Topira. 10. tontontean. 11. Zangar. 12. Tebet. 13. Quisai. 14. Cimpaga. 15. Golfo de Tonza. 16. Ys. de las ladrones. 17. mangi. 18. mar de la china.

Spanish nobleman, Don Diego Hermano, of Toledo.[1] The connection with Asia is again adhered to in Johannes Myritius's *Opusculum geographicum*, where the map is dated 1587, though the book was published at Ingolstadt in 1590.[2] Just at this time Livio Sanuto, in his *Geografia distinta* (Venice, 1588), was disputing the Asiatic theory on the ground that the Mexicans would not have shown surprise at horses in Cortés' time, if they had formerly been inhabitants of a continent like Asia, where horses are common. Perhaps the latest use of the type of map shown in the "Carta Marina" of 1548 was just a half century later, in 1598, in an edition of Ortelius, *Il Theatro del mondo*, published at Brescia. The belief still lingered for many years yet in some quarters; and Thomas Morton in 1636 showed that in New England it was not yet decided whether the continent of America did not border upon the country of the Tartars.[3] Indeed, the last trace of the assumption was not blown away till Behring in 1728 passed from the Pacific to the Arctic seas.

Such is in brief the history of the inception and decline of the belief in the prolongation of Asia over against Spain, as Toscanelli had supposed in 1474, and as had been suspected by geographers at intervals since the time of Eratosthenes.[4] The beginning of the decline of such belief is traced to the movements of Cortés. Balboa in 1513 by his discovery of the South Sea, later to be called the Pacific Ocean,[5] had established the continental form of South America, whose limits southward were fixed by Magellan in 1520; but it was left for Cortés to begin the exploration to the north which Behring consummated.

After the Congress of Badajos had resolved to effect a search for a passage through the American barrier to the South Sea, the news of such a determination was not long in reaching Cortés in Mexico, and we know from his fourth letter, dated Oct. 15, 1524, that it had already reached him, and that he had decided to take part in the quest himself by despatching an expedition towards the Baccalaos on the hither side; while he strove also to connect with the discoveries of Magellan on the side of the South Sea.[6] Cortés had already been led in part by the reports of Balboa's discovery, and in part by the tidings which were constantly reaching him of a great sea in the direction of Tehuantepec, to establish a foothold on its coast, as the base for future maritime operations. So his explorers had found a fit spot in Zacatula, and thither he had sent colonists and shipwrights to establish a town and build a fleet,[7] the Emperor meanwhile urging him speedily to use the vessels in a search for the coveted strait, which would open a shorter passage than Magellan had found to the Spice Islands.[8] But Cortés' attention was soon distracted by his Honduras expedition, and nothing was done till he returned from that march, when he wrote to the Emperor, Sept. 3, 1526, offering to conduct his newly built fleet to the

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[1] The Catalogue of the British Museum puts under 1562 a map by Furlani called *Univerales Descrittione di tutta la Terra cognosciuta da Paulo di Forlani*. A "carta nautica" of the same cartographer, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, is figured in Santarem's *Atlas*. (Cf. *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 1839; and *Studi biografici e bibliografici*, ii. p. 142). Thomassy in his *Papes géographes*, p. 118, mentions a Furlani (engraved) map of 1565, published at Venice, and says it closely resembles the Gastaldi type. Another, of 1570, is contained in Lafreri's *Tavole moderne di geografia*, Rome and Venice, 1554–1572 (cf. Manno and Promis, *Notizie di Gastaldi*, 1881, p. 19; Harrisse, *Cabots*, p. 237). Furlani, in 1574, as we shall see, had dissevered America and Asia. As to Diego Hermano, cf. Willes' *History of Trauvayle* (London, 1577) fol. 232, *verso*.

[2] There are copies in the Library of Congress and in the Carter-Brown Library. Dufossé recently priced it at 25 francs.

[3] Morton's *New English Canaan*, Adams's edition, p. 126.

[4] See *ante*, p. 104.

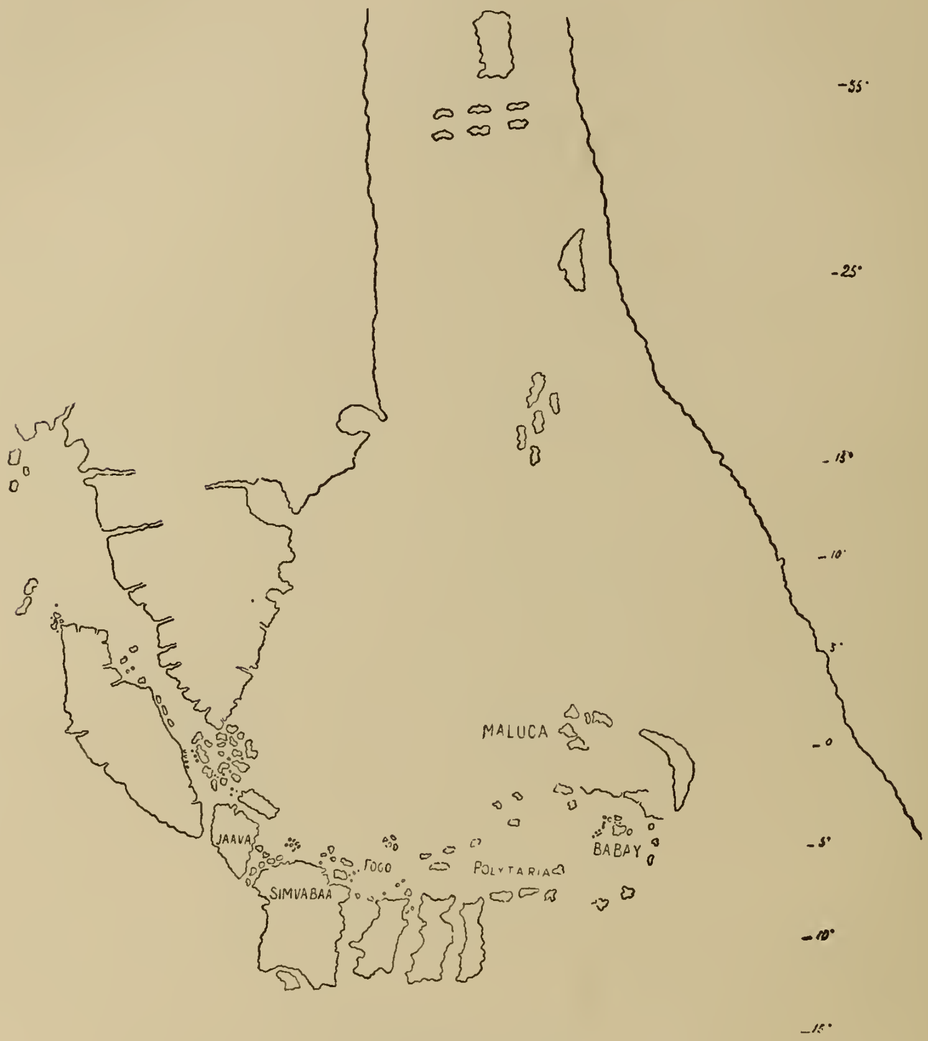
[5] Magellan and his companions seem to have given the latter name, according to Pigafetta, and Galvano and others soon adopted the name. (Cf. Bancroft, *Central America*, vol. i. pp. 135, 136, 373; and the present volume, *ante*, p. 196).

[6] Brevoort (*Verrazano*, p. 80) suspects that the Vopellio map of 1556 represents the geographical views of Cortés at this time. Mr. Brevoort has a copy of this rare map. See *ante*, p. 436, for fac-simile.

[7] Cf. collation of references in Bancroft, *No. Mexican States*, i. 18; *Northwest Coast*, i. 13.

[8] Pacheco, *Coleccion de documentos inéditos* xxiii. 366.

Moluccas. But two other fleets were already on the way thither, — one under Garcia de Loaysa which left Spain in August, 1525, and the other under Sebastian Cabot, who stopped on the way at La Plata, had left in April, 1526. So Cortés finally received orders to join with his fleet that of Loaysa, who had indeed died on his voyage, and of his vessels only one had reached the Moluccas. Another, however, had sought a harbor not far



THE PACIFIC, 1513.[1]

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[1] Kohl gives this old Portuguese chart of the Pacific in his Washington Collection, after an original preserved in the military archives at Munich, which was, as he thinks possible, made by some pilot accompanying Antonio da Miranda de Azevedo, who conducted a Portuguese fleet to the Moluccas in 1513 to join the earlier expedition (1511) under D'Abreu and Serrão. A legend at Maluca marks these islands as the place "where the cloves grow," while the group south of them is indicated as the place "where nutmegs grow." The coast on the right must stand for the notion then prevailing of the main of America, which was barring the Spanish progress from the east.

Of the early maps of the Moluccas, there is one by Baptista Agnese in his *portolano* of 1536, preserved in the British Museum; one by Diego from Zacatula, and had brought Cortés partial tidings at least of the mishaps of Loaysa's undertaking.[1] What information the rescued crew could give was made use of, and Cortés, bearing the whole expense, for a reimbursement of which he long sued the home Government, sent out his first expedition on the Pacific, under the command of his cousin Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron, armed with letters for Cabot, whose delay at La Plata was not suspected, and with missives for sundry native potentates of the Spice Islands and that region.[2]

After an experimental trip up the coast, in July, 1527,[3] two larger vessels and a brigantine set sail Oct. 31, 1527. But mishap was in store. Saavedra alone reached the Moluccas, the two other vessels disappearing forever. He found there a remnant of Loaysa's party, and, loading his ship with cloves, started to return, but died midway, when the crew headed their ship again for the Moluccas, where they fell at last into Portuguese prisons, only eight of them finally reaching Spain in 1534.

It will be remembered that the Portuguese, following in the track of Vasco da Gama, had pushed on beyond the great peninsula of India, and had reached the Moluccas in 1511, where they satisfied themselves, if their longitude was substantially correct, that there was a long space intervening yet before they would confront the Spaniards, pursuing their westerly route. It was not quite so certain, however, whether the line of papal demarcation, which had finally been pushed into the mid-ocean westerly from the Azores, would on this opposite side of the globe give these islands to Spain or to themselves. The voyage of Magellan, as we shall see, seemed to bring the solution near; and if we may believe Scotto, the Genoese geographer, at about the same date (1520) the Portuguese had crossed the Pacific easterly and struck our northwest coast.[4] The mishaps of Loaysa and Saavedra, as well as a new understanding between the rival crowns of the Iberian peninsula, closed the question rather abruptly through a sale in 1529 — the treaty of Saragossa — by Spain, for 350,000 ducats, to Portugal of all her rights to the Moluccas under the bull of demarcation.[5]

Cortés, on his return from Spain (1530), resolved to push his discoveries farther up the coast. The Spaniards had now occupied Tehuantepec, Acapulco, and Zacatula on the sea, and other Spaniards were also to be found at Culiacan, just within the Gulf of California on its eastern shore. The political revolutions in Cortés' absence had caused the suspension of work on a new fleet, and Cortés was obliged to order the construction of another; and the keels of two were laid at Tehuantepec, and two others at Acapulco. In the early part of 1532 they were launched, and in May or June two ships started under Hurtado de Mendoza, with instructions which are preserved to us. It is a matter of doubt just how far he went,[6] and both vessels were lost. Nuño de Guzman, who held the region to the north,[7] obstructed their purpose by closing his harbors to them and refusing succor; and Cortés was thus made to feel the deadliness of his rivalry. The conqueror now himself repaired to Tehuantepec, and superintended in person, working with his men, the construction of two other ships. These, the "San Lazaro" and "Concepcion," under Diego Becerra, left port on the 29th of October, 1533, and being blown to sea, they first saw land in the latitude of 29° 30′ north on the 18th of December, when, coasting south and east, they developed the lower parts of the Californian peninsula. Mutiny, and attacks of

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Homem in a similar atlas, dated 1558, likewise in the Museum; and one of 1568, by J. Martines. Copies of these are all included in Kohl's Washington Collection.

[1] Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 258.

[2] These are given in Navarrete, v. 442. Cf. other references in Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 258, where his statements are at variance with those in his *Central America*, i. 143.

[3] *Documentos inéditos*, xiv. 65, where a report describes this preliminary expedition.

[4] In 1524 Francisco Cortés in his expedition to the Jalisco coast heard from the natives of a wooden house stranded there many years earlier, which may possibly refer to an early Portuguese voyage. H. H. Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, i. 15.

[5] Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, ii. 180, and references.

[6] Cf. Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i. chap. iii., on this voyage, with full references.

[7] Cf. Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i. chap. ii., with references; p. 29, on Guzman's expedition, and a map of it, p. 31.

the natives, during one of which the chief pilot Ximenes was killed, were the hapless accompaniments of the undertaking, and during stress of weather the vessels were separated. The "San Lazaro" finally returned to Acapulco, but the "Concepcion" struggled in a crippled condition into a port within Guzman's province, where the ship was seized. A quarrel ensued before the *Audiencia*, Cortés seeking to recover his vessel; but he prospered little in his suit, and was driven to undertake another expedition under his own personal lead. Sending three armed vessels up the coast to Chiametla, where Guzman had seized the "Concepcion," Cortés went overland himself, accompanied by a force which Guzman found it convenient to avoid. Here he joined his vessels and sailed away with a part of his land forces to the west; and on the 1st of May, 1535, he landed at the Bay of Santa Cruz, where Ximenes had been killed. What parts of the lower portion of the Californian peninsula Cortés now coasted we know from his map, preserved in the Spanish Archives,[1] which accompanied the account of his taking possession of the new land of Santa Cruz, "discovered by Cortés, May 3, 1535," as the paper reads. The point of occupation seems to have been the modern La Paz, called by him Santa Cruz. The notary's account of the act of possession goes on to say,[2] —

> "On the third day of May, in the year of our Lord 1535, on the said day, it may be at the hour of noon, be the same less or more, the very illustrious Lord don Hernando Cortés, Marquis of the Valley of Guaxaca, Captain-general of New Spain and of the Southern Sea for his Majesty, etc., arrived in a port and bay of a country newly discovered in the same Southern Sea, with a ship and armament of the said Lord Marquis, at which said port his Lordship arrived with ships and men, and landed on the earth with his people and horses; and standing on the shore of the sea there, in presence of me Martin de Castro, notary of their Majesties and notary of the Administration of the said Lord Marquis, and in presence of the required witnesses, the said Lord Marquis spoke aloud and said that he, in the name of His Majesty, and in virtue of his royal provision, and in fulfilment of His Majesty's instructions regarding discovery in the said Southern Sea, had discovered with his ship and armament the said land, and that he had come with his armament and people to take possession of it."

Finding his men and horses insufficient for the purposes of the colony which he intended to establish, Cortés despatched orders to the main for assistance, and, pending its arrival, coursed up the easterly side of the gulf, and opportunely fell in with one of his vessels, much superior to his own brigantine. So he transferred his flag, and, returning to Santa Cruz, brought relief to an already famishing colony.

News reaching him of the appointment of Mendoza as viceroy, Cortés felt he had greater stake in Mexico, and hurriedly returned.[3] Not despairing of better success in another trial, and spurred on by indications that the new viceroy would try to anticipate him, he got other vessels, and, putting Francisco de Ulloa in charge, despatched them (July 8, 1539) before Guzman's plan for their detention could be put into execution. Ulloa proceeded up the gulf nearly to its head, and satisfied himself that no practicable water passage, at least, could bring him to the ocean in that direction, as Cortés had supposed.[4] Ulloa now turned south, and following the easterly coast of the peninsula rounded its extremity, and coursed it northerly to about 28° north latitude, without finding any cut-off on that side. So he argued for its connection with the main.[5] And here

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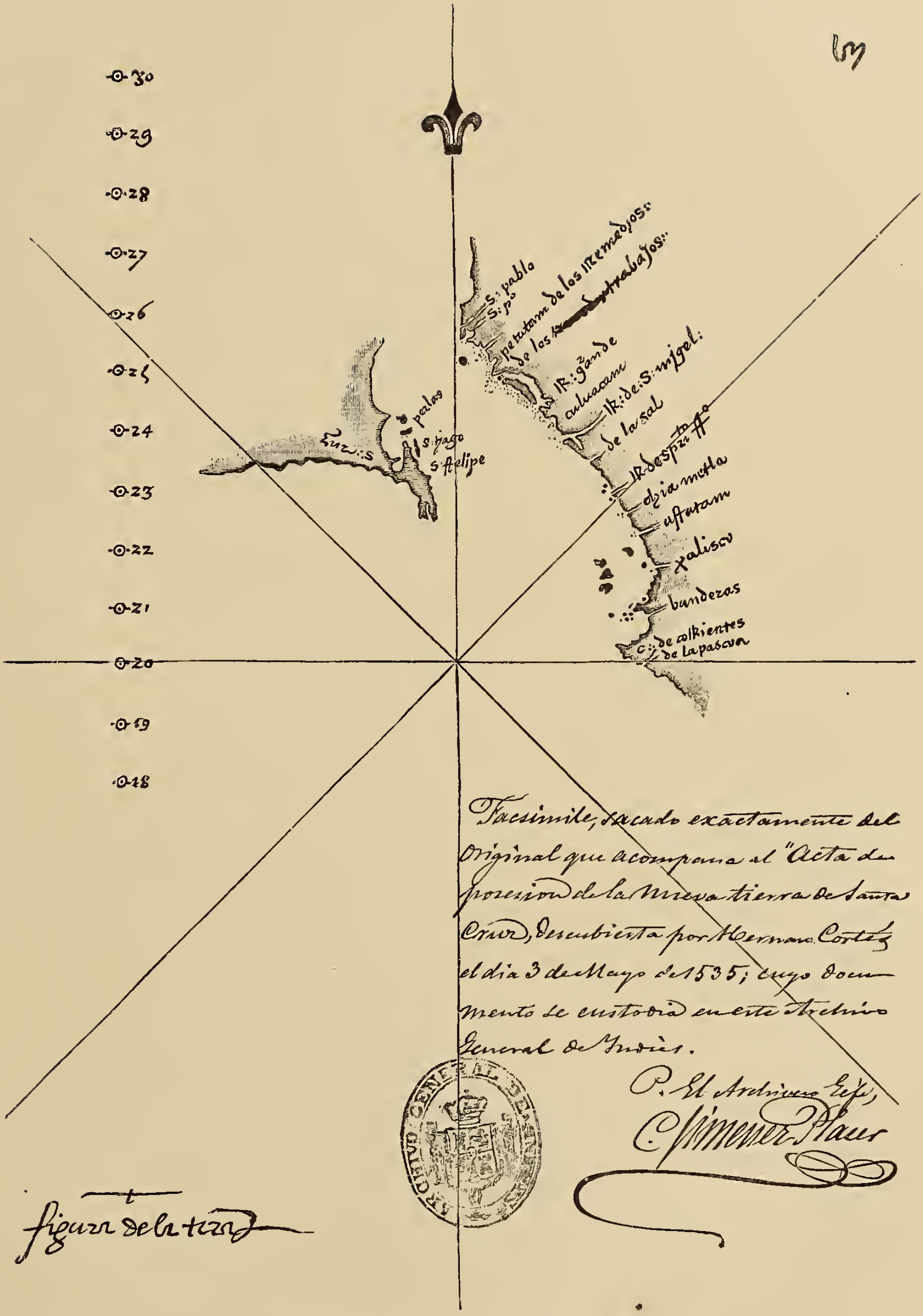
[1] The Rev. Edward E. Hale procured a copy of this when in Spain in 1883, and from his copy the annexed wood-cut is made. Cf. Gomara, folio 117; Herrera, Decade viii. lib. viii. cap. ix. and x. Bancroft (*Central America*, i. 150) writes without knowledge of this map.

[2] The Spanish is printed in Navarrete, iv. 190.

[3] This expedition of Cortés is not without difficulties in reconciling authorities and tracing the fate of the colonists which he sought to plant at Santa Cruz. Bancroft has examined the various accounts (*North Mexican States*, i. 52, etc.).

[4] Cortés had called California an island as early as 1524, in a report to the Emperor, deducing his belief from native reports. De Laet in 1633 mentions having seen early Spanish maps showing it of insular shape.

[5] Cf. Prescott's *Mexico*, iii. 322; Bancroft's *Mexico*, ii. 425; *Central America*, i. 152, and *North Mexican States*, i. 79, with references. The



Facsimile, sacado exactamente del Original que acompaña al "Acta de posesion de la Nueva tierra de Santa Cruz, descubierta por Hernan Cortez el dia 3 de Mayo de 1535; cuyo documento se custodia en este Archivo General de Indias.

P. El Archivero Gefe,
C. Jimenez Placer

CORTES' MAP OF THE GULF OF CALIFORNIA.

Cortés' connection with discoveries on the Pacific ends; for Mendoza, who had visions of his own, thwarted him in all subsequent attempts, till finally Cortés himself went to Spain. The name which his captains gave to the gulf, the Sea of Cortés, failed to abide. It grew to be generally called the Red Sea, out of some fancied resemblance, as Wytfliet says, to the Red Sea of the Old World. This appellation was supplanted in turn by the name of California, which, it is contended, was given to the peninsula by Cortés himself.[1]

The oldest map which we were supposed to possess of these explorations about the gulf,[2] before Dr. Hale brought the one, already mentioned, from Spain, was that of Castillo, of which a fac-simile is herewith given as published by Lorenzana in 1770, at Mexico, in his *Historia de Nueva España.* Castillo was the pilot of the expedition, sent by Mendoza to co-operate by sea with the famous expedition of Coronado,[3] and which the viceroy put under the command of Hernando d'Alarcon. The fleet, sailing in May, 1540. reached the head of the gulf, and Alarcon ascended the Colorado in boats; but Marcou[4] thinks he could not have gone up to the great cañon, which however he must have reached if his supposed latitude of 36° is correct. He failed to open communication with Coronado, but buried some letters under a cross, which one of that leader's lieutenants subsequently found.[5]

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accounts are not wholly reconcilable. It would seem probable that Ulloa's own ship was never heard from. Ramusio gives a full account (vol. iii. p. 340) by one of the companions of Ulloa, on another ship.

[1] At least so says Herrera (Stevens's edition, vi. 305). Castañeda defers the naming till Alarcon's expedition. Cabrillo in 1542 used the name as of well-known application. The origin of the name has been a cause of dispute. Professor Jules Marcou is in error in stating that the name was first applied by Bernal Diaz to a bay on the coast, and so was made to include the whole region. He claims that it was simply a designation used by Cortés to distinguish a land which we now know to be the hottest in the two Americas, — Tierra California, derived from "calida fornax," fiery furnace. (Cf. *Annual Report of the Survey west of the hundredth Parallel*, by George M. Wheeler, 1876, p. 386; and *Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers*, U.S.A., 1878, appendix, also printed separately as *Notes upon the First Discoveries of California and the Origin of its Name*, by Jules Marcou, Washington, 1878.) Bancroft (*California*, i. 65, 66) points out a variety of equivalent derivations which have been suggested. The name was first traced in 1862, by Edward E. Hale, to a romance published, it is supposed, in 1510, — *Las Sergas de Esplandian*, by Garcia Ordoñez de Montalvo, which might easily enough have been a popular book with the Spanish followers of Cortés. There were later editions in 1519, 1521, 1525, and 1526. In this romance Esplandian, emperor of the Greeks, the imaginary son of the imaginary Amadis, defends Constantinople against the infidels of the East. A pagan queen of Amazons brings an army of Amazons to the succor of the infidels. This imaginary queen is named Calafia, and her kingdom is called "California," — a name possibly derived from "Calif," which, to the readers of such a book, would be associated with the East. California in the romance is represented as an island rich with gold and diamonds and pearls. The language of the writer is this: —

> "Know that on the right hand of the Indies there is an island called California, very close to the side of the Terrestrial Paradise; and it was peopled by black women, without any man among them, for they lived in the fashion of Amazons. They were of strong and hardy bodies, of ardent courage and great force. Their island was the strongest in all the world, with its steep cliffs and rocky shores. Their arms were all of gold, and so was the harness of the wild beasts which they tamed to ride; for in the whole island there was no metal but gold. They lived in caves wrought out of the rock with much labor. They had many ships, with which they sailed out to other countries to obtain booty."

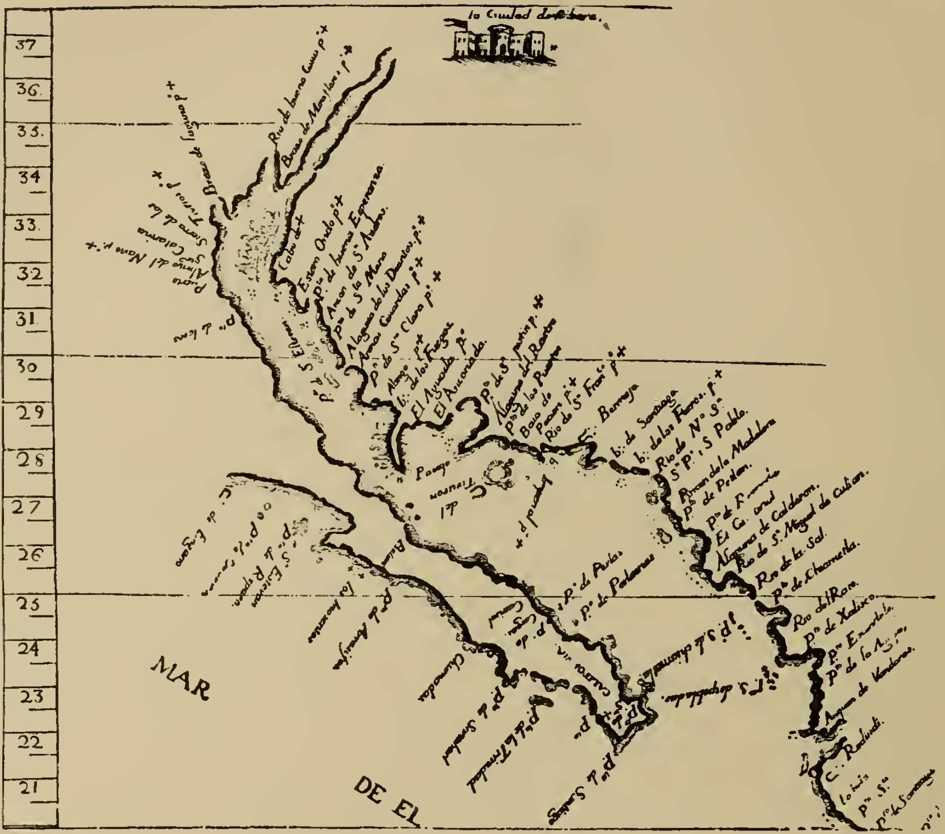
That this name, as an omen of wealth, struck the fancy of Cortés is the theory of Dr. Hale, who adds "that as a western pioneer now gives the name of 'Eden' to his new home, so Cortés called his new discovery 'California.'" (Cf. Hale in *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, April 30, 1862; in *Historical Magazine*, vi. 312, Oct. 1862; in *His Level Best*, p. 234; and in *Atlantic Monthly*, xiii. 265; J. Archibald in *Overland Monthly*, ii. 437, Prof. J. D. Whitney in article "California" in *Encyclopædia Britannica.*) Bancroft (*North Mexican States*, vol. i. p. 82; and *California*, vol. i. p. 64) points out how the earliest use of the name known to us was in Preciado's narrative (Ramusio, vol. iii. p. 343) of Ulloa's voyage; and that there is no evidence of its use by Cortés himself. It was applied then to the bay or its neighborhood, which had been called Santa Cruz or La Paz.

[2] Kohl, *Maps in Hakluyt*, p. 58.

[3] Cf. *post*, chap. vii.

[4] *Notes*, etc., p. 4.

[5] We have Alarcon's narrative in Ramusio, iii. 363; Herrera, Dec. vi. p. 208; Hakluyt, iii.



CASTILLO'S MAP, 1541.[1]

In 1542 and 1543 an expedition which started under Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese in the Spanish service, explored the coast as far as 44° north,[2] reaching that point by coasting from 33°, where he struck the land. He made a port which he calls San Miguel, which Bancroft is inclined to believe is San Diego; but the accounts are too confused to track him confidently,[3] and it is probable that Cabrillo's own vessel did not get above 38°, for Cabrillo himself died Jan. 3, 1543, his chief pilot, Ferrelo (or Ferrer), continuing the explorations.[4] Bancroft does not think that the pilot passed north of Cape Mendocino in 40° 26′.

425, 505; Ternaux-Compans' *Voyages*, etc., ix. 299. Bancroft (*North Mexican States*, vol. i. p. 93) gives various references. An intended second expedition under Alarcon, with a co-operating fleet to follow the outer coast of the peninsula, failed of execution. The instructions given in 1541 to Alarcon for his voyage on the California coast, by order of Mendoza, are given in B. Smith's *Coleccion*, p. 1.

[1] This map is marked "Domingo del Castillo, piloto me fecit en Mexico, año del nacimiento de N. S. Jesu Christo de M. D. XLI." Bancroft, *Central America*, vol. i. p. 153, gives a sketch of this map, and again in *North Mexican States*, i. 81; but he carries the outer coast of the peninsula too far to the west.

[2] These are the ship's figures; but it is thought their reckoning was one or two degrees too high.

[3] Attempts have been made. Cf. Bancroft, *California*, i. 70; *Northwest Coast*, i. 38.

[4] The source of our information for this voyage is a *Relacion* (June 27, 1542, to April 14, 1543) printed in Pacheco's *Coleccion de docu-*

Thus from the time when Balboa discovered the South Sea, the Spanish had taken thirty years to develop the coast northerly, to the latitude of Oregon. In this distance they had found nothing of the Straits of Anian, which, if Humboldt[1] is correct, had begun to take form in people's minds ever since Cortereal, in 1500, had supposed Hudson's Straits to be the easterly entrance of a westerly passage.[2]

There seems to have been a general agreement among cartographers for some years yet to consider the newly discovered California as a peninsula, growing out of the concurrent testimony of those who, subsequent to Cortés' own expedition, had tracked both the gulf and the outer coast. The Portuguese map given by Kunstmann[3] shows it as such, though the map cannot be so early as that geographer places its anterior limit (1530), since the development of the gulf could not have been made earlier than 1535, unless by chance there were explorations from the Moluccas, of which we have no record. The map in this part bears a close resemblance to a manuscript chart in the British Museum, placed about 1536, and it seems probable that this is the approximate date of that in Kunstmann. The California peninsula is shown in much the same way in a map which Major ascribes to Baptista Agnese, and places under 1539.[4] It belongs (pl. iv.) to what has been sometimes spoken of as an atlas of Philip II. inscribed to Charles V., but in fact it was given to Philip by Charles.[5] Its essential features were almost exactly

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mentos inéditos, xiv. 165; and very little is added from other sources, given in Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, i. 133. Buckingham Smith gave the *Relacion* earlier in his *Coleccion de varios Documentos para la historia de la Florida y Tierras adyacentes* (Madrid, 1857, vol. i. p. 173). A translation is contained in Wheeler's *United States Geological Survey*, vol. vii., with notes, and an earlier English version by Alexander S. Taylor was published in San Francisco in 1853, as *The First Voyage to the Coast of California.* Cf. also Bancroft's *California*, i. 69; *Northwest Coast*, i. 137. It is thought that Juan Paez was the author of the original, which is preserved among the Simancas papers at Seville. Herrera seems to have used it, omitting much and adding somewhat, thus making the narrative which, till the original was printed, supplied the staple source to most writers on the subject. In 1802 Navarrete summarized the story from this *Relacion* in vol. xv. of his *Documentos inéditos*. Bancroft (vol. i. p. 81) cites numerous unimportant references.

[1] *Nouvelle Espagne* (i. 330), where, as well as in other of the later writers, it is said the name "Anian" came from one of Cortereal's companions. But see H. H. Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, vol. i. pp. 36, 55, 56, where he conjectures that the name is a confused reminiscence at a later day of the name of *Anus* Cortereal, mentioned by Hakluyt in 1582.

[2] There was at one time a current belief in the story of a Dutch vessel being driven through such a strait to the Pacific, passing the great city of Quivira, which had been founded by the Aztecs after they had been driven from Mexico by the Spaniards. Then there are similar stories told by Menendez (1554) and associated with Urdaneta's name (cf. Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, vol. i. p. 51); and at a later day other like stories often prevailed. The early maps place the "Regnum Anian" and "Quivira" on our northwestern coast. Bancroft (*Northwest Coast*, vol. i. pp. 45, 49) thinks Gomara responsible for transferring Quivira from the plains to the coast. See Editorial Note at the end of chap. vii.

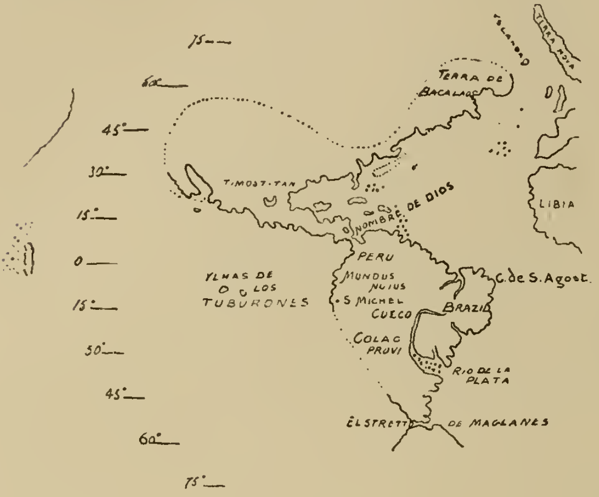
It is sometimes said (see Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, vol. i. p. 55) that the belief in the Straits of Anian sprang from a misinterpretation of a passage in Marco Polo; but Bancroft (p. 53) cannot trace the name back of 1574, as he finds it in one of the French (Antwerp) editions of Ortelius of that year. Ortelius had used the name, however, in his edition of 1570, but only as a copier, in this as in other respects, of Mercator, in his great map of 1569, as Bancroft seems to suspect. Porcacchi (1572), Furlani or Forlani (1574), and others put the name on the Asian side of the strait, where it is probable that it originally appeared. Bancroft (p. 81) is in error in saying that the name "Anian" was "for the first time" applied to the north and south passage between America and Asia, as distinct from the east and west passage across the continent, in the "Mercator Atlas of 1595;" for such an application is apparent in the map of Zalterius (1566), Mercator (1569), Porcacchi (1572), Forlani (1574), Best's Frobisher (1578), — not to name others.

[3] Sketched in this History, Vol. IV. p. 46.

[4] Harrisse (*Cabots*, p. 193) places it about 1542.

[5] It is described by Malte Brun in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 1876, p. 625; and an edition of a hundred copies of a photographic reproduction, edited by Frédéric Spitzer, was issued in Paris in 1875. There

reproduced in a draft of the New World (preserved in the British Museum) assigned to about 1540, and held to be the work of the Portuguese hydrographer Homem. Apian[1] and Münster[2] in 1540, and Mercator in 1541,[3] while boldly delineating a coast which extends farther north than Cabrillo had reached in 1542, wholly ignore this important feature. Not so, however, Sebastian Cabot in his famous Mappemonde of 1544, as will be seen by the annexed sketch. The idea of Münster, as embodied in his edition of Ptolemy in 1540,[4] already referred to, was continued without essential change in the Basle edition of Ptolemy in 1545.[5] In 1548 the "carta marina" of Gastaldi, as shown on a previous page,[6] clearly defined the peninsula, while merging



HOMEM, ABOUT 1540.[7]

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is a copy of the last in Harvard College Library. A similar peninsula is shown in plate xiv. of the same atlas.

[1] Repeated in 1545.

[2] See Vol. IV. p. 41.

[3] See *ante*, p. 177.

[4] This edition, issued at Basle, had twenty modern maps designed by Münster, two of which have American interest: —

a. Typus universalis, — an elliptical map, showing America on the left, but with a part of Mexico (Temistitan) carried to the right of the map, with a strait — "per hoc fretū iter patet ad molucas" — separating America from India superior on the northwest.

b. Novæ insulæ, — the map reproduced in Vol. IV. p. 41.

There are copies of this 1540 edition of Ptolemy in the Astor Library, in the collections of Mr. Barlow, Mr. Deane, and President White of Cornell, while one is noted in the Murphy Catalogue, no. 2,058, which is now in the library of the American Geographical Society. This edition was issued the next year with the date changed to 1541. Cf. Winsor's *Bibliography of Ptolemy*. The same maps were also used in the Basle edition of 1542, with borders surrounding them, some of which were designs, perhaps, of Holbein. There are copies of this edition in the Astor Library, and in the collections of Brevoort, Barlow, and J. H. Trumbull, of Hartford. The *Murphy Catalogue* shows another, no. 2,066.

[5] The "Typus universalis" of this edition, much the same as in the edition of 1540, was re-engraved for the Basle edition of 1552, with a few changes of names: "Islandia," for instance, which is on the isthmus connecting "Bacalhos" with Norway, is left out, and so is "Thyle" on Iceland, which is now called "Island." This last engraving was repeated in Münster's *Cosmographia* in 1554.

There are copies of the Ptolemy of 1545 in the libraries of Congress and of Harvard College, and in the Carter-Brown Collection. One is also owned by J. R. Webster, of East Milton, Mass., and another is shown in the *Murphy Catalogue*, no. 2,078.

Copies of the 1552 edition are in the libraries of Congress, of New York State, and of Cornell University. The Sobolewski copy is now in the collection of Prof. J. D. Whitney, Cambridge, Mass. Dr. O'Callaghan's copy was sold in New York, in December, 1882; the Murphy copy is no. 2,065 of the *Murphy Catalogue*.

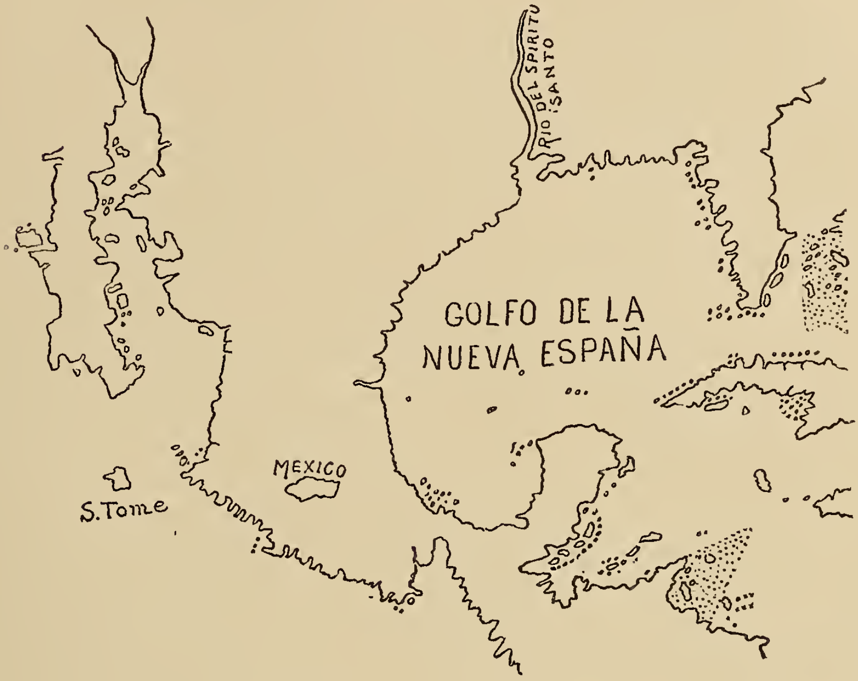
The maps were again reproduced in the Ptolemy of 1555.

[6] *Ante*, p. 435.

[7] This follows Kohl's drawing, of which a portion is also given in his *Discovery of Maine*, p. 298. It is evidently of a later date than another of his in which the west coast is left indefinite, and which is assigned to about 1530. In the present map he apparently em-

the coast line above into that of Asia. The peninsula was also definitely marked in several of the maps preserved in the Riccardi palace at Florence, which are supposed to be of about the middle of the sixteenth century.[1]

In the map of Juan Freire, 1546, we have a development of the coast northward from the peninsula, for which it is not easy to account; and the map is peculiar in other respects. The annexed sketch of it follows Kohl's drawing of an old *portolano*, which he took from the original while it was in the possession of Santarem. Freire, who was a Portuguese hydrographer, calls it a map of the Antipodes, a country discovered by Columbus, the Genoese. It will be observed that about the upper lake we have the name "Bimini regio," applied to Florida after the discovery of Ponce de Leon, because of the supposition that the fountain of youth existed thereabout. The coasts on both sides of the gulf are described as the discovery of Cortés. There seems to be internal evidence that Freire was acquainted with the reports of Ulloa and Alarcon, and the chart of Castillo; but it is not so clear whence he got the material for his draft of the more westerly portions of the coast, which, it will be observed, are given much too great a westerly trend. The names upon it do not indicate any use of Cabrillo's reports; though from an inscription upon this upper coast Freire credits its discovery to the Spaniards, under



CABOT, 1544.[2]

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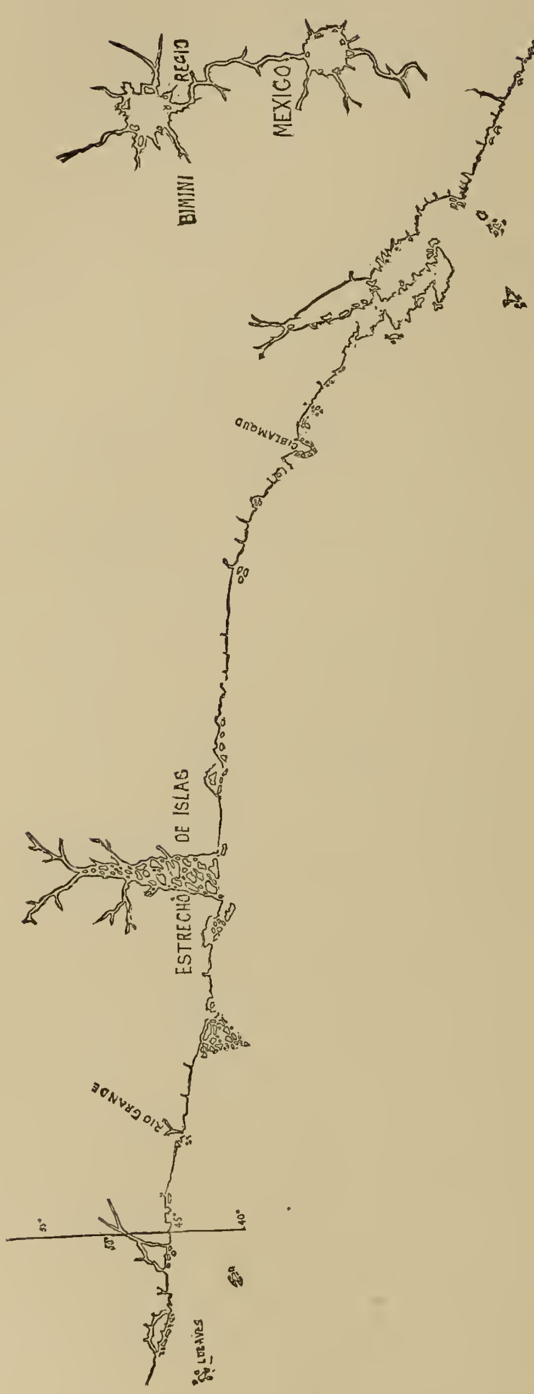
bodied Cabot's discoveries in the La Plata, but had not heard of Orellana's exploration of the Amazon in 1542; though he had got news of it when he made his map of 1558. A marked peculiarity of the map is the prolongation of northwestern Europe as "Terra Nova," which probably means Greenland, — a view entertained before Columbus.

[1] Plates vi., vii., ix., as shown in the *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Erdkunde in Dresden*, 1870.

[2] Sketched from a photograph of the original mappemonde in the great library at Paris.



FREIRE, 1546.[1]

orders from the emperor, conducted by one Villalobos. Kohl could not find any mention of such an explorer, but conjectured he was perhaps the one who before Cabrillo, as Herrera mentions, had named a river somewhere near 30° north latitude "Rio de Nuestra Señora," and which Cabrillo sought. Kohl also observes that though the coast line is continuous, there are places upon it marked "land not seen," with notes of its being again seen west of such places; and from this he argues that the expedition went up and not down the coast. It not unlikely had some connection with the fleet which Ruy Lopez de Villalobos conducted under Mendoza's orders, in November, 1542, across the Pacific to the islands on the Asiatic coast.[2]

In 1554 Agnese again depicts the gulf, but does not venture upon drawing the coast above the peninsula, which in turn in the Vopellio map of 1556,[3] and in that in Ramusio the same year,[4] is made much broader, the gulf indenting more nearly at a right angle. The Homem map of 1558, preserved in the British Museum, returns to the more distinctive peninsula,[5] though it is again somewhat broadened in the Martines map of about the same date, which also is of interest as establishing a type of map for the shores of the northern Pacific, and for prefiguring Behring's Straits, which we shall later frequently meet. Mention has already been made of the Furlani map of 1560 for its Asiatic connections, while it still clearly defined the California peninsula.[1] The Ruscelli map in the Ptolemy of 1561 again preserves the peninsula, while marking the more northerly coasts with a dotted line, in its general map of the New World; but the "Mar Vermeio" in its map of "Nueva Hispania" is the type of the gulf given in the 1548 edition. The Martines type again appears in the Zaltieri map of 1566, which is thought to be the earliest engraved map to show the Straits of Anian.[2]

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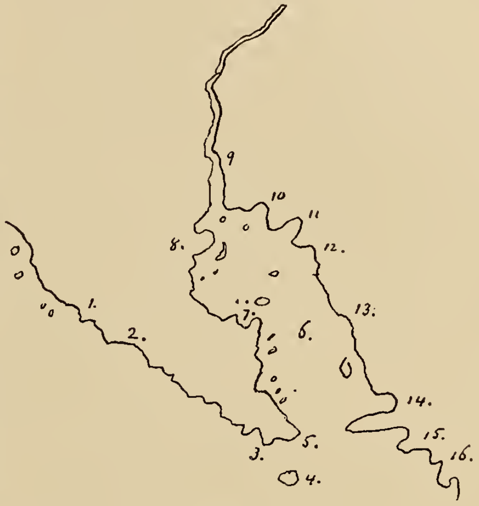
[1] This is sketched from a drawing in the Kohl Collection at Washington.

[2] Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, i. 137.

[3] See *ante*, p. 436.

[4] See *ante*, p. 228.

[5] This map of Homem is given on another page. His delineation of the gulf seems to be like Castillo's, and is carried two degrees too



PTOLEMY, 1548.[4]

The manuscript map of Diegus (Homem) of 1568, in the Royal Library in Dresden, gives the peninsula, but turns the more northerly coast abruptly to the east, connecting it with the archipelago, which stands for the St. Lawrence in his map of 1558.[3]

The great Mappemonde of Mercator, published at Duisburg in 1569, in which he introduced his new projection,[5] as will be seen by the annexed sketch,[6] keeps to the Martines type; and while it depicts the Straits of Anian, it renders uncertain, by interposing a vignette, the passage by the north from the Atlantic to the Pacific.[7] The next year Ortelius followed the same type in his *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, — the prototype of the modern atlas.[8]

A similar western coast[9] is defined by Porcacchi, in his *L' isole piu famose del mondo*, issued at Venice in 1572.[10]

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far north as in that draft; but Castillo's names are wanting in Homem, who lays down the peninsula better, following, as Kohl conjectures, Ulloa's charts. He marks the coast above 33° as unknown, showing that he had no intelligence of Cabrillo's voyage.

[1] See *ante*, p. 438.

[2] See *post*, p. 451.

[3] See Vol. IV. p. 92. The 1568 map is a part of an *Atlante maritimo*, of which a full-size colored fac-simile of the part showing the Moluccas is given in Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*. It is a parchment collection of twenty-seven maps showing the Portuguese possessions in the two Indies. Cf. *Katalog der Handschriften der Kais. Off. Bibl. zu Dresden*, 1882, vol. i. p. 369.

[4] Key: 1. Basos. 2. Ancoras. 3. pº. balenas. 4. S. Tomas. 5. C:+ 6. Mar Vermeio. 7. b: canoas. 8. pº. secōdido. 9. R. tontoteanc. 10. pº. tabursa. 11. puercos. 12. s. francº. 13. b: de s.+ 14. Vandras. 15. Ciguata. 16. s. tiago.

[5] See Vol. IV. p. 369; and the note, *post*, p. 470.

[6] See p. 452.

[7] There is a full-size fac-simile in Jomard's *Monuments de la Géographie*, pl. xxi., but it omits the legends given in the tablets; in Lelewel, vol. i. pl. v.; also cf. vol. i. p. xcviii, and vol. ii. pp 181, 225; and, much reduced from Jomard, in Daly's *Early Cartography*, p. 38.

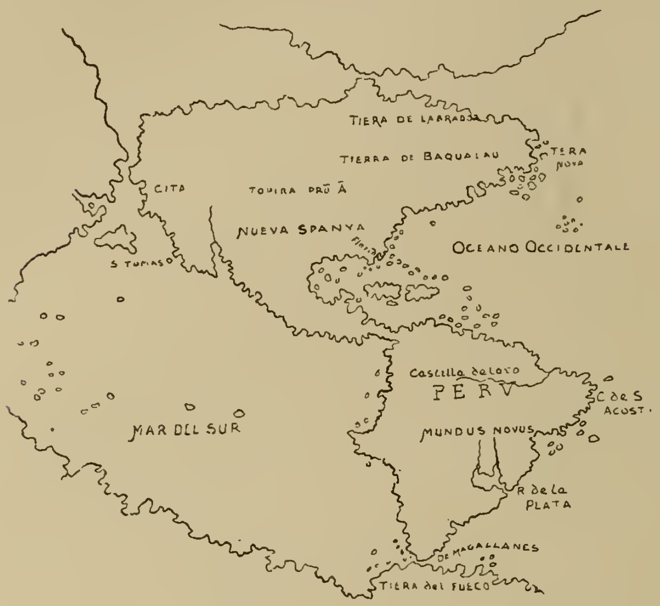
[8] Cf. Vol III. p. 34; Vol. IV. p. 372; and the note, *post*, p. 471.

[9] See the map, *post*, p. 453.

[10] There are copies of this first edition in the Harvard College, Boston Public, Astor, and Carter-Brown libraries, and in the Brevoort Collection. It should have thirty small copperplate maps, inserted in the text. Cf. *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, vol. i. no. 292; Stevens, *Historical Collections*, vol. i. no. 648; *O'Callaghan Catalogue*, no. 1,866 (now Harvard College copy); Court, no. 284; Rich, *Catalogue* (1832), nos. 51, 55, etc.

Two of its maps show America, but only

The peninsula of California, but nothing north of it, is again delineated in a Spanish mappemonde of 1573, shown in Lelewel.[1] The Mercator type is followed in the maps which are dated 1574, but which appeared in the *Theatri orbis terrarum enchiridion* of Philippus Gallæus, published at Antwerp in 1585.[2] In the same year the Italian cartographer Furlani, or Forlani, showed how he had advanced from the views which he held in 1560, in a map of the north-



MARTINES, 155 – (?).[3]

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one gives the western coast, while both have the exaggerated continental Tierra del Fuego. The map sketched in the text is given in facsimile in Stevens's *Notes*. Both maps were repeated in the 1576 edition (Venice, with 1575 in the colophon). This edition shows forty-seven maps; and pp. 157–184 (third book) treat of America. Besides a map of the world it has a "carta da navigar" (p. 198), maps of Cuba and other islands, and a plan of Mexico and its lake. There are copies in the Boston Public and Harvard College libraries, Mr. Deane's Collection, etc. Cf. Stevens, *Historical Collections*, vol. i. no. 82; Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 309; Muller (1872), no. 1,255.

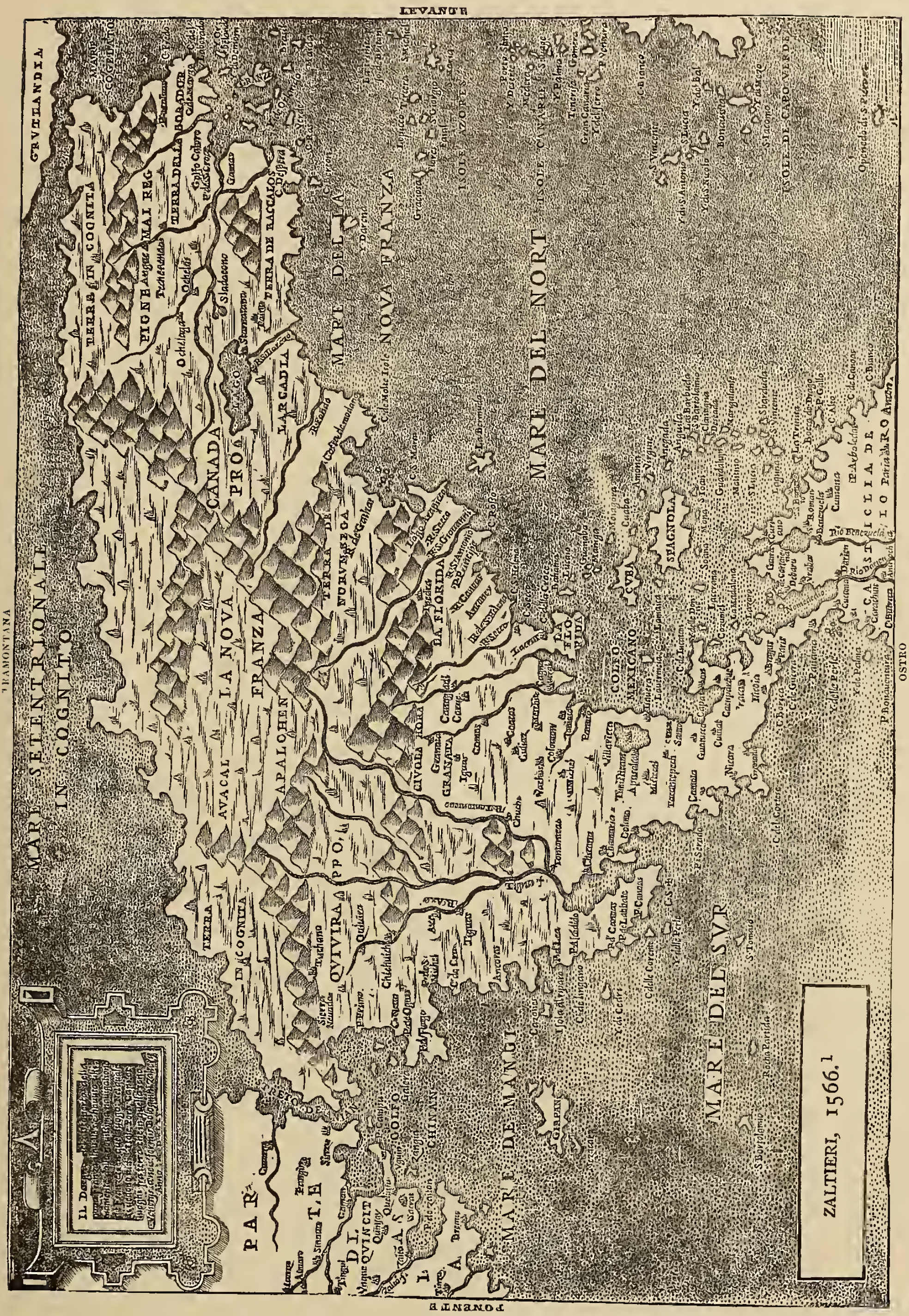
Another edition was issued at Venice in 1590. Cf. *Boston Public Library Catalogue*, no. 6271.14, Carter-Brown, i. 393; Murphy, no. 2,010. Later editions were issued at Venice in 1604 (forty-eight maps); in 1605 (Carter-Brown, ii. 40); and in 1620 (Carter-Brown, ii. 241; Cooke, no. 2,858, now in Harvard College Library), which was published at Padua, and had maps of North America (p. 161), Spagnolla (p. 165), Cuba (p. 172), Jamaica (p. 175), Moluccas p. 189), and a mappemonde (p. 193). The last edition we have noted was issued at Venice in 1686, with the maps on separate leaves, and not in the text as previously.

[1] Plate vi. He describes it in vol. i. p. ci, and ii. p. 114. He says it was taken from Spain to Warsaw, and has disappeared.

[2] It has two maps, varying somewhat, "Typus orbis terrarum" and "Americæ sive novi orbis nuova descriptio," — the work of Hugo Favolius. Cf. Leclerc, no. 206; Muller (1877), no. 1,198. The text is in verse.

[3] This sketch follows a copy by Kohl (Washington Collection) of the general map of the world, contained in a manuscript vellum atlas in the British Museum (no. 9,814), from the collection of the Duke de Cassano Serra. It is elaborately executed with miniatures and figures. The language of the map is chiefly Italian, with some Spanish traces. Kohl believes it to be the work of Joannes Martines, the same whose atlas of 1578 is also in the Museum, and whose general map (1578) agrees in latitudes and other particulars with this. The present one lacks degrees of longitude, which the 1578 map has, as well as the name "America," wanting also in this. Kohl places it not long after the middle of the sixteenth century. In the *Catalogue of Manuscript Maps*, i. 29, the atlas of 1578 is mentioned as containing the following numbers relating to America: 1. The world. 2. The two hemispheres. 3. The world in gores. 10. West coast of America. 11. Coast of Mexico. 12–13. South America. 14. Gulf of Mexico. 15. Part of the east coast of North America.

In the Museum manuscripts, no. 22,018, is a *portolano* by Martines, dated 1579; and another, of date 1582, is entered in the 1844 edition of the *Catalogue of Manuscript Maps*, i. 31. Kohl's Washington Collection includes two Martines maps of 1578.



ZALTIERI, 1566.[1]

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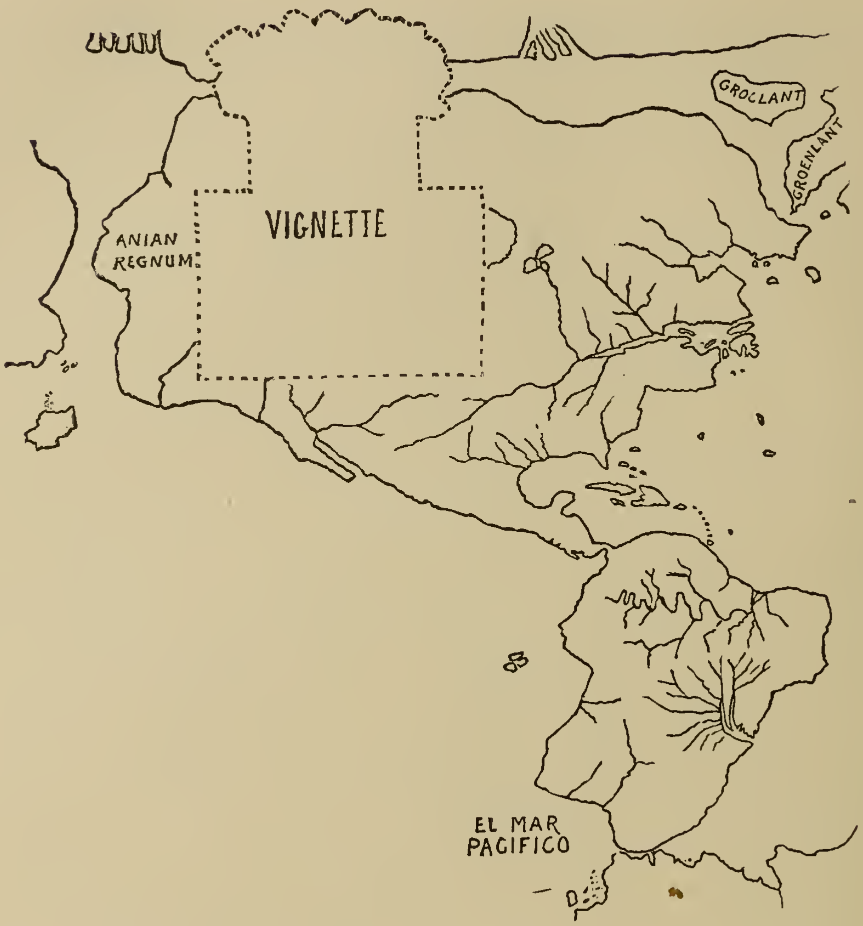
[1] It was published at Venice, and was in part followed by Ortelius in 1570. It is also sketched in Vol. IV. p. 93.



MERCATOR, 1569.

ern Pacific, which is annexed.[1] It is the earliest map in which Japan has been noted as having its greatest length east and west; for Ortelius and others always give it an extension on the line of the meridian.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert's map in 1576 gives the straits, but he puts "Anian" on the Asiatic side, and does not indicate the Gulf of California, unless a forked bay in 35° stands for it.[2] The map in Best's Frobisher makes the Straits of Anian connect with "Frobisher's straightes" to give a through passage from ocean to ocean, and depicts a distorted California peninsula.[3]

Mention has already been made on a previous page of a Martines map of 1578. It has a similar configuration to that already shown as probably the earliest instance of its type. Of the explorations of Francis Drake in 1579 we have no cartographical record, except as it may be embodied in the globe of Molineaux, preserved in the Middle Temple, London, which is dated 1592, and in the map of the same cartographer, dated

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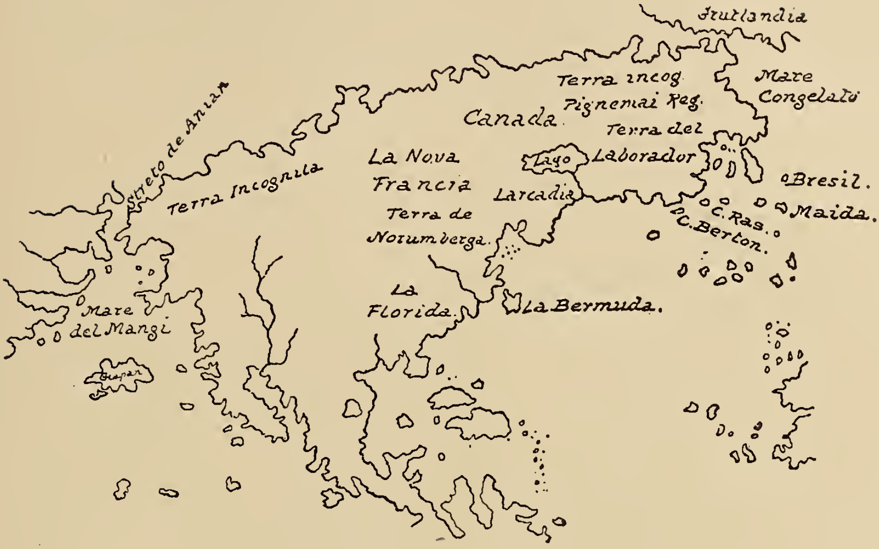
See p. 454.

[2] Cf. the map, as given in Vol. III. p. 203. Bancroft (*Northwest Coast*, vol. i. p. 58) epitomizes Gilbert's arguments for a passage. Willes gives reasons in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 24.

[3] See fac-simile in Vol. III. p. 102.



PORCACCHI, 1572.

1600.[1] Molineaux seemingly made use of the results of Cabrillo's voyage, as indicated by the Spanish names placed along the coast. It was one of the results of Drake's voyage that the coast line of upper California took a more northerly trend. The map of Dr. Dee (1580) evidently embodied the views of the Spanish hydrographers.[2]

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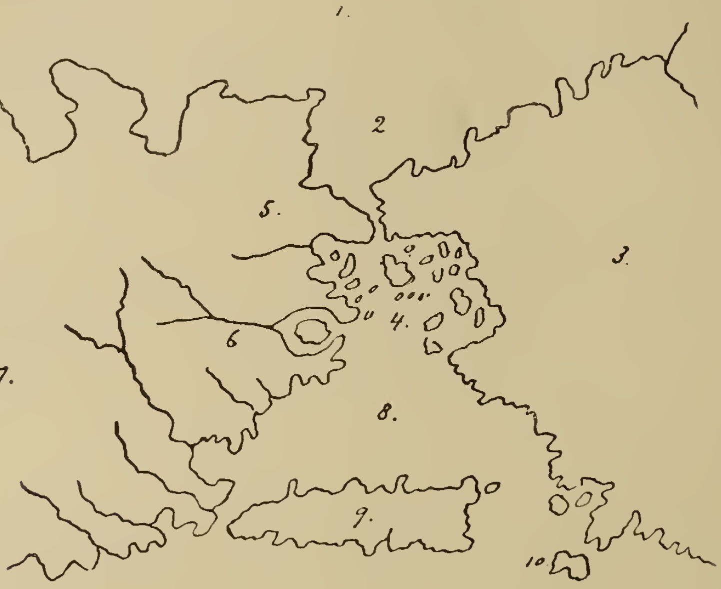
[1] Cf. the sketch of the California coast from this last in Vol. III. p. 80.

The question of the harbor in which Drake refitted his ship for his return voyage by Cape of Good Hope has been examined in another place (Vol. III. pp. 74, 80). Since that volume was printed, H. H. Bancroft has published vol. i. of his *History of California;* and after giving a variety of references on Drake's voyage (p. 82) he proceeds to examine the question anew, expressing his own opinion decidedly against San Francisco, and believing it can never be settled whether Bodega or the harbor under Point Reyes (Drake's Bay of the modern maps) was the harbor; though on another page (p. 158) he thinks the spot was Drake's Bay, and in a volume previously issued (*Central America,* vol. ii. p. 419) he had given a decided opinion in favor of it. In his discussion of the question, he claims that Dr. Hale and most other investigators have not been aware that the harbor behind Point Reyes was discovered in 1595 by Cermeñon (p. 96), and then named San Francisco; and that it is this old San Francisco, visited by Viscaino in 1603, and sought by Portolá in 1769, when this latter navigator stumbled on the Golden Gate, which is the San Francisco of the old geographers and cartographers, and not the magnificent harbor now known by that name (p. 157). He adds that the tradition among the Spaniards of the coast has been more in favor of Bodega than of Drake's Bay; while the modern San Francisco has never been thought of by them. Beyond emphasizing the distinction between the old and new San Francisco, Mr. Bancroft has brought no new influence upon the solution of the question. He makes a point of a Pacific sea-manual of Admiral Cabrera Bueno, published at Manilla in 1734 as *Navegacion Especulation,* being used to set this point clear for the first time in English, when one of his assistants wrote a paper in the *Overland Monthly* in 1874. The book is not very scarce; Quaritch advertised a copy in 1879 for £4. Bancroft (p. 106) seems to use an edition of 1792, though he puts the 1734 edition in his list of authorities. Various documents from the Spanish Archives relating to Drake's exploits in the Pacific have been published (since Vol. III. was printed) in Peralta's *Costa Rica, Nicaragua y Panamá en el siglo XVI,* Madrid, 1883, p. 569, etc.

[2] See the sketch in Vol. IV. p. 98.

In 1582 Popellinière[1] repeated the views of Mercator and Ortelius; but in England Michael Lok in this same year began to indicate the incoming of more erroneous views.[2] The California gulf is carried north to 45°, where a narrow strip separates it from a vague northern sea, the western extension of the sea of Verrazano.



MAP OF PAULO DE FURLANI, 1574.[3]

After the Spaniards had succeeded, in opposition to the Portuguese, in establishing a regular commerce between Acapulco and Manilla (Philippine Islands), the trade-winds conduced to bring upper California into better knowledge. The easterly trades carried their outward-bound vessels directly west; but they compelled them to make a détour northward on their return, by which they also utilized the same Japanese current which brought the Chinese to Fusang[4] many centuries before. An expedition which Don Luis de Velasco had sent in 1564, by direction of Philip II., accompanied by Andres de Urdaneta, who had been in those seas before with Loaysa in 1525, had succeeded in making a permanent occupation of the Philippines for Spain in 1564. It became now important to find a practicable return route, and under Urdaneta's counsel it was determined to try to find it by the north. One of the galleons deserted, and bearing northerly struck the California coast near Cape Mendocino, and arrived safe at Acapulco three months before Urdaneta himself had proved the value of his theory. The latter's course was to skirt the coast of Japan till under 38°, when he steered southerly; and after a hard voyage, in which he saw no land and most of his crew died, he reached Acapulco in October.[1] Other voyages were made in succeeding years, but the next of which we have particular account was that of Francisco Gali, who, returning from Macao in 1584, struck the California coast in 37° 30′, and marked a track which other navigators later followed.[2]

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[1] Cf. Sabin, vol. x. p. 75; Court, 185, 186; Carter-Brown, vol. i. p. 292; Huth, iv. 1,169; Stevens's *Historical Collections*, vol. i. no. 135, and Vol. III. of the present History, p. 37, for other mention of Popellinière's *Les Trois Mondes*. The third world is the great Antarctic continent so common in maps of this time.

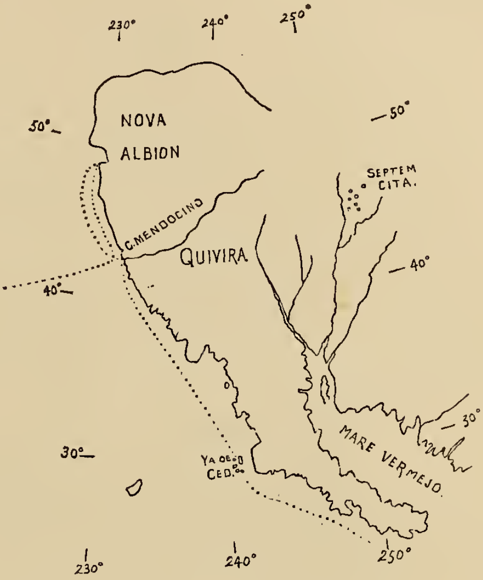
[2] Lok's map from Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages* is given in fac-simile in Vol. III. p. 40 and Vol. IV. p. 44. There is a sketch of it in Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i. p. 151, and in his *Northwest Coast*, vol. i. p. 65.

[3] Furlani is said to have received this map from a Spaniard, Don Diego Hermano de Toledo, in 1574. The sketch is made from the drawing in Kohl's manuscript in the American Antiquarian Society Library. The key is as follows: 1. Mare incognito. 2. Stretto di Anian. 3. Quivir. 4. Golfo di Anian. 5. Anian regnum. 6. Quisau. 7. Mangi Prov. 8. Mare de Mangi. 9. Isola di Giapan. 10. Y. de Cedri.

[4] The question of Fusang, which Kohl believes to be Japan, is discussed in Vol. I.

The map (1587) in Hakluyt's Paris edition of Peter Martyr conformed more nearly to the Mercator type;[3] and Hakluyt, as well as Lok, records Drake's discovery, both of them putting it, however, in 1580.

With the year 1588 is associated a controversy over what purports to be a memoir setting forth the passage of the ship of a Spanish navigator, Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, through a strait a quarter of a league wide. The passage took him as high as 75°; but he reached the Pacific under the sixtieth parallel. The opening was identified by him with the long-sought Straits of Anian. The belief in this story had at one time some strong advocates, but later geographical discoveries have of course pushed it into the limbo of forgotten things; for it seems hardly possible to identify, as was done by Amoretti, the narrow passage of Maldonado, under 60°, with that which Behring discovered, sixteen leagues wide, under 65°.[5]



FROM MOLINEAUX'S GLOBE, 1592.[4]

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[1] Peschel, *Geschichte der Erdkunde*, 1865, pp. 322, 395; J. C. Brevoort in *Magazine of American History*, vol. i. p. 250; Burney, *Voyages*, vol. i., and Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i. p. 139, where there are references and collections of authorities.

[2] Gali's letter is in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 526, copied from Linschoten. Cf. inscription on the Molineaux map of 1600 in this History, Vol. III. p. 80, and Bancroft, *California*, vol. i. p. 94. The map which Gali is thought to have made is not now known (Kohl, *Maps in Hakluyt*, 61). Bancroft says that Gali's mention of Cape Mendocino is the earliest, but it is not definitely known by whom that prominent point was first named.

[3] This map is sketched in Vol. III. p. 42.

[4] This is sketched from a draught in the Kohl Collection. Cf. Vol. III. pp. 196, 212. The dotted line indicates the track of Drake. There has been much controversy over the latitude of Drake's extreme northing, fixed, as it will be seen in this map, at about 48°, which is the statement of the *World Encompassed*, and by the *Famous Voyage*, at 43°. The two sides were espoused warmly and respectively by Greenhow in his *Oregon and California*, and by Travers Twiss in his *Oregon Question*, during the dispute between the United States and Great Britain about the Oregon boundary. Bancroft (*Northwest Coast*, vol. i. p. 144), who presents the testimony, is inclined to the lower latitude.

[5] It is claimed that Maldonado presented his memoir in 1609 to the Council of the Indies, and asked for a reward for the discovery; and there are two manuscripts purporting to be the original memoir. One, of which trace is found in 1672, 1738, 1775, 1781 (copied by Muñoz), and printed in 1788, was still existing, it is claimed, in 1789, and was reviewed in 1790 by the French geographer Buache, who endeavored to establish its authenticity; and it is translated, with maps, in Barrow's *Chronologi*

In 1592 we have the alleged voyage of De Fuca, of which he spoke in 1596, in Venice, to Michael Lok, who told Purchas; and he in turn included it in his *Pilgrims*.[1] He told Lok that he had been captured and plundered on the California coast by Cavendish,[2]—a statement which some have thought confirmed by Cavendish's own avowal of his taking a pilot on that coast, — and that at the north he had entered a strait a hundred miles wide, under 47° and 48°, which had a pinnacle rock at the entrance; and that within the strait he had found the coast trending northeast, bordering a sea upon which he had sailed for twenty days. This story, despite its exaggerations, and though discarded formerly, has gained some credence with later investigators; and the application of his name to the passage which leads to Puget Sound seems to have been the result of a vague and

SPANISH GALLEON.[3]

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cal History of Voyages, etc. Another manuscript was found in the Ambrosian library in 1811, and was published at Milan as *Viaggio dal mare Atlantico al Pacifico*, translated from a Spanish manuscript (Stevens, *Bibliotheca geographica*, no. 1,746), and again in French at Plaisance in 1812. The editor was Charles Amoretti, who added a discourse, expressing his belief in it, together with a circumpolar map marking Maldonado's track. (Harvard College Library, no. 4331.2.) This book was reviewed by Barrow in the *Quarterly Review*, October, 1816. Cf. Burney's *Voyages*, vol. v. p. 167. A memoir by the Chevalier Lapie, with another map of the "Mer polaire," is printed in the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, vol. xi. (1821). Bancroft (*Northwest Coast*, i. 98) reproduces Lapie's map. Navarrete searched the Spanish Archives for confirmation of this memoir, — a search not in vain, inasmuch as it led to the discovery of the documents with which he illustrated the history of Columbus; and he also gave his view of the question in vol. xv. of his *Coleccion de documentos inéditos* in the volume specially called *Examen historico-critico de los Viages y Descubrimientos apócrifos del capitan Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado, de Juan de Fuca y del almirante Bartolomé de Fonte: memoria comenzada por D. M. F. de Navarrete, y arreglada y concluida por D. Eustaquio Fernandez de Navarrete.* Bancroft calls it an elaboration of the voyage of the *Sutil y Méxicana.* (Cf. Arcana, *Bibliographia de obras anonimas*, 1882, no. 408.) Goldson in his *Memoir on the Straits of Anian* places confidence in the Maldonado memoir. Cf. Bancroft (*Northwest Coast*, vol. i. p. 92), who recapitulates the story and cites the examiners of it, *pro* and *con*, and gives (p. 96) Maldonado's map of the strait.

[1] Vol. iii. p. 849.

[2] On Cavendish's Pacific Explorations. See Vol. III., chap. ii.

[3] A fac-simile of the sketch given in Jurien de la Gravière's *Les marins du XV^e et du XVI^e siècle.*

general concurrence, in the belief of some at least, that this passage must be identified with the strait which De Fuca claimed to have passed.[1]

With the close of the sixteenth century, the maps became numerous, and are mostly of the Mercator type. Such are those of Cornelius de Judæis in 1589 and in 1593,[2] the draughts of 1587 and 1589 included in the Ortelius of 1592,[3] the map of 1593 in the *Historiarum indicarum libri XVI.* of Maffeius,[4] and those of Plancius[5] and De Bry.[6] The type is varied a little in the 1592 globe of Molineaux, as already shown, and in the 1587 map of Myritius we have the Asiatic connection of the upper coast as before mentioned; but in the Ptolemy of 1597 the contour of Mercator is still essentially followed.[7] In this same year (1597) the earliest distinctively American atlas was published in the *Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ Augmentum* of Cornelius Wytfliet, of which an account is given in another place.[8] Fac-similes of the maps of the Gulf of California and of the New World are annexed, to indicate the full extent of geographical knowledge then current with the best cartographers. The Mercator type for the two Americas and the great Antarctic Continent common to most maps of this period are the distinguishing features of the new hemisphere. The same characteristics pertain also to the mappemondes in the original Dutch edition of Linschoten's *Itinerario*, published in two editions at Amsterdam in 1596,[9] in Münster's *Cosmographia*, 1598, and in the Brescia edition (1598) of Ortelius.

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[1] Greenhow in his *Oregon* contends for a certain basis of truth in De Fuca's story. Cf. Navarrete in the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos*, vol. xv., and Bancroft (*North Mexican States*, vol. i. p. 146, and *Northwest Coast*, vol. i. pp. 71–80), who pronounces it pure fiction, and in a long note gives the writers *pro* and *con*.

[2] In his *Speculum Orbis Terræ*. Cf. Muller, (1872), no. 1,437, and Vol. IV. p. 97 of this History. This map of 1593 gives to the lake which empties into the Arctic Ocean the name "Conibas,"— an application of the name that Bancroft (*Northwest Coast*, vol. i. p. 84) finds no earlier instance of than that in Wytfliet in 1597.

[3] *Mapoteca Colombiana* of Uricoechea, nos. 16, 17, and 18.

[4] Copy in Harvard College Library. Cf. *Mapoteca Colombiana*, no. 19.

[5] The map of Plancius was first drafted — according to Blundeville — in 1592, and is dated 1594 in the Dutch Linschoten of 1596, where it was republished. It was re-engraved, but not credited to Plancius, in the Latin Linschoten of 1599. The English Linschoten of 1598 has a map, re-engraved from Ortelius, which is given in the Hakluyt of 1589.

[6] *Mapoteca Colombiana*, nos. 20 and 21. Cf. this History, Vol. IV. p. 99.

[7] Cf. nos. 2, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35. This 1597 edition of Ptolemy was issued at Cologne, under the editing of Jean Antonio Magini, a Paduan, born in 1556. (Cf. Lelewel, *Epilogue*, 219.) The maps showing America are,—

No. 2. A folding map of the two spheres, drawn by Hieronymus Porro from the map which Rumoldus Mercator based on his father's work.

Nos. 28 and 32. Asia, showing the opposite American shores.

Nos. 34–35. America, of the Mercator type, but less accurate than Ortelius. There are copies of this edition in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and in Mr. Brevoort's collection. (Walckenaer, no. 2,257; Stevens, *Nuggets*, no. 2,259; Graesse, vol. v. p. 502.)

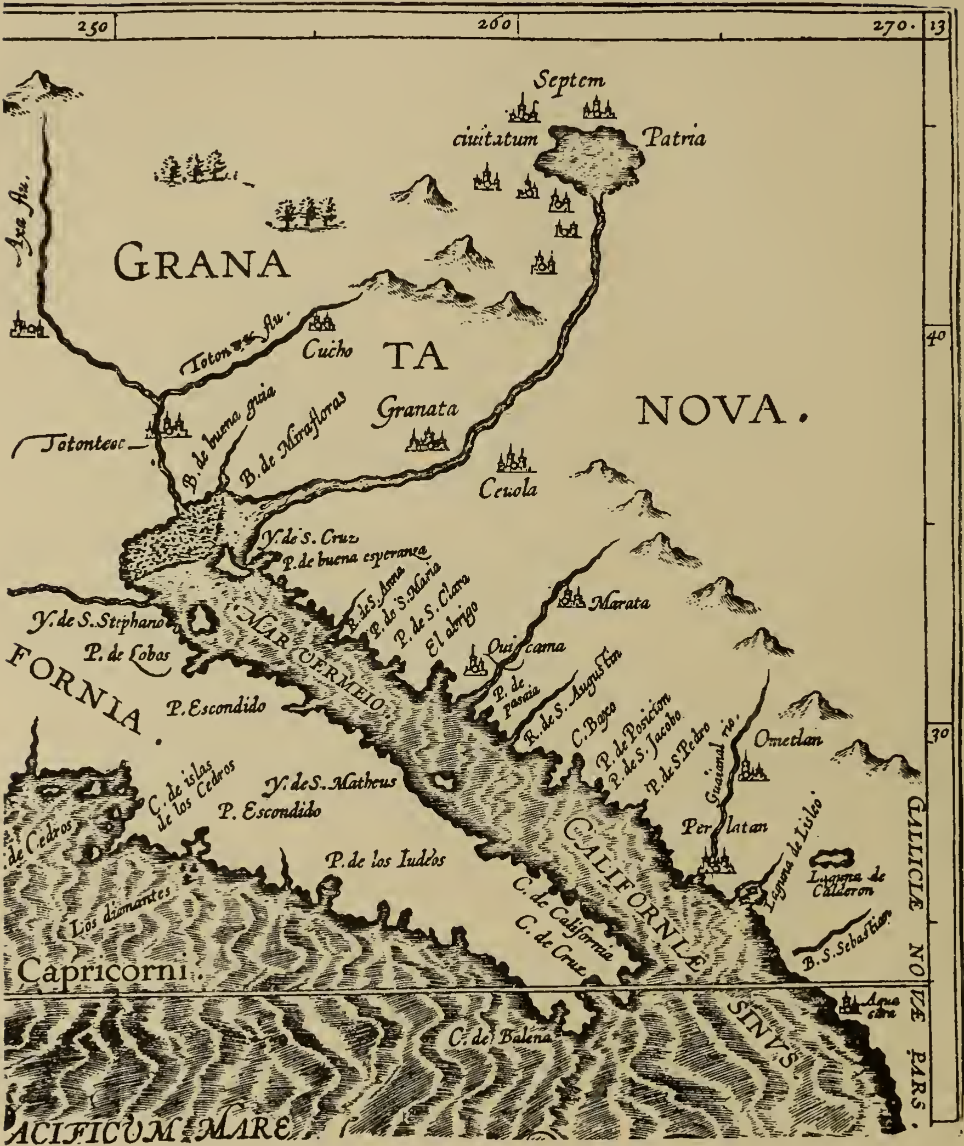
This same edition is sometimes found with the imprint of Arnheim, and copies of this are in the Library of Congress and in the Carter-Brown Collection. (Cf. Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 514; Graesse, v. 502.)

An edition in Italian, 1598 (with 1597 in the colophon), embodying the works of Magini and Porro, was published at Venice; and there are copies of this in the Library of Congress and in the Philadelphia Library; also in the collections of J. Carson Brevoort, President White of Cornell University, and C. C. Baldwin, of Cleveland.

The text of Ruscelli, edited by Rosaccio, was printed at Venice in 1599, giving three maps of the world and nine special American maps. There is a copy of this edition in the Carter-Brown Library, and one was sold in the Murphy sale (no. 2,077). The Magini text was again printed at Cologne in 1608, and of this there are copies in the Harvard College and Carter-Brown libraries.

[8] Cf. Vol. IV. p. 369.

[9] This and the other maps were repeated in the six Dutch editions, in the second and third French, and in the original Latin edition. The third Dutch edition, in three parts, is the rarest of the editions in that language; the first part being without date, while the second and third are dated respectively 1604 and 1605. The fourth Dutch edition is dated 1614, the fifth 1623 (a reprint of the 1614), the sixth



FROM WYTFLIET, 1597.[1]

In 1600 Metullus in his *America sive novus orbis*, published at Cologne, simply followed Wytfliet.[2] From the map of Molineaux, likewise of 1600, a sketch of the California

1644 (a reprint of the 1623). Cf. Tiele, *Bibliographie sur les journaux des navigateurs*, nos. 80, 82, 86, 88, 90; Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 503, vol. ii. no. 547; Stevens, *Bibliotheca historica*,

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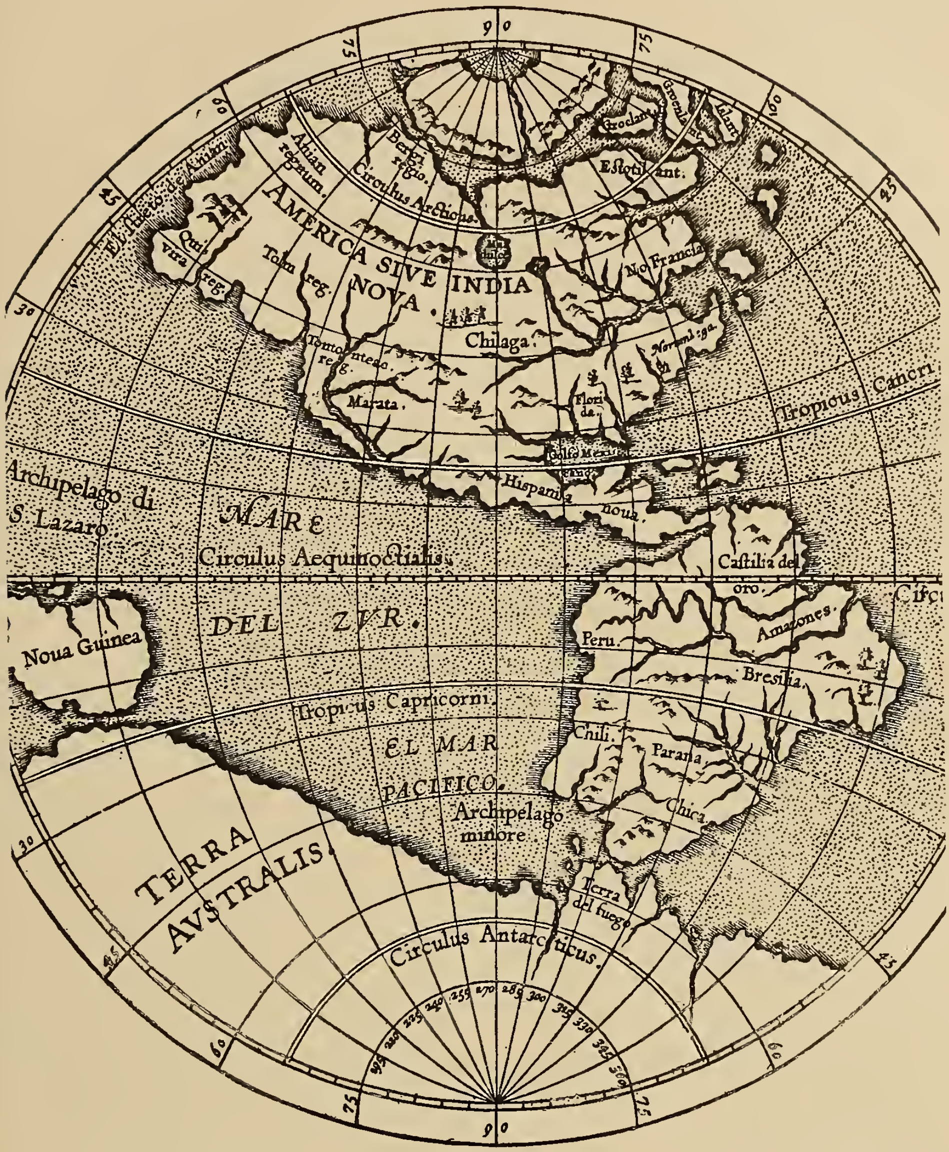
[1] Bancroft (*North Mexican States*, vol. i. p. 152) sketches this map; it is also in his *Northwest Coast*, vol. i. p. 82.

[2] Sabin, xii. 48,170.



WYTFLIET, 1597.

peninsula is given elsewhere.[1] A contour of the coast more like that of the Molineaux globe figured on a preceding page belongs to the map given in the Herrera of 1601, but it

no. 1,148; Muller, *Books on America*, 1872, nos. 2,185, 2,188, 2,190; and 1877, nos. 1,880, 1,882 1,883, 1,884.

The English translation by Wolfe (1598) is mentioned in Vol. III. p. 206. It was so rare in 1832 that Rich priced it at £8 8*s*.; and yet also introduces views which held to a much wider separation of the shores of the north Pacific than had been maintained by the school of Mercator.[1]

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[1] Vol. III. p. 80.

An important voyage in both furthering and confusing the knowledge of the California coast was that of Sebastian Viscaino.[2] This navigator, it is sometimes said, had been in a Manilla galleon which Cavendish had captured near Cape St. Lucas in 1587, when the English freebooter burned the vessel and landed her crew.[3] He is known to have had much opportunity for acquiring familiarity with the coast; and in 1597 he had conducted an expedition to the coast of the California peninsula which had failed of success.[4]

In 1602 (May 5) he was again despatched from Acapulco with three vessels, for the same purpose of discovering some harbor up the coast which returning vessels from the Philippines could enter for safety or repairs, and of finding the mysterious strait which led to the Atlantic. He was absent ten months.[5] He himself went up to 42°, but one of

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Crowninshield bought his copy in 1844 at a Boston auction for $10.50. The Roxburgh copy had brought £10 15*s*., and the Jadis copy the same. Smith, the London dealer, in 1874 advertised one for £7 15*s*. 6*d*. The Menzies copy (no. 1,254) brought $104. There was a copy sold in the Beckford sale, 1883, no. 1,813, and another in the Murphy sale, no. 1,498.

The first Latin edition, *Navigatio ac Itinerarium*, was printed in 1599, its first part being translated, with some omissions, from the Dutch, and the description of America being omitted from the second part. It was reissued with a new title in 1614, — an edition very rare; but there are copies in the Lenox and Carter-Brown libraries. Cf. Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 542, vol. ii. no. 167; Leclerc, no. 360 — 150 francs; Murphy, no. 1,499; Tiele, no. 81; Muller, 1872, no. 2,196; 1877, nos. 1,890, 1,891; and Rosenthal (Munich, 1883) — 100 marks.

The earliest French edition, *Histoire de la Navigation*, etc., bears two different imprints of Amsterdam, 1610, though it is thought to have been printed by De Bry at Frankfort. A second is dated Amsterdam, 1619 (part i. being after the French edition of 1610, and parts ii. and iii. being translated from the Dutch). It has usually appended to it a *Description de l'Amérique* (Amsterdam, 1619), pp. 88 and map. America is also described in the *Beschryvinge van verscheyde landen* (Amsterdam, 1619), included in the Saegman Collection (Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,024). A third French edition, "augmentée," but a reprint of the 1619 edition, appeared at Amsterdam in 1638. Cf. Carter-Brown, vol. ii. nos. 104, 105, 214, 454; Leclerc, 362 (1610 edition) — 130 francs; Trömel, no. 58; Tiele, nos. 83, 87, 89; Muller (1872), no. 2,193 (1877), nos. 1,887, 1,888, 1,889; Field, *Indian Bibliography*, no. 941; Leclerc, no. 2,845 (1638 edition) — 250 francs; Rich, 1832 (1638 edition), no. 219 — £1 10*s*.; Murphy, nos. 2,977, 2,978; Quaritch (1638 edition) — £8 10*s*.

There are copies of the editions of 1596, 1598, and 1599 in Mr. Deane's collection. The Dutch editions are rarely in good condition; this is said to be on account of the general use made of them as sea-manuals. The Latin and German texts in De Bry are not much prized. (Camus, p. 189; Tiele, p. 90.) Sabin (*Dictionary*, vol. x. p. 375) gives the bibliography of Linschoten. His life is portrayed in Van Kampen's *Levens van beroemde Nederlanders*, Haarlem, 1838–1840. He was with Barentz on his first and second Arctic voyages. Cf. *Voyagie ofte Schipvaert by Noorden*, 1601; again, 1624; Tiele, no. 155; Murphy, no. 1,497; Muller, 1872, no. 2,064, and 1877, no. 1,893. His voyages are included in *Verscheyde Oost-Indische Voyagien*, Amsterdam, *circa* 1663.

[1] This Herrera map was reproduced in the 1622 edition, and so late as 1723 in Torquemada, with a few changes. The Herrera of 1601 has the following American maps: —

Page 2. The two Americas.
Page 7. The West India Islands.
Page 21. The Audiencia of New Spain.
Page 33. The Audiencia of Guatemala.
Page 38. South America.
Page 47. Audiencia of Quito.
Page 63. The Chile coast.

Jefferys, in his *Northwest Passage*, gives a fac-simile of the American hemisphere.

The Quadus map of 1600, showing the California peninsula, is sketched in Vol. IV. p. 101.

The Japanese map, showing the west coast, which Kaempfer gave to Hans Sloane, and which figures so much in the controversy of the last century over the "mer de l'ouest," is supposed to have been drawn between 1580 and 1600.

[2] Biscayer he is sometimes called.

[3] Greenhow, *Oregon and California*, 89; Bancroft doubts Viscaino's presence (*North Mexican States*, i. 148).

[4] Torquemada gives the chief information on this voyage. Bancroft (*North Mexican States*, i. 151) cites other writers.

[5] Our knowledge of this expedition comes largely from the account of a Carmelite priest, Antonio de la Ascension, who accompanied it,

his vessels under Martin Aguilar proceeded to 43°, where he reported that he found the entrance of a river or strait, not far from Cape Blanco;[1] and for a long period afterwards the entrance and Aguilar's name stood together on the maps.[2] Buache, in his *Considérations géographiques et physiques*, says that it was the reports brought back from this expedition, describing an easterly trend of the coast above the 43°, which gave rise to the notion that the waters of the Gulf of California found a passage to the ocean in two ways, making an island of the peninsula. The official recorder of the expedition (Ascension) is known to have held this view. We shall see how fixed this impression later became.

Meanwhile the peninsular shape was still maintained in the map in Botero's *Relaciones Universales del mundo*, published at Valladolid in 1603; in the Spanish map of 1604, made at Florence by Mathieu Neron Pecciolen (engraved for Buache in 1754); in that of Cespedes' *Regimiento de Navigacion* (1606), and in that published in connection with Ferdinand de Quir's narrative in the *Detectionis Freti* (1613) of Hudson's voyage.[3]

A map of Jodocus Hondius of about this time first gave indication of the growing uncertainty which led finally to a prevailing error regarding the head of the gulf. The map was inscribed "Vera totius expeditionis nauticæ Descriptio D. Franc. Draci," etc., and illustrated Hondius's edition of Drake and Cavendish's voyages, and has been reproduced in the Hakluyt Society's edition of *The World Encompassed.* The gulf is made to divide about an island at its northern end, producing two arms whose prolongation is left undecided. The circumpolar map of Hondius which appeared in Pontanus's *Amsterdam* in 1611, and is given in fac-simile in Asher's *Henry Hudson*, shows the Straits of Anian, but nothing more. Another Hondius map in the Mercator of 1613 turns the coast easterly, where the Straits of Anian separate it from Asia. The same atlas of 1613 contains also the America of Michael Mercator, which is of the usual Gerard Mercator type, with the enclosed northern sea contracted to narrow limits and called "Mare dulce." A similar western coast is drawn in the America of Johannes Oliva of Marseilles, preserved in the British Museum.[4]

In Kasper van Baerle's edition of Herrera, published at Amsterdam in 1622, we get — as far as has been observed — the earliest[5] insularizing of the California peninsula, and this only by a narrow thread of water connecting a large gulf below and a smaller one above. And even this attempt was neutralized by a second map in the same book, in which these two gulfs were not made to mingle their waters. A bolder and less equivocal severing of the peninsula followed in the maps of two English geographers. The first of these is the

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and whose report, presented in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, is printed in Pacheco's *Coleccion de documentos*, viii. 539. Torquemada used it, and so did Venegas in his *Noticia de la California* (Madrid, 1757; English edition, London, 1759; French edition, Paris, 1767; German, 1769). Cf. on Venegas, Carter-Brown, vol. iii. nos. 1,172, 1,239, 1,601, 1,710 Field, *Indian Bibliography*, nos. 1,599, 1,600; Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, i. 281. An abridged narrative from Lorenzana is given in the *Boletin* of the Mexican Geographical Society, vol. v., 1857. Navarrete adds some other documents in his *Coleccion*, xv. Bancroft (*North Mexican States*, i. 154–155, and *California*, i. 98) enumerates other sources; as does J. C. Brevoort in the *Magazine of American History*, i. 124.

[1] Bancroft does not believe that he went beyond the Oregon line (42°), and considers his Cape Blanco to be the modern St. George (*History of California*, i. 104; *Northwest Coast*, i. 84).

[2] Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii. 3; *California*, ii. 97; *North Mexican States*, i. 153. A sketch of Viscaino's map from Cape Mendocino south is given in this History, Vol. III. p. 75. The map was published, as reduced from the thirty-six original sheets by Navarrete, in the *Atlas para el viage de las goletas Sutil y Méxicana al reconocimiento del Estrecho de Juan de Fuca* (1802). Cf. Navarrete, xv.; Greenhow's *Northwest Coast* (1840), p. 131; Burney's *South Sea Voyages* (1806), vol. ii. (with the map); and Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, i. 156; *California*, i. 97, and *Northwest Coast*, i. 101, 146.

[3] This is reproduced in Charton's *Voyageurs*, iv. 184, 185.

[4] There is a draught of it in the Kohl Collection. Cf. *Catalogue of Manuscript Maps in the British Museum* (1844), i. 33.

[5] Bancroft (*Northwest Coast*, i. 101) refers to the suspicions of Father Ascension in 1603, of Oñate in 1604, and of Nicolas de Cardona in or about 1617, that California was an island; but

map of Master Briggs.[1] In this the island stretches from 23° to 44°, showing Cape Blanco, with Cape Mendocino and "Po. S^r. Francisco Draco" south of it, the latter in about 38°. The map bears the following legend: "California, sometymes supposed to be part of y^e Westerne continent; but since by a Spanish charte taken by y^e Hollanders it is found to be a goodly Ilande, the length of the west shoare beeing about 500 leagues from Cape Mendocino to the south cape thereof called Cape St. Lucas, as appeareth both by that Spanish Chart, and by the relation of Francis Gaule [Gali], whereas in the ordinarie charts it is sett downe to be 1700 leagues."[2] The other was that given in John Speed's *Prospect*, which contains one of the maps of Abraham Goos of Amsterdam, "described and enlarged by I. S. Ano. 1626." This carries up the outer coast of the island beyond the "Po[rto] Sir Francisco Dr[ake]" and Cape Mendocino. The coast of the main opposite the northern end of the island ceases to be defined, and is continued northerly with a dotted line, while the western shore of Hudson's Bay is also left undetermined.[3] De Laet, however, in 1630 still kept to the peninsula, placing "Nova Albion" above it.[4] In 1636 W. Saltonstall's English translation of Hondius's Mercator presents an island, with the now somewhat common break in the main coast opposite its northern end. This gap is closed up, however, in another map in the same volume.[5]

The map in Pierre D'Avity's *Le Monde*[6] makes California a peninsula, with the river St. Lawrence rising close to it, and flowing very near also to Hudson's Bay in its easterly passage.

The circumstantial story of Bartolemé de Fonte, whose exploits are placed in 1640, at one time commanded a certain degree of confidence, and made strange work with the cartographical ideas of the upper part of the Pacific coast. It is now believed that the story was coined by James Petiver, one of the contributors to the *Monthly Miscellany, or Memoirs for the Curious*, published in London in April and June, 1708, in which first appeared what purported to be a translation of a letter of a certain Admiral De Fonte.[7] In this a Spanish navigator — whose name was possibly suggested by a veritable De Fonta who was exploring Tierra del Fuego in 1649 — was made to depart from Callao, April 3, 1640, and proceed up the coast to 53°, above which he navigated a net-work of interior waters, and encountered a ship from Boston which had entered these regions from the Atlantic side.[8] To this

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there was on their part no cartographical expression of the idea.

[1] In Purchas's *Pilgrims*, iii. 853, in 1625. This map is sketched in Bancroft's *North Mexican States*, i. 169.

[2] This Spanish chart here referred to is not identified, though Delisle credits it — according to Bancroft (*Northwest Coast*, i. 103) — to Jannson's *Monde Maritime.* If by this is meant Jannson's *Orbis Maritimus*, it was not till 1657 that Jannson added this volume to his edition of the *Mercator-Hondius Atlas.* Carpenter's *Geography* (Oxford, 1625) repeats Purchas's story, and many have followed it since. In Heylin and Ogilby, the story goes that some people on the coast in 1620 were carried in by the current, and found themselves in the gulf. The Spanish chart may have been the source of the map in the Amsterdam *Herrera* of 1622.

[3] Bancroft (*Northwest Coast*, i. 104) sketches a similar map which appeared in 1624 at Amsterdam in Inga's *West Indische Spieghel.* Muller, *Books on America*, 1872, no. 805; 1877, no. 1,561.

[4] It was repeated in later editions. Bancroft uses no earlier edition than that of 1633. The edition of 1625 did not contain the map of 1630.

[5] In 1636 a report was made by the Spanish on the probable inter-oceanic communication by way of the Gulf of California. Cf. *Documentos inéditos*, xv. 215; Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, i. 107.

[6] Paris, 1637, five volumes, folio. Bancroft gives his map in his *Northwest Coast*, i. 107.

[7] Arthur Dobbs reprinted it in his *Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay*, in 1744, — according to Bancroft.

[8] He is particular to describe this ship as owned by Major Gibbons, who was on board, and as commanded by one Shapley. Major Edward Gibbons was a well-known merchant of Boston at this time, and the story seems first to have attracted the notice of the local antiquaries of that city, when Dr. Franklin brought it to the attention of Thomas Prince; and upon Prince reporting to him evidence favorable to the existence of such persons at that time, Franklin addressed a letter to Dr. Pringle, in which he considers the story "an abridgment and a translation, and bad in both respects;" and he adds, "If a fiction, it is plainly not an English one; but it has none of the features of fiction." (Cf. Sabin's *American Bibliopolist*, February, 1870

archipelago, as it seemed, he gave the name of St. Lazarus ; and to a river, leading from a lake with an island in it, he applied that of Velasco ; and these names, curiously, appear in the fanciful maps which were made by Delisle and Buache in elucidation of the voyage in which they expressed not a little faith, though the Spanish antiquaries early declared that their archives contained no record of the voyage.[1]

The Dutch, under De Vries, in 1643 had pushed up from Japan, and discovered, as they thought, an island, "Jesso," separated from land on the west by a water which they called the "Detroit de Vries," and on the American side by a channel which had an uncertain extension to the north, and might after all be the long-sought Straits of Anian.[2] The idea of an interjacent land in the north Pacific between America and Asia is also said to have grown out of the report of a Portuguese navigator, Don João da Gama, who claimed to have seen such a land in sailing from China to New Spain. It long maintained a fleeting existence on the maps.[3]

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p. 65.) Dr. Snow examined it in his *History of Boston* (p. 89), and expressed his disbelief in it. Caleb Cushing in the *North American Review* (January, 1839) expressed the opinion that the account was worthy of investigation; which induced Mr. James Savage to examine it in detail, who in the same periodical (April, 1839, p. 559) set it at rest by at least negative proof, as well as by establishing an *alibi* for Gibbons at the date assigned. It may be remarked that among the English there was no general belief in a practicable western passage at this time, and the directors of the East India Company had given up the hope of it after Baffin's return in 1616.

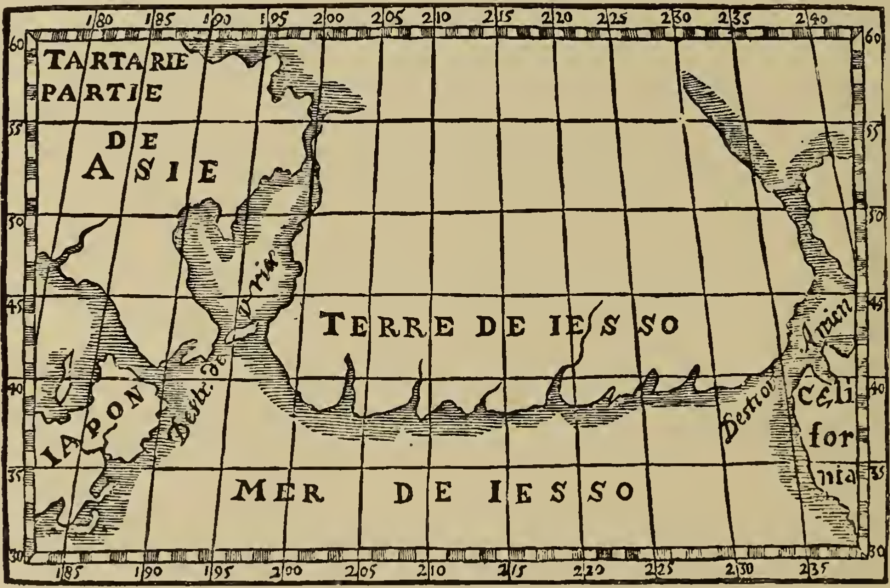
[1] It was very easy for the credulous to identify the Archipelago of St. Lazarus with the Charlotte Islands. The map of Delisle and Buache, published in Paris in 1752 in *Nouvelles Cartes des Découvertes de l'Amiral de Fonte*, endeavors to reconcile the voyages of De Fuca and De Fonte. The map is reproduced in Bancroft's *Northwest Coast*, i. 128. Under 45° there are two straits entering a huge inland "mer de l'ouest," the southerly of which is supposed to be the one found by Aguilar in 1603, and the northerly that of De Fuca in 1592. Under 60° is the St. Lazarus Archipelago, and thridding the adjacent main are the bays, straits, lakes, and rivers which connect the Pacific with Hudson's Bay. The next year (1753) Vaugondy, in some *Observations critiques*, opposed Delisle's theory; and the opposing memoirs were printed in Spanish, with a refutation of Delisle by Buriel, in Venegas' *California*, in 1757. Some years later the English geographer Jefferys attacked the problem in maps appended to Dragg's *Great Probability of a Northwest Passage*, which was printed in London in 1768. Jefferys made the connection with Baffin's Bay, and bounded an island — in which he revived the old Chinese legend by calling it Fusang — by De Fuca's Straits on the south and De Fonte's Archipelago on the north. Foster, in 1786, and Clavigero, in 1798, repudiated the story ; but it appealed sufficiently to Burney to induce him to include it in his *Chronological History of Voyages to the South Seas*, vol. iii. (1813). William Goldson, in his *Passage between the Atlantic and Pacific, in two Memoirs on the Straits of Anian and the Discoveries of De Fonte* (Portsmouth, England, 1793), supposed that De Fonte got into the Great Slave Lake! Navarrete has examined the question in his *Documentos inéditos*, xv., as he had done at less length in his *Sutil y Méxicana* in 1802, expressing his disbelief; and so does Bancroft in his *Northwest Coast*, i. 115, who cites additionally (p. 119) La Harpe, *Abrégé des Voyages* (1816), vol. xvi., and Lapie, *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* (1821), vol. xi., as believing the story. A "Chart for the better understanding of De Font's letter" appeared in *An Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of a Northwest Passage*, by Theodore Swaine Drage (clerk of the "California"), London, 1749, vol. ii.

[2] *Recueil de Voyages au Nord*, Amsterdam, 1732, vol. iv.; Coxe's *Discoveries of the Russians in the North Pacific*, 1803.

[3] Sanson adopted it, and it is laid down in Van Loon's *Zee Atlas* of 1661, where, in the chart "Nova Granada en l'Eylandt California," it is marked as the thither shore of the Straits of Anian, and called "Terra incognita," — and Van Loon had the best reputation of the hydrographers of his day. The map published by Thevenot in 1663 also gives it.

Nicolas Sanson died in 1667, and two years later (1669), his son Guillaume reissued his father's map, still with the island and the interjacent land, which in Blome's map, published in his *Description* (1670), and professedly following Sanson, is marked "Conibas." Later, in 1691, we have another Sanson map; but though the straits still bound easterly the "Terre de Jesso," they are without name, and open easterly into a limitless "mer glaciale." Hennepin at a later day put a special draught of it in the margin of his large map (1697), where it has something of continental proportions, stretching through forty degrees of longitude, north of the thirty eighth parallel; and from Hennepin Campanius copied it (1702) in his *Nya Swerige*, p. 10, as shown herewith (p. 464).

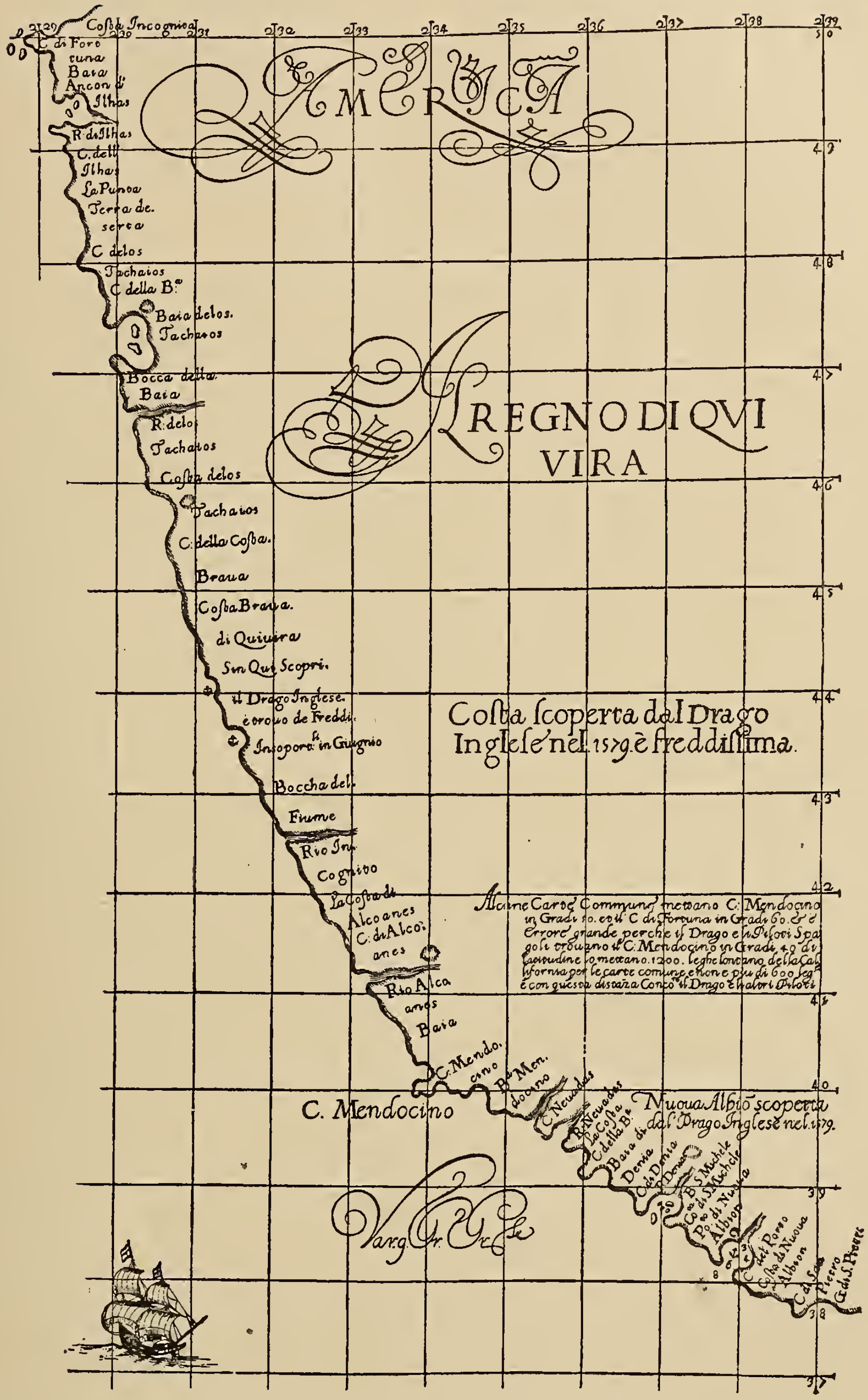
Two maps of Petrus Koerius, dated 1646, in Speed's *Prospect* (1668), indicate what variable moods geographers could assume in the same year. In one we have an island and a determinate coast line running north to the straits ; in the other we have a peninsula with two different trends of the coast north of it in half-shading. We owe to an expatriated Englishman a more precise nomenclature for the western coast than we had had previous to the appearance of his maps in 1646; and the original manuscript drawings preserved at Munich are said by Dr. Hale to be richer still in names.[1] This is the *Arcano del mare* of Robert Dudley. He was born in Surrey in 1573, and whether the natural or legitimate son of the Earl of Leicester depends on the proof of the secret marriage of that nobleman with Lady Sheffield. An adventurous spirit kept him away from the enjoyment of Kenilworth, which he inherited, and he was drawn nearer to the associations of the sea by marrying a sister of Cavendish. He was among the many Englishmen who tried their daring on the Spanish main. He married a second wife, a daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh, whom he abandoned, partly to be rid of a stepmother; and out of chagrin at his failure to secure the dukedom of Northumberland, which had been in abeyance since the execution of his grandfather, Lady Jane Grey's adherent, he sold Kenilworth to young Prince Henry, and left England in company with a daughter of Sir Robert Southwell. He now gave himself up to practical seamanship and the study of hydrography. The grand-duke of Tuscany gave him employment, and he drained a morass to enable Leghorn to become a beautiful city. Under authority of Ferdinand II., he assumed the title of Duke of Northumberland, which was recognized



TERRE DE IESSO.

It is also delineated in 1700 in the map of the Dutchman, Lugtenberg. The idea was not totally given up till Cook's map of his explorations in 1777–1778 appeared, which was the first to give to the peninsula of Alaska and the Aleutian islands a delineation of approximate accuracy; and this was fifty years after Behring, in 1728, had mapped out the Asiatic shore of this region.

[1] *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1873, and *Memorial History of Boston*, i. 59. Kohl's Washington Collection has several draughts from the charts at Munich. An earlier edition (1630) of the *Arcano del Mare* is sometimes mentioned.


AMERICA
REGNO DI QVI VIRA
Costa Incognita
C. di Fortuna
Baia Ancon d' Ilhas
R. di Ilhas
C. dell Ilhas
La Punta
Terra de. serta
C. de los Tachaios
C. della B.ª
Baia de los. Tachaios
Bocca della Baia
R. de los Tachaios
Costa de los Tachaios
C. della Costa.
Brava
Costa Brava.
di Quiuira
Sin Qui Scopri.
il Drago Inglese. è troppo de Freddi
In sopra in Giugnio
Boccha del Fiume
Rio In Cognito
La Costa di Alcoanes
C. di Alcoanes
Rio Alcaanes
Baia
C. Mendocino
Bª Mendocino
C. Nevadas
R. Nevadas
La Costa
C. della Bª
Baia di Denia
C. di Denia
S. Michele
C. di S. Michele
Po. di Nuova Albion
C. del Porto
Costa di Nuova Albion
C. di S. Pietro
Costa scoperta dal Drago Inglese nel 1579. è freddissima.
Alcune Carte Communi mettano C: Mendocino in Gradi 50. et il C di Fortuna in Gradi 60. & è Errore grande perche il Drago e li Piloti Spagnoli trovano il C: Mendocino in Gradi 40 di Latitudine o mettano 1200. leghe lontano della California per le carte commune e non è piu di 600 leg. è con questa distanza Conto il Drago e li altri Piloti
Nuoua Albion scoperta dal Drago Inglese nel 1579.
Var.g Gr. Gr. Le
37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50
229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239

DUDLEY, 1646.

throughout the empire. He died in 1639.[1] The *Arcano* has thirty-three American maps; but the Munich manuscript shows thirteen more. One of the Pacific coast, which records Drake's explorations, is annexed; but with Dudley's text[2] there is another showing the coast from Cape Mendocino south, which puts under thirty degrees north a "golfo profondo" of undefined inland limits, with "I di Cedros" off its mouth. The bay with the anchor and soundings just north of thirty degrees, called in the fac-simile "P^to^ di Nouova Albion," corresponding, it would seem, to San Francisco, is still seen in this other chart, with a more explicit inscription, — "Po: dell nuovo Albion scoperto dal' Drago C^no^ Inglese."

In 1649, in Texeira's chart, there is laid down for the first time a sketch of the coast near the Straits of Anian, which is marked as seen by João da Gama, and extends easterly from Jesso, in the latitude of 50°. Gama's land lived for some time in the charts.[3]

We have another of Speed's maps, five years later (1651), which appears in the 1676 edition of his *Prospect*, in which that geographer is somewhat confused. He makes California an island, with a break in the coast line of the main opposite its northern extremity, and its northwest point he calls "C. Mendocino," while "Pt. Sir Francisco Draco" is placed south of it; but rather confusedly another Cape Mendocino projects from the main coast considerably further to the north.[4] A map of Visscher in 1652[5] reverts, however, to the anterior notions of Mercator; but when in 1655 Wright, an Englishman, adopted Mercator's projection, and first made it really serviceable for navigation, in his *Certain Errors in Navigation*, he gave an insular shape to California.

The French geographer Nicolas Sanson[6] introduced a new notion in 1656. California was made an island with "P^to^ de Francisco Draco" on the west side, somewhat south of the northern cape of it. On the main the coast in the same latitude is made to form a projection to the north called "Agubela de Cato," without any extension of the shore farther northward. The map in Petavius's (Petau's) *History of the World* (London, 1659) carries the coast up, but leaves a gap opposite the northern end of the insular California. The atlas of Van Loon (1661) converts the gap into the Straits of Anian, and puts a "terra incognita" north of it. Danckerts of Amsterdam in the same year (1661), and Du Val in various maps of about this time make it an island. The map of 1663, which appeared in Heylin's *Cosmographie*,[7] gives the insular California, and a dotted line for the main coast northward, with three alternative directions. A map of the Sanson type is given in Blome's *Description of the World*, 1670. Ogilby's map in 1671 makes it an island,[8] following Montanus's *Nieuwe Weereld*.

Hennepin had in his 1683 map made California a peninsula, and in that of 1697 he still preserved the gulf-like character of the waters east of it; but the same plate in the 1698 edition is altered to make an island, as it still is in the edition of 1704. The French geographer Jaillot, in 1694, also conformed to the insular theory, as did Corolus Allard in his well-known Dutch atlas. Campanius, copying Hennepin, speaks of California as the largest island "which the Spaniards possess in America. From California the land extends itself [he says] to that part of Asia which is called Terra de Jesso, or Terra Esonis. The passage is only through the Straits of Anian, which hitherto has remained unknown, and therefore is not to be found in any map or chart," — all of which shows something of Campanius's unacquaintance with what had been surmised, at least, in cartography. All this while Blaeu in his maps was illustrating the dissolving geographical opinions of his time. In 1659 he had drawn California as an island; in 1662 as a peninsula; and once more, in 1670, as an island. Coronelli in 1680, and Franquelin in his great manuscript map of 1684 had both represented it as an island.[1]

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[1] See Vols. III. and IV., index; George Adlard's *Amye Robsart and Leicester*, 1870; *Warwickshire Historical Collections*; Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, p. 166.

[2] Vol. i. lib. ii. p. 19. The other maps are numbered xxxi., xxxii., and xxxiii. A second edition, "Corretta e accresciuta secondo l' originale des medesimo Duca, che si conserva nella libreria del Convento de Firenze della Pace," appeared at Florence in 1661.

[3] Sanson put it in his atlas made in 1667; Delisle rejected it in 1714; Bowen adhered to it in 1747.

[4] It is worth while to note Virginia Farrer's map of Virginia, given in Vol. III. p. 465, for the strange belief which with some people prevailed in England in 1651, that the Pacific coast was at the foot of the western slope of the Alleghanies, — a belief which was represented in 1625 by Master Briggs in Purchas (vol. iii. p. 852), where he speaks of the south sea "on the other side of the mountains beyond our falls, which openeth a free and fair passage to China."

[5] "Autore, N. I. Piscator."

[6] Born 1600; died 1667.

[7] 1669, and later editions. Bancroft (*Northwest Coast*, i. 115) is led to believe that Heylin copied this map in 1701 from Hacke's *Collection of Voyages* (1699), thirty years after he had published his own map in 1669.

[8] It is copied in Bancroft, *Northwest Coast* i. 110.

In 1698 the English geographer Edward Wells, in his *New Sett of Maps*, showed a little commendable doubt in marking the inlet just north of the island as "the supposed Straits of Anian," — a caution which Delisle in 1700, with a hesitancy worthy of the careful hydrographer that he was destined to become, still further exemplified. While restoring California to its peninsular character, he indicated the possibility of its being otherwise by the unfinished limitations of the surrounding waters.[2] Dampier in 1699, in chronicling the incidents of the voyage with which he was connected, made it an island.[3]

In 1701 one would have supposed the question of the insularity of California would have been helped at least by the explorations overland of Father Kino the Jesuit which were begun in 1698. His map, based rather upon shrewd conjecture than upon geographical discovery, and showing the peninsular form of the land, was published in the *Lettres Édifiantes*, vol. v., in 1705.[4] In 1705 the map in Harris's *Collection of Voyages* preserves the insular character of California.[5] In 1715 Delisle[6] expressed himself as undecided between the two theories respecting California,[7] but in 1717 he gave the weight of his great name[8] to an imagined but indefinite great gulf north of the California peninsula, which held for a while a place in the geography of his time as the "Mer de l'ouest." Homann, of Nuremberg, in 1719 marked the entrance of it, while he kept to the insular character of the land to the south; as did Seutter in his *Atlas Geographicus* published at Augsburg in 1720. Daniel Coxe in his *Carolana* had a sufficient stock of credulity — if he was not a "liar," as Bancroft calls him[9] — in working up some wondrous stories of interior lakes emptying into the South Sea.[10] In 1727 the English cartographer Moll converted the same inlet into the inevitable Straits of Anian. The maps in such popular books as Shelvocke's *Voyages* (1726)[11] and Anson's *Voyages* (1748), as did sundry maps issued by Vander Aa of Amsterdam, still told the mass of readers of the island of California; as had Bruzen la Martinière in his *Introduction à l'histoire* (1735), and Salmon (using Moll's map of 1736) in his *History of America*.

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[1] It is also an island in Coronelli's globe of 1683. Cf. Marcou's *Notes*, p. 5.

[2] Marcou's *Notes*, p. 5.

[3] *New Voyage round the World.* The map is sketched in Bancroft's *North Mexican States*, vol. i. p. 195; cf. his *Northwest Coast*, vol. i. pp. 112, 119, for other data.

[4] It was re-engraved in Paris in 1754 by the geographer Buache, and later in the margin of a map of North America published by Sayer of London. It is given in fac-simile in Jules Marcou's paper on the first discoverers of California, appended to the *Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers, U. S. A.*, 1878, and is also sketched in Bancroft's *North Mexican States*, vol. i. p. 499. Cf. his *Northwest Coast*, vol. i. pp. 113, 115, 120, where it is shown that Kino never convinced all his companions that the accepted island was in fact a peninsula. One of his associates, Luis Velarde (*Documentos para la historia de México*, ser. iv. vol. i. p. 344), opposed his views. The view is advanced by E. L. Berthoud in the *Kansas City Review* (June, 1883), that a large area between the head of the gulf and the ocean, now below the sea level, was at one time covered with water, and that the island theory was in some way connected with this condition, which is believed to have continued as recently as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[5] This map is reproduced in Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, vol. i. p. 114; as well as a map of Vander Aa (1707) on page 115.

[6] *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, vol. iii. p. 268.

[7] Bancroft cites Travers Twiss (*Oregon Question*, 1846) as quoting a map of Delisle in 1722, making it a peninsula.

[8] Cf. Saint-Martin, *Histoire de la géographie* p. 423.

[9] *Northwest Coast*, vol. i. p. 123.

[10] Cf. something of the sort in Dobbs's map of 1744, given in Bancroft, *Northw. Coast*, i. 123.

[11] Shelvocke says he accepted current views, unable to decide himself.

Meanwhile, without knowing it because of the fogs, Behring, in 1728, had pushed through the straits now known by his name into the Arctic Seas, and had returned along the Asiatic shore in continued ignorance of his accomplishment. It was not till 1732 that another Russian expedition was driven over to the Alaskan shore; and in 1738 and 1741 Behring proved the close proximity of the two continents, and made demonstration of their severance.

At this time also the English were making renewed efforts from the side of Hudson's Bay to reach the Pacific; and Arthur Dobbs, in his *Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay* (1744), gives a variety of reasons for supposing a passage in that direction, showing possible solutions of the problem in an accompanying map.[1]

The Spaniards, who were before long to be spurred on to other efforts by the reports of Russian expeditions, were reviving now, through the 1728 edition of Herrera, more confidence in the peninsular character of California; though Mota Padilla in his *Nueva Galicia*, in 1742, still thought it an island.

The French map-maker Bellin, in his cartographical illustrations for Charlevoix in 1743, also fell into the new belief; as did Consag the Jesuit, in a map which he made in 1746.[2]

The leading English geographer Bowen in 1747 was advocating the same view, and defining the more northerly parts as "undiscovered." In 1748 Henry Ellis published his *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, — made in 1746–1747, and mentions a story that a high or low tide made California an island or a peninsula, and was inclined to believe in a practicable northwest passage.[3] In 1750 Robert de Vaugondy, while preserving the peninsula, made a westerly entrance to the north of it, which he marks as the discovery of Martin d'Aguilar. The lingering suspicion of the northerly connection of the California Gulf with the ocean had now nearly vanished; and the peninsula which had been an island under Cortés, then for near a century connected with the main, and then again for more than a century in many minds an island again, was at last defined in its proper geographical relations.[4]

The coast line long remained, however, shadowy in the higher latitudes. Buriel, in his editorial notes to Venegas's *California*, in 1757, confessed that nothing was known. The French geographers, the younger Delisle and Buache,[5] published at this time various solutions of the problem of straits and interior seas, associated with the claims of Maldonado, De Fuca, and De Fonte; and others were found to adopt, while others rejected, some of their very fanciful reconciling of conflicting and visionary evidences, in which the "Mer de l'ouest" holds a conspicuous position.[6] The English map-maker Jefferys at-the same epoch (1753) was far less complex in his supposition, and confined himself to a single "river which connects with Lake Winnepeg." A map of 1760, " par les S^rs^ Sanson, rectifiée par S^r^ Robert," also indicates a like westerly entrance; and Jefferys again in 1762, while he grows a little more determinate in coast lines, more explicitly fixes the passage as one that Juan de Fuca had entered in 1592.[1] The *Atlas Moderne*, which was published at Paris, also in 1762, in more than one map, the work of Janvier, still clung to the varieties presented by Delisle ten years before, and which Delisle himself the next year (1763) again brought forward. In 1768 Jefferys made a map[2] to illustrate the De Fonte narrative; but after 1775 he made several studies of the coast, and among other services reproduced the map which the Russian Academy had published, and which was a somewhat cautious draught of bits of the coast line here and there, indicating different landfalls, with a dotted connection between them.[3] One of Jefferys's own maps (1775) carries the coast north with indications of entrances, but without attempting to connect them with any interior water-sheds. Going north from New Albion we then find on his map the passage of D'Aguilar in 1603; then that of De Fuca, " where in 1592 he pretends he went through to the North Sea ; " then the " Fousang " coast, visited by the Spaniards in 1774; then Delisle's landfall in 1741 ; Behring's the same year ; while the coast stops at Mount St. Elias. In his 1776 map Jefferys gives another scheme. " Alaschka " is now an island athwart the water, dividing America from Asia, with Behring's Straits at its western end; while the American main is made up of what was seen by Spangenberg in 1728, with a general northeasterly trend higher up, laid down according to the Japanese reports. The Spaniards were also at this time pushing up among the islands beyond the Oregon coast.[4] In 1774 Don Juan Perez went to Nootka Sound, as is supposed, and called it San Lorenzo.[5] In 1775 another Spanish expedition discovered the Columbia River.[6] Janvier in 1782 published a map[7] still perpetuating the great sea of the west, which Buache and others had delineated thirty years before. The English in 1776 transferred their endeavors from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific coast, and Captain James Cook was despatched to strike the coast in the latitude of Drake's New Albion, and proceed north in search of a passage eastward.[8] Carver the traveller had already, in 1766–1768, got certain notions of the coast from Indian stories, as he heard them in the interior, and embodied them with current beliefs in a map of his own, which made a part of his *Travels through the interior parts of North America*, published in 1778. In this he fixed the name of Oregon for the supposed great river of the west, which remained in the end attached to the region which it was believed to water.[1] In 1786 the Frenchman La Pérouse was on the coast.[2] In 1789 the English and Spanish meeting on the coast, the English commander was seized. This action led to a diplomatic fence, the result of which was the surrender of Nootka to the English.

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[1] Reproduced in Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, vol. i. p. 123.

[2] It is in the Kohl Collection, and is sketched in Bancroft's *North Mexican States*, vol. i. p. 463; *Northwest Coast*, vol. i. pp. 125, 126.

[3] Bancroft (*Northwest Coast*, vol. i. pp. 126, 129) thinks his book more complete than any earlier one on the subject. As late as 1755 Hermann Moll, the English cartographer, kept the *island* in his map.

[4] Bancroft (*Northwest Coast*, vol. i. pp. 127, 128) thinks that a theory, started in 1751 by Captain Salvador, and reasserted in 1774 by Captain Anza, that the Colorado sent off a branch which found its way to the sea above the peninsula, was the last flicker of the belief in the insularity of California.

[5] Delisle was born in 1688 and died in 1747; Buache lived from 1700 to 1773. Other cartographical solutions of the same data are found in William Doyle's *Account of the British Dominions beyond the Atlantic* (London, 1770), and in the *Mémoires sur la situation des pays septentrionaux*, by Samuel Engel, published at Lausanne in 1765. Engel's maps were repeated in a German translation of his book published in 1772, and in his *Extraits raisonés des Voyages faits dans les parties septentrionales de l'Asie et de l'Amérique*, also published at Lausanne in 1779.

[6] Buache's "Mer de l'ouest" was re-engraved in J. B. Laborde's *Mer du Sud* (Paris, 1791), as well as a map of Maldonado's explorations. Cf. Samuel Engel's *Extraits raisonés des Voyages faits dans les parties septentrionales* (Lausanne, 1765 and 1779), and Dobbs's *Northwest Passage* (1754).

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[1] Jefferys also published at this time (2d ed. in 1764) *Voyages from Asia to America, for completing the discoveries of the Northwest Coast, with summary of voyages of the Russians in the Frozen sea, tr. from the high Dutch of S. Muller* [should be G. F. Muller], *with* 3 *maps:* (1) *Part of Japanese map* [this is sketched in Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, i. p. 130]. (2) *Delisle and Buache's fictitious map.* (3) *New Discoveries of Russians and French.*

Muller's book was also published in French at Amsterdam in 1766. Cf. also William Coxe's *Account of the Russian discoveries between Asia and America* (2d ed. rev.), *London*, 1780, and later editions in 1787 and 1803; also, see Robertson's *America*, note 43.

[2] Sketched in Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, vol. i. p. 131.

[3] Bancroft (*Northwest Coast*, vol. i. p. 124) gives a Russian map of 1741, which he says he copied from the original in the Russian archives.

[4] There is in the department of State at Washington a volume of copies from manuscripts in the hydrographic office at Madrid, attested by Navarrete, and probably procured by Greenhow at the time of the Oregon question. It is called *Viages de los Españoles a la costa norveste de la America en los años de* 1774–1775–1779, 1788 *y* 1790. My attention was drawn to them by Theodore F. Dwight, Esq., of that department.

[5] The details of this and subsequent explorations are given with references in Bancroft's *Northwest Coast*, vol. i. p. 151 *et seq.* Such voyages will be only briefly indicated in the rest of the present paper.

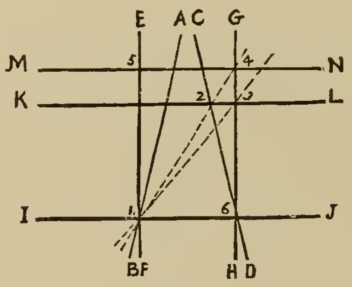
[6] Malaspina with a Spanish Commission in 1791, and later Galiano and Valdés, explored the coast, and their results were published in 1802. Cf. Navarrete, *Sutil y Mexicana.*

[7] It is sketched by Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, vol. i. p. 135.

[8] Bancroft (*Northwest Coast*, vol. i. p. 169) reproduces a part of his map.

Meanwhile a Boston ship, the "Columbia," commanded by Captain Kendrick, in company with the "Washington" (Captain Gray), was on a voyage, which was the first American attempt to sail around the globe.[3] They entered and named the Columbia River; and meeting Vancouver, the intelligence was communicated to him. When the English commander occupied Nootka, the last vestige of uncertainty regarding the salient features of the coast may be said to have disappeared under his surveys. Before they were published, George Foster issued in 1791 his map of the northwest coast, in which the Straits of Juan de Fuca were placed below 40°, by which Captain Gray is supposed to have entered, on his way to an open sea, coming out again in 55°, through what we now know as the Dixon entrance, to the north of Queen Charlotte's Island; the American navigator having threaded, as was supposed, a great northern archipelago. Vancouver's own map finally cleared the remaining confusion, and the migratory Straits of Juan de Fuca were at last fixed as the channel south of Vancouver's Island which led to Puget Sound.[4]

NOTES.



MERCATOR'S PROJECTION. — It was no new thing to convert the spherical representation of the earth into a plane on the cylindrical principle, for it had been done in the fourteenth century; but no one had devised any method by which it could be used for a sea-chart, since the parallelizing of the meridians altered the direction of point from point. Mercator seems to have reasoned out a plan in this wise: A B and C D are two meridians drawing together as they approach the pole. If they are made parallel, as in E F and G H, the point 2 is moved to 3, which is in a different direction from 1, in the parallel of latitude, I J. If the line of direction from 1 to 2 is prolonged till it strikes the perpendicular meridian G H at 4, the original direction is preserved, and the parallel K L can then be moved to become M N; thus prolonging the distance from 1 to 5, and from 6 to 4, to counteract the effect on direction by perpendicularizing the meridians. To do this accurately involved a law which could be applicable to all parallels and meridians; and that law Mercator seems only to have reached approximately. But the idea once conveyed, it was seized by Edward Wright in England in 1590, who evolved the law, and published it with a map, the first engraved on the new system, in his *Certain Errors of Navigation*, London, 1599. Mead, in his *Construction of Maps* (1717), examined all previous systems of projections; but contended that Varenius in Latin, and his follower Newton in English, had not done the subject justice. There have been some national controversies over the claims of the German Mercator and the English Wright; but D'Avezac, in his "Coup d'Œil historique sur la projection des cartes de géographie," printed in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 1863 (also separately), defends Mercator's claims to be considered the originator of the projection; and he (pp. 283–285) gives references to writers on the subject, who are also noted in Van Raemdonck's *Mercator*, p. 120.

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[1] Bancroft (*Northwest Coast*, vol. i. p. 133) reproduces his map.

[2] Bancroft (Ibid., i. 176) reproduces a part of his map.

[3] Cf. *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. iv. p. 208; *Historical Magazine*, vol. xviii. p. 155; *Harper's Magazine*, December, 1882; Bulfinch, *Oregon and El Dorado*, p. 3. The report on the claims of the heirs of Kendrick and Gray, for allowance for the rights established by them for the U. S. Government, is printed in the *Historical Magazine*, September, 1870. A medal struck on occasion of this voyage is engraved in Bulfinch. Cf. also *American Journal of Numismatics*, vi. 33, 63; vii. 7; *Coin-Collectors Journal*, vi. 46; *Magazine of American History*, v. 140. The fullest account yet given of this expedition is in Bancroft's *Northwest Coast*, i. 185 *et seq.* He had the help of a journal kept on one of the ships.

[4] Bancroft's *Northwest Coast*, vol. i., must be consulted for these later and for subsequent exploring and trading voyages.

The claim which Van Raemdonck had made in his *Gérard Mercator, sa vie et ses œuvres*, — that the great geographer was a Fleming, — was controverted by Dr. Breusing in his *Gerhard Kremer, gen. Mercator, der Deutsche Geograph*, 1869, and in an article (supposed to be his) in the *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt*, 1869, vol. xi. p. 438, where the German birth of Mercator is contended for. To this Van Raemdonck replied in his *Gérard de Cremer, ou Mercator, Géographe Flamand*, published at St. Nicholas in 1870. The controversy rose from the project, in 1869, to erect a monument to Mercator at Duisburg. Cf. also Bertrand in the *Journal des Savants*, February, 1870.

ORTELIUS. — Ortelius was born in 1527, and died in 1598, aged seventy-one years. He was a rich man, and had visited England in his researches. Stevens says in his *Bibliotheca historica* p. 133: "A thorough study of Ortelius is of the last importance. . . . He was a bibliographer, a cartographer, and an antiquary, as well as a good mathematician and geographer; and what is of infinite importance to us now, he gave his authorities." Cf. also "La Généalogie du Géographe Abraham Ortelius," by Génard in the *Bulletin de la Société Géographique d'Anvers*, v. 315; and Felix Van Hulst's *Life of Ortelius*, second edition, Liege, 1846, with a portrait, which can also be found in the 1580, 1584, and perhaps other editions of his own *Theatrum*. There is also a brief notice, by M. de Macedo, of his geographical works in *Annales des Voyages*, vol. ii. pp. 184–192. Thomassy (*Les Papes géographes*, p. 65) has pointed out how Ortelius fell into some errors, from ignorance of Ruscelli's maps, in the 1561 edition of Ptolemy. The engraver of his early editions was Francis Hagenberg, and of his later ones, Ferdinand Orsenius and Ambroise Orsenius. He prefixed to his book a list of the authorities, from whose labors he had constructed his own maps. It is a most useful list for the students of the map-making of the sixteenth century. It has not a single Spanish title, which indicates how closely the Council for the Indies had kept their archives from the unofficial cartographers. The titles given are wholly of the sixteenth century, not many anterior to 1528, and mostly of the latter half of the century, indeed after 1560; and they are about one hundred and fifty in all. The list includes some maps which Ortelius had not seen; and some, to which in his text he refers, are not included in the list. There are some maps among them of which modern inquiry has found no trace. Stevens, in unearthing Walter Lud, turned to the list and found him there as Gualterus Ludovicus. (See *ante*, p. 162).

Ortelius supplied some titles which he had omitted, — including some earlier than 1528, — as well as added others produced in the interval, when, in 1592, he republished the list in its revised state. Lelewel has arranged the names in a classified way in his *Géographie du moyen âge*, vol. ii. pp. 185, 210, and on p. 217 has given us an account of the work of Ortelius. Cf. also Lelewel, vol. v. p. 214; Sabin, vol. xiv. p. 61.

The original edition of the *Theatrum* was issued at Antwerp, in Latin, and had fifty-three maps; it was again published the same year with some changes. There are copies in Mr. Brevoort's, Jules Marcou's collections, and in the Carter-Brown, Harvard College, and Astor libraries. Stevens, in his illustrated *Bibliotheca geographica*, no. 2,077, gives a fac-simile of the title. Cf. also *Huth Catalogue*, vol. iii. p. 1068; *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, vol. i. no. 278; and Muller, *Books on America* (1877), no. 2,380.

The third Latin edition appeared the next year (1571) at Antwerp, with the same maps, as did the first edition with Dutch text, likewise with the same maps. Stevens, *Bibliotheca historica*, no. 1,473, thinks the Dutch is the original text.

To these several editions a supplement or additamentum, with eighteen new maps (none, however, relating to America), was added in 1573. Sabin's *Dictionary;* Brockhaus, *Americana* (1861), no. 28. Muller, *Books on America* (1877), no. 2,381.

The same year (1573, though the colophon reads "Antorff, 1572") the first German edition appeared, but in Roman type, and with a somewhat rough linguistic flavor. It had sixty-nine maps, and included the map of America. Koehler, of Leipsic, priced a copy in 1883 at 100 marks. The Latin (Antwerp) edition of this year (1573), "nova editio aliquot iconibus aucta," seems also to have the same peculiarity of an earlier year (1572) in the colophon. *Huth Catalogue*, vol. iii. p. 1068). Copies of all these editions seem to vary in the number of the maps. (*Library of Congress Catalogue; Carter-Brown Catalogue*, and the catalogues of Quaritch, Weigel, and others.) In 1574 some of the Antwerp issues have a French text, with maps corresponding to the German edition.

There are copies of the 1575 edition in the libraries of Congress, Harvard College, and the Boston Athenæum; and the four maps of interest in American cartography may be described from the Harvard College copy. They are reproductions of the maps of the 1570 edition.

a. Mappemonde. North America has a perfected outline much as in the Mercator map, with "Anian regnum" at the northwest. North America is marked, as by Wytfliet, "America sive India nova;" but the geography of the Arctic and northeastern parts is quite different from Wytfliet. Groclant and Groenland have another relative position, and take a general trend east and west; while in Wytfliet it is north and south. Northern Labrador is called Estotilant; while Frisland and Drogeo, islands to the south and east of it, are other reminders of the Zeni chart. This same map was reissued in the 1584 edition; and again, new cut, with a few changes, and dated 1587, it reappeared in the 1597 edition.

b. The two Americas. Anian and Quivira are on the northwest coast of North America. Tolm and Tototeac are northeast of the Gulf of California, and mark the region where the St. Lawrence rises, flowing, without lakes, to the gulf, with Terra Corterealis on the north and Norumbega on the south. Estotilant is apparently north of Hudson's Straits, and off its point is Icaria (another Zeni locality), with Frislant south of it. Newfoundland is cut into two large islands, with Baccalaos, a small island off its eastern coast. South America has the false projection (from Mercator) on its southwestern coast in place of Ruscelli's uncertain limits at that point. This projecting coast continued for some time to disfigure the outline of that continent in the maps. This map also reappeared in the 1584 edition.

c. Scandia, or the Scandinavian regions, and the North Atlantic show Greenland, Groclant, Island, Frisland, Drogeo, and Estotilant on a large scale, but in much the same relation to one another as in the map *a*. East of Greenland, and separated from it by a strait, is a circumpolar land which has these words: "Pygmei hic habitant." The general disposition of the parts of this map resembles Mercator's, and it was several times repeated, as in the editions of Ortelius of 1584 and 1592; and it was re-engraved in Münster's *Cosmographia* of 1595, and in the Cologne-Arnheim Ptolemy of 1597.

d. Indiæ orientalis. It shows Japan, an island midway in a sea separating Mangi (Asia) on the west from "Americæ sive Indie occidentalis pars" on the east. This map also reappeared in the 1584 edition, and may be compared with those of the Wytfliet series.

In 1577 an epitome of Ortelius by Heyn, with a Dutch text and seventy-two maps, appeared at Antwerp.

In 1580 the German text, entirely rewritten, appeared at Antorff, with a portrait of Ortelius and twenty-four new maps (constituting the third supplement), with a new general map of America. Among the new maps was one of New Spain, dated 1579, containing, it is reckoned, about a thousand names; another showing Florida, Northern Mexico, and the West India Islands; and a third on one sheet showing Peru, Florida, and Guastecan Regio.

The Latin edition of 1584, with a further increase of maps, is in Harvard College Library. In 1587 there was a French text issued, the mappemonde of which is reproduced in Vivien de St. Martin's *Histoire de la géographie.* This text in the 1588 edition is called "revue, corrigé et augmentée pour la troisième fois." This French text is wholly independent of, and not a translation of, the Latin and German. The maps are at this time usually ninety-four in number. In 1589 there was Marchetti's edition at Brescia and a Latin one at Antwerp. In 1591 there was a fresh supplement of twenty-one maps. In 1592 the Antwerp edition was the last one superintended by Ortelius himself. The map of the New World was re-engraved, and the maps number in full copies two hundred and one, usually colored; there is a copy in Harvard College Library. In 1593 there was an Italian text, and other Latin editions in 1595 and 1596, a copy of the last being in Harvard College Library. This completes the story of the popularity of Ortelius down to the publication of Wytfliet, when American cartography obtained its special exponent.

A few later editions may mark the continued popularity of the work of Ortelius, and of those who followed upon his path: —

Il theatro del mondo, Brescia (1598), one hundred maps, of which three are American.

A French text at Antwerp (1598), with one hundred and nineteen maps, including the same American maps as in the 1587 edition, except that of the world and of America at large.

Peeter Heyn's *Miroir du monde*, Amsterdam (1598), with eighty woodcut maps, — an epitome of Ortelius.

After Ortelius's death, the first Latin edition in 1601, at Antwerp (111 maps), had his final corrections; other issues followed in 1603, 1609 (115 maps), 1612, 1624, with an epitome by Crignet in 1602 (123 maps); and an epitome in English in 1610. An Italian text by Pigafetta appeared in 1612 and 1697.

Lelewel (*Géographie du moyen âge*, vol. ii. pp. 181, 185, and *Epilogue*, p. 214) has somewhat carefully examined the intricate subject of the make-up of editions of Ortelius; but the truth probably is, that there was much independent grouping of particular copies which obscures the bibliography.

CHAPTER VII.

EARLY EXPLORATIONS OF NEW MEXICO.

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AT the time of the Spanish conquest of Mexico there were living, some fifteen hundred miles to the north of the city so named, in the upper valley of the Rio del Norte, and upon some of the eastern affluents of the Colorado of the West, certain native tribes, who had attained to a degree of culture superior to that of any people in North America, with the exception of the semi-civilized Aztec and Maya races. These were the Sedentary or Pueblo Indians, — village communities dwelling together in large buildings constructed of stone or adobe, — whose home lay principally within the present limits of New Mexico and Arizona, although extending somewhat into southwestern Colorado and southeastern Utah. The first rumors of the existence of this people which had reached the ears of the Spaniards grew out of a tale told to Nuño de Guzman in 1530, when he was at the head of the Royal Audience then governing New Spain.[1] He had an Indian slave, called by the Spaniards Tejos, who represented himself to be a son of a trader in feathers, such as were used by the natives for head-dresses. Tejos said that it was his father's habit to travel about, exchanging his wares for silver and gold, which were abundant in certain regions. Once or twice he had accompanied his father on these journeys, and then he had seen cities large enough to be compared with Mexico. They were seven in number, and entire streets in them were occupied by jewellers. To reach them it was necessary to travel northward forty days' journey through a desert region lying between the two seas.

Guzman placed confidence in this narrative; and collecting a force of four hundred Spaniards and twenty thousand Indians, he set out from Mexico in search of this country. It was believed to be only about six hundred miles distant, and already the name of *The Land of the Seven Cities* had been given to it. There were also other strange stories current, that had been told to Cortés a few years before, about a region called Ciguatan, lying somewhere in the north, near to which was an island inhabited solely by Amazons. In this, also, there was said to be gold in abundance; and it was quite as much the hope of finding the Island of the Amazons, with its gold, that inspired Guzman's expedition, as of gaining access to the treasures of The Seven Cities. But on his march confirmatory reports about these cities kept reaching him; and eventually the expedition succeeded in penetrating to Ciguatan, and even as far within the province of Culiacan, the extreme limit of Spanish discovery, as to Colombo. Nevertheless, they did not find the Island of the Amazons, and The Seven Cities kept receding farther toward the north.[1] Meanwhile one of his captains made a reconnoissance some seventy leagues in an easterly direction without any satisfactory result. At last, the difficulties of an advance through a wild country and amid pathless mountains brought the expedition to a halt, which soon dampened the ardor of the soldiers, who grew clamorous to return to Mexico. But in the mean time news had reached Guzman that Cortés was once more there, clothed with new titles and authority, and he did not dare to brave the anger which his hostile proceedings during Cortés' absence were sure to have provoked. Accordingly he retraced his steps no farther than to Compostella and Guadalaxara, where he remained, and established the colonies from which was formed the province known afterwards as New Gallicia.[2] Not long after, he was deposed from his authority as governor of this province by direct commands from Spain; and Antonio de Mendoza, who had now been created Viceroy of New Spain, appointed Francisco Vasquez de Coronado to the vacant post.

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[1] *Relation de Castañeda,* in Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages,* etc., ix. i.

Meanwhile the Indian Tejos had died, and the mysterious Seven Cities would have remained only a name, if the interest in them had not been revived by a remarkable occurrence. This was the arrival in the province of Culiacan, in 1536, of Antonio Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, with three companions. They were the sole survivors of the numerous company who had followed Pamphilo de Narvaez, in 1527, to the shores of Florida. During nine years of almost incredible perils and hardships, after traversing in their wanderings all the great unknown region lying north of the Gulf of Mexico, they had at last reached the shores of the southern sea. They brought back accounts of having fallen in with civilized peoples, dwelling in permanent habitations, where were "populous towns with very large houses."[3] The story of their strange adventures is told elsewhere in more detail,[4] so that here it suffices to put on record simply that they were the first Europeans to tread the soil of New Mexico. As soon as they reached Mexico, the intelligence of their discoveries was communicated to the Viceroy Mendoza, by whom it was at once transmitted to Coronado, the new governor of New Gallicia. He was a gentleman of good family, from Salamanca, but long established in Mexico, where he had married a daughter of Alonzo d'Estrada, former governor of that place, who was generally believed to be a natural son of Ferdinand the Catholic. Coronado at this time was occupied in travelling through New Spain; but he repaired immediately to his province to investigate the reports, taking with him one of Cabeza de Vaca's companions, a negro named Stephen, and also three Franciscan monks, missionaries to the natives. After a brief interval a proposition was made to one of these monks, Fray Marcos de Nizza (of Nice), to undertake a preliminary exploration of the country. He was selected for this task on account of his character and attainments, and because of the experience he had acquired in Peru, under Alvarado. Elaborate instructions were sent to him by the Viceroy, which seem inspired by a spirit of humanity as well as intelligence.[1] He was told that the expedition was to be undertaken for the spread of the holy Catholic faith, and that he must exhort the Spaniards to treat the natives with kindness, and threaten them with the Viceroy's displeasure if this command should be disobeyed. The natives were to be informed of the Emperor's indignation at the cruelties that had been inflicted upon them, and to be assured that they should no longer be enslaved or removed from their homes. He was ordered to take the negro Stephen as his guide, and cautioned against giving any ground of offence to the natives. He was to take special note of their numbers and manner of life, and whether they were at peace or war among themselves. He was also to observe particularly the nature of the country, the fertility of the soil, and the character of its products; to learn what wild animals were to be found there, and whether there were any rivers, great or small. He was to search for precious stones and metals, and if possible to bring back specimens of them; and to make inquiry whether the natives had any knowledge of a neighboring sea. If he should succeed in reaching the southern sea, he was to leave an account of his discoveries buried at the foot of some conspicuous tree marked with a cross, and to do the same thing at the mouths of all rivers, so that any future maritime expedition might be instructed to be on the lookout for such a sign. Especially was he ordered to send back constant reports as to the route he had taken, and how he was received; and if he should discover any great city, he was to return immediately to give private information about it. Finally, he was told to take possession of the new country in the name of the Emperor, and to make the natives understand that they must submit themselves to him.

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[1] *Segunda relacion de Nuño de Guzman*, in Icazbalceta, *Coll. de Docs.*, ii. 303; *Quarta relacion*, in Ibid., p. 475; *García de Lopez' Relacion*, in Pacheco's *Coll. Doc. Inéd.*, tom. xiv. pp. 455–460.

[2] [See *ante*, p. 391. — Ed.]

[3] *Relacion de Cabeça de Vaca*, translated by Buckingham Smith (chap. xxxi. p. 167).

[4] [See *ante*, p. 243 in Dr. J. G. Shea's chapter on "Ancient Florida." — Ed.]

In accordance with these instructions, Fray Marcos set out from S. Miguel de Culiacan on the 7th of March, 1539, with Fray Honoratus for a companion, and the negro Stephen for a guide. The monks were not greatly pleased with this man, on account of his avaricious and sensual nature; but they hoped to reap some benefit from his ability to communicate with the natives, several of whom, who had been brought away from their homes by Cabeza de Vaca, but who had been redeemed and set free by the Viceroy, also accompanied the party. There was, besides, a much larger company of natives from the neighboring regions, who were induced to join the expedition on account of the favorable representations made to them by those whom the Viceroy had freed.

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[1] Ternaux-Compans, ix. 249.

Fray Marcos, upon his return, made a formal report of all his doings;[1] and to this we must look for the first definite information in regard to the early exploration and history of the region with which we are now concerned, since Cabeza de Vaca's narrative is too confused to furnish any sure indications of locality, and he has even been charged by Castañeda with "representing things very differently from what he had found them in reality."[2] The monk relates how they reached Petatlan, after having met with great kindness from the natives on their way; and while resting there for three days Fray Honoratus fell ill, and was obliged to be left behind. He himself continued his journey for some thirty leagues, still finding the natives most friendly, and even willing to share with him their supply of food, although it was but scanty, owing to no rain having fallen for three years. On his way he was met by some inhabitants of the island, which had previously been visited by Cortés, by whom he was assured that it was indeed an island, and not a continent as some had supposed. Still other people came to visit him from a larger island, but more distant, who informed him that there were still thirty islands more, but that they were only poorly supplied with food.[3] These Indians wore shells suspended from their necks, like those in which pearls are found; and when a pearl was shown to them, they said they had an abundance of them, although the friar admits that he himself did not see any. After this his route lay for four days through a desert, during which he was accompanied by the Indians from the islands and the inhabitants of the villages through which he had passed. Finally he came to a people who were astonished to see him, as they had no intercourse with the people on the other side of the desert, and had no knowledge whatsoever of Europeans. Nevertheless, they received him kindly, and supplied him with food, and endeavored to touch his garments, calling him "a man sent from heaven." In return, he endeavored, as best he might by means of interpreters, to teach them about "God in heaven, and his Majesty upon earth." Upon being asked if they knew of any country more populous and civilized than their own, they replied that four or five days' journey into the interior, in a great plain at the foot of the mountains, there were many large cities, inhabited by a people who wore garments made of cotton. When specimens of different metals were shown to them, they selected the gold, and said that this people had their common dishes made of this material, and wore balls of it suspended from their ears and noses, and even used "thin plates of it to scrape off their sweat." However, as this plain was quite remote from the sea, and as it was his purpose never to be far away from it during his journeyings, the monk decided to defer the exploration of this country until his return.

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[1] *A relation of the Rev. Frier Marco de Nica touching his discovery of the kingdom of Cevola or Cibola* in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, etc., iii. 438 (edition of 1810).

[2] Castañeda, *Relation*, p. 9.

[3] [See *ante*, p. 431, "Discoveries on the Pacific Coast of North America," for the explorations up that coast by Cortés. — ED.]

Meanwhile Fray Marcos continued to travel for three days through the territories of the same tribe, until he arrived at a town of moderate size, called Vacapa, situated in a fertile region about forty leagues from the sea.[1] Here he rested for several days, while three exploring parties were despatched to the coast with directions to bring back some of the natives dwelling there as well as upon the neighboring islands, in order that he might obtain more definite information about those regions. The negro was ordered to advance in a northerly direction fifty or sixty leagues, and to send back a report of what he should discover. In four days' time a messenger came from him bringing news of "a country the finest in the world;" and with him came an Indian, who professed to have visited it, and who reported that it was a thirty days' journey from the place where Stephen then was to the first city of this province. The name of this province was Cibola,[2] and it contained seven great cities, all under the rule of one lord. The houses were built of stone and lime; some of them were three stories high, and had their doorways ornamented with turquoises, of which there was an abundance in that country; beyond this, there were still other provinces all greater than that of The Seven Cities. This tale was all the more readily credited by the monk, as the man appeared to be "of good understanding." Nevertheless, he deferred his departure until the exploring parties should return from the coast. After a short time they came back, bringing with them some of the dwellers upon the coast and on two of the islands, who reported that there were thirty-four islands in all, near to one another; but that all, as well as the main land, were deficient in food supplies. They said that the islanders held intercourse with each other by means of rafts, and that the coast stretched due north. On the same day there came to Vacapa, to visit the monk, three Indians who had their faces, hands, and breasts painted. They said that they dwelt in the eastern country, in the neighborhood of Cibola, and they confirmed all the reports in regard to it.

As fresh messengers had now come from Stephen, urging the monk to hasten his departure, he sent the natives of the coast back to their homes and resumed his journey, taking with him two of the islanders — who begged to accompany him for several days — and the painted Indians. In three days' time he arrived among the people who had given the negro his information about Cibola. They confirmed all that had been said about it; and they also told about three other great kingdoms, called Marata, Acus, and Totonteac. They said they were in the habit of going to these countries to labor in the fields, and that they received in payment turquoises and skins of cattle. All the people there wore turquoises in their ears and noses, and were clad in long cotton robes reaching to their feet, with a girdle of turquoises around the waist. Over these cotton garments they wore mantles made of skins, which were considered to be the clothing best suited to the country. They gave the monk several of these skins, which were said to come from Cibola, and which proved to be as well dressed and tanned as those prepared by the most highly civilized people. The people here treated him with very great kindness, and brought the sick to him to be healed, and endeavored to touch his garments as he recited the Gospels over them. The next day he continued his journey, still attended by the painted Indians, and arrived at another village, where the same scenes were repeated. He was told that Stephen had gone on four or five days' journey, accompanied by many of the natives, and that he had left word for Fray Marcos to hasten forward. As this appeared to be the finest country he had found thus far, he proceeded to erect two crosses, and to take formal possession of it in the name of the Emperor, in accordance with his instructions. He then continued on his journey for five days more, passing through one village after another, everywhere treated with great kindness, and receiving presents of turquoises and of skins, until at last he was told that he was on the point of coming to a desert region. To cross this would be five days' march; but he was assured that provisions would be transported for him, and places provided in which he could sleep. This all turned out as had been promised, and he then reached a populous valley, where the people all wore turquoises in greater profusion than ever, and talked about Cibola as familiarly as did the Spaniards about Mexico or Quito. They said that in it all the products of civilization could be procured, and they explained the method by which the houses were constructed of several stories.

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[1] Mr. A. F. Bandelier puts this place "in southern Arizona, somewhat west from Tucson." *Historical Introduction to Studies among the Sedentary Indians of New Mexico*, p. 8.

[2] This word was borrowed by the Spaniards from the native languages, and applied by them to the Bison. [As early as 1542 Rotz drew pictures of this animal on his maps. — Ed.]

Up to this point the coast had continued to run due north; but here, in the latitude of 35°, Fray Marcos found, from personal examination, that it began to trend westward. For five days he journeyed through this fertile and well-watered valley, finding villages in it at every half-league, when there met him a native of Cibola, who had fled hither from the governor of that place. He was a man advanced in years, and of good appearance and capacity; and from him were obtained even more definite and detailed accounts of Cibola and the neighboring kingdoms, their condition and mode of government; and he begged to be allowed to return home in the friar's company, in order to obtain pardon through his intercession. The monk pursued his way for three days more through this rich and populous valley, when he was informed that soon another desert stretch, fifteen long days' march in extent, would begin. Accordingly, as he had now travelled one hundred and twelve leagues from the place where he had first learned of this new country, he determined to rest here a short time. He was told that Stephen had taken along with him more than three hundred men as his escort, and to carry provisions across the desert; and he was advised to do likewise, as the natives all expected to return laden with riches. But

Fray Marcos declined; and selecting only thirty of the principal men, and the necessary porters, he entered upon the desert in the month of May, and travelled for twelve days, finding at all the halting-places the cabins which had been occupied by Stephen and other travellers. Of a sudden an Indian came in sight, covered with dust and sweat, with grief and terror stamped upon his countenance. He had been one of Stephen's party, and was the son of one of the chiefs who were escorting the friar. This was the tale he told: On the day before Stephen's arrival at Cibola, according to his custom, he sent forward messengers to announce his approach. These carried his staff of office, made of a gourd, to which was attached a string of bells and two feathers, one white and one red, which signified that he had come with peaceful intentions and to heal the sick. But when this was delivered to the governor, he angrily dashed it to the ground, saying he knew the strangers, and forbade their entering the city, upon pain of death. This message was brought back to Stephen, who nevertheless continued on, but was prevented from entering the city. He was conducted to a large house outside the walls, where everything was taken from him; and the whole party passed the night without food or drink. The following morning, while the narrator had gone to the river which flowed near by, to quench his thirst, suddenly he saw Stephen in full flight, pursued by the people of Cibola, who were slaying all of his companions; whereupon he hid himself under the bank, and finally succeeded in escaping across the desert. When they heard this pitiful story, the Indians began to wail, and the monk to tremble for his own life; but he says he was troubled still more at the thought of not being able to bring back information about this important country. Nevertheless, he proceeded to cut the cords of some of his packages, from which he had as yet given nothing away, and to distribute all the contents among the chief men, bidding them fear nothing, but continue on with him still farther; which they did, until they came within a day's journey of Cibola. Here there met them two more of Stephen's Indian companions, still bleeding from their wounds, who told the same story about his death and the destruction of his company, supposing that they alone had escaped, by hiding themselves under the heaps of those who had been slain by flights of arrows.[1]

The monk goes on to relate that he tried to comfort the weeping natives, by telling them that God would punish the people of Cibola, and the Emperor would send an army to chastise them; but they refused to believe him, saying no power could resist that of Cibola. He thereupon distributed everything he had left among them to appease them, and endeavored to persuade some of them to go nearer the city, in order to make sure of the fate of the party; and upon their refusal, he said that he should at all events endeavor to obtain a sight of Cibola. Seeing his determination, two of the chiefs consented to accompany him; and they came to a hill, from which they could look down upon the city. It is situated in a plain, he says, and seemed to be handsomer and more important than any city he had yet seen, and even larger than Mexico. The houses were built of stone, and were of several stories, as the natives had told him, and with flat roofs; and upon his expressing his admiration of it, his companions said that it was the smallest of The Seven Cities, and that Totonteac, one of the neighboring towns, was still larger and finer. With the help of the Indians he proceeded to raise a great pile of stones, upon which he planted a cross as large as he was able to make, and in the name of the Viceroy and Governor of New Spain, on behalf of the Emperor, he took possession of the Land of the Seven Cities, and the realms of Totonteac, Acus, and Marata; and to the whole country he gave the name of the New Kingdom of St. Francis. Upon retracing his steps across the desert, he failed to receive as friendly a reception as before, for all the people were in tears for the loss of their murdered relatives; so that he became alarmed, and hastened through the valley so rapidly that in three days' time he had crossed the second desert. From this point he made a detour in the direction of the country lying to the East, about which he had been told on his first coming. Without venturing to penetrate into it, he contented himself with observing the approaches, when he found seven small villages in a verdant valley, but in the distance he could see the smoke of a fine city. He was informed that the country was very rich in gold, but that the inhabitants refused all intercourse with strangers. Nevertheless, he planted two more crosses here, and took formal possession of the country. From this point he retraced his steps as speedily as possible to Compostella, where he rejoined Coronado, and sent immediate notice of his return to the Viceroy.

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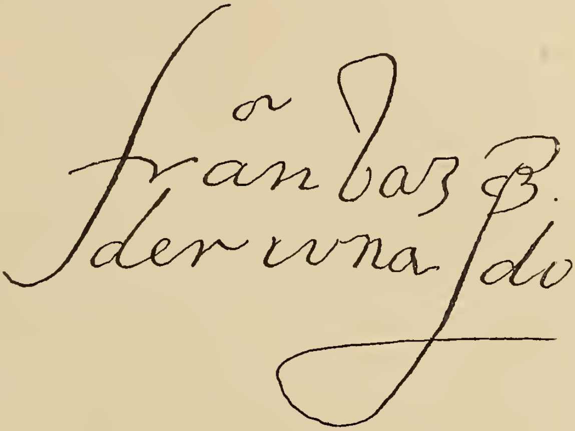
[1] Castañeda, however, relates the circumstances of Stephen's death somewhat differently, stating that the negro and his party, on their arrival at Cibola, were shut up in a house outside the city, while for three days the chiefs continued to question him about the object of his coming. When told that he was a messenger from two white men, who had been sent by a powerful prince to instruct them in heavenly things, they would not believe that a black man could possibly have come from a land of white men, and they suspected him of being the spy of some nation that wished to subjugate them. Moreover, the negro had the assurance to demand from them their property and their women; upon which they resolved to put him to death, without, however, harming any of those with him, all of whom, with the exception of a few boys, were sent back, to the number of sixty. (*Relation*, p. 12.) This latter statement, as well as that in relation to the libidinous practices of the negro, are confirmed by Coronado. *Relation;* Hakluyt's *Collection of Voyages* (*Principall Navigations*), iii. 454.

While Fray Marcos had been absent upon his journey, Coronado had himself been occupied in searching for a province lying somewhere to the north of his own dominions, called Topira. After a toilsome march through a mountain region this was reached, and proved to be entirely different from what it had been reported; and he had just returned from this fruitless expedition, when the monk arrived. So glowing were the accounts he gave of what he had himself seen and what the natives had told him, as well as of the wealth to be found in the islands of the southern seas, that Coronado determined to take the monk at once with himself to Mexico and lay the matter before the Viceroy. There, on the 2d of September, 1539, according to the notaries' attest, Fray Marcos presented a report in writing to Mendoza, by whom it was transmitted to the Emperor Charles V., accompanied by a letter from himself containing a brief narrative of the previous attempts that had been made for the exploration of the country.[1] In a very short time Coronado began to proclaim openly what hitherto he had only whispered in strictest confidence to his most intimate friends, — that the marvellous Seven Cities had been discovered which Nuño de Guzman had sought for in vain; and he proceeded forthwith to make preparations and to collect a military force for their conquest. Meanwhile the Franciscans chose Fray Marcos for their general; and soon all the pulpits of that Order were resounding to such good purpose, that before long an army of three hundred Spaniards and eight hundred Indians of New Spain had been collected. So many gentlemen of noble birth volunteered for this service that the Viceroy was much embarrassed in selecting officers; but at last he decided upon the principal ones, and appointed Coronado, as was only his due, general-in-chief. Compostella, the capital of New Gallicia, was named as the place of rendezvous for the army; and in the mean time Hernando Alarcon received instructions to sail along the coast of the southern sea in order to accompany the march of the expedition. He was directed to transport the heavy stores and to keep up communications by means of the rivers that empty into it. This part of the plan, however, failed of success, as Coronado's line of march soon led him to a distance from the coast.[2]



AUTOGRAPH OF CORONADO.

In the last days of February, 1540, the Viceroy himself came to Compostella, and from there he accompanied the army for two days on its march. But soon the difficulties of the route began to tell upon the inexperienced cavaliers, who were obliged each to carry his own provisions and baggage, so that when they had reached Chiametla, they were compelled to halt for several days in order to procure a supply of food. In doing this a collision with the natives occurred, in which one of the superior officers was slain; and in revenge, all who were *believed* to be inhabitants of the village where it happened were hanged. Soon after this, dissatisfaction began to manifest itself among the troops, which was heightened by the discouraging reports which were spread on the return of Melchior Diaz and his party, whom Coronado had sent by Mendoza's orders on a reconnoitring expedition during his own absence in Mexico. They had penetrated two hundred leagues beyond Culiacan, as far as the edge of the desert, and they gave very different accounts from those of Fray Marcos. Very few inhabitants were seen, except in two or three little villages of some thirty huts, and everywhere was a great scarcity of provisions; while the mountainous nature of the country rendered it almost impassable.[1] The friar, however, strove to encourage their drooping spirits, promising them that they should not return empty handed; and the march was continued to Culiacan, where the expedition was received with great hospitality by the Spanish colonists. Here Coronado left the main body of the army under the command of Tristan d'Arellano, with orders to follow him in a fortnight, while he himself set out on the 22d of April, 1540, with fifty horse and a few foot-soldiers and the monks who did not choose to be left behind. In somewhat more than a month's time he came to the last inhabited place on the borders of the desert, having everywhere met with a friendly reception from the natives. At an intervening village, in the valley which Cabeza de Vaca had called Corazones, he had halted, and despatched messengers to the sea-coast, which was five days' journey distant, and learned that a vessel had been seen passing by. The place which he had now reached bore the name of Chichilticalli, or The Red House, and it proved to be something very different from what Fray Marcos had reported. Instead of a populous town at a distance of five leagues from the sea, he found merely a single ruinous, roofless structure, at least ten days' journey from the coast. Nevertheless, it bore the appearance of having once been a fortified work which had been constructed out of red earth by a civilized people, but had been destroyed in former times by some barbarous enemy.[2] Here Coronado entered upon the desert, and proceeding in a northeasterly direction he came in a fortnight's time to a river, to which the name of the Vermejo was given, on account of its turbid waters. This was only eight leagues distant from Cibola, where they arrived on the following day, sometime early in July, having only escaped by the general's prudence from falling into an ambuscade of hostile natives.[1]

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[1] Ternaux-Compans, ix. 283, 290.

[2] Alarcon set sail on the 9th of May, 1540, and by penetrating to the upper extremity of the Gulf of California, proved that California was not an island, as had been supposed. He made two attempts to ascend the Colorado in boats, and planted a cross at the highest point he reached, burying at its foot a writing, which, as will be seen, was subsequently found by Melchior Diaz. His report of this voyage, containing valuable information in regard to the natives, can be found in Hakluyt, *Voyages*, iii. 505 (ed. 1810); translated from Ramusio, *Navigationi*, iii. 363 (ed. 1565). There is a French translation in Ternaux-Compans, ix. 299. This information about California is supplemented by the narrative of the voyage made two years later by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo along the Pacific shore of the peninsula, and up the northwest coast probably as far as the southern border of Oregon. It was printed in Buckingham Smith's *Coleccion*, p. 173; and subsequently in Pacheco's *Documentos inéditos*, tom. xiv. p. 165. A translation by Mr. R. S. Evans, with valuable notes by Mr. H. W. Henshaw, is given in vol. vii. (Archæology) of *United States Geological Survey west of the one hundredth Meridian*. [See also the present volume, p. 443. — ED.]

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[1] Extracts from a report sent back by Melchior Diaz while on this journey are given in a letter from Mendoza to the Emperor Charles V., dated April 17, 1540, in Ternaux-Compans, ix. 290.

[2] Chichiltic-calli, or Red House, is generally supposed to be the ruined structure, called *Casa Grande*, in southern Arizona, near Florence, a little south of the river Gila, and not far from the Southern Pacific Railroad. But Mr. A. F. Bandelier, after a thorough topographical exploration of the regions, is inclined to place it considerably to the southeast of this point, upon the river Arivaypa, in the vicinity of Fort Grant. [This question is further examined in Vol. I. of the present History. — ED.]

Cibola turned out to be even a greater disappointment than the Red House, and many were the maledictions showered upon the monk by the soldiers. Instead of the great city which he had reported, it proved to be only a little village of not more than two hundred inhabitants, situated upon a rocky eminence, and difficult of access.[2] From its resemblance in situation, Coronado gave the name of Granada to the village; and he states that the name Cibola properly belonged to the whole district containing seven towns, and not to any particular place. As the natives continued to manifest a hostile disposition, and the army was almost famished from lack of food, it was resolved to attempt to carry it at once by assault, in order to get at the abundance of provisions stored there. But the inhabitants made such a stout resistance with missiles and showers of stones, that it would have gone hard with the Spaniards if it had not been for the protection of their armor. As it was, Coronado himself was twice felled to the earth, and his life was only saved by the devotion of one of his officers, who shielded him with his own body. However, in less than an hour's time the place was captured, though several of the horses of the Spaniards were killed, and a few of the assailants wounded. But when once possession of this strong point was secured, the whole district was speedily reduced to submission.

Here Coronado awaited the arrival of the main body of his army before attempting to penetrate farther into the country; and from this place he transmitted to the Viceroy, under date of Aug. 3, 1540, a report of what he had already accomplished, in which his disappointment about the character of the region through which he had journeyed was very plainly expressed, as well as his entire disbelief in the truth of the reports which Fray Marcos had brought back respecting the rich and powerful kingdoms lying at a distance. He shows that he had discovered the inherent defect of the country by laying particular stress upon the "great want of pasture;" and says that he had learned that "what the Indians worship is water, for it causeth their corn to grow and maintaineth their life." [1] With this despatch he sent specimens of the garments worn by the natives and of their weapons, and also "two cloths painted with the beasts of the country;" he also reports that the natives possessed a certain amount of gold and silver, but that he could not discover whence they procured it.

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[1] Jaramillo has given a very full itinerary of this march, describing with great particularity the nature of the country and the streams crossed (Ternaux-Compans, ix. 365-369). When the results of the latest explorations of Mr. A. F. Bandelier in this region are published by the Archæological Institute of America, there is good reason to hope for an exact identification of most if not all these localities, which at present is impossible. There can be little doubt, however, that the Vermejo is the Colorado Chiquito.

[2] In the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1881, I have given in detail the reasons for identifying Cibola with the region of the present Zuñi pueblos. Mr. Frank H. Cushing has made the important discovery that this tribe has preserved the tradition of the coming of Fray Marcos, and of the killing of the negro Stephen, whom they call "the black Mexican," at the ruined pueblo called Quaquima. They claim also to have a tradition of the visit of Coronado, and even of Cabeza de Vaca.

While waiting at Cibola the arrival of the main body of the army, Coronado sent out a small party under Pedro de Tobar to explore a province lying some twenty leagues or more to the northwest, called Tusayan,[2] where there were said to be seven cities, with houses built like those of Cibola, and inhabited by a warlike people. Tobar succeeded in approaching close to the first of these without being observed, as the natives now seldom ventured far from their houses on account of the fear inspired by the rumors spread abroad that Cibola had been captured by a fierce people mounted upon animals that devoured human flesh. However, as soon as the Spaniards were discovered, the natives showed a bold front, advancing to meet them in good order, and well armed. Drawing a line in the sand, they forbade the Spaniards crossing it, and wounded the horse of a soldier who ventured to leap over it; whereupon a friar named Juan de Padilla, who had been a soldier in his youth, urged the captain to make an onslaught upon them, and the natives were soon put to flight and many of them slain. In a short time all this province gave in its submission, and peaceable relations were once more established. The natives brought as gifts to the Spaniards turquoises, tanned skins, maize, and other provisions, and especially cotton stuffs, which were regarded by them as the choicest present, since it did not grow in their own country. They also gave information about a large river lying farther to the west, on whose banks, at some days' journey down the stream, there dwelt a race of very large men. Tobar returned to Cibola with this report, and Coronado immediately despatched a second exploring party to verify it, under García Lopez de Cardenas. These were well received on their way by the people of Tusayan, who supplied them with guides and provisions for the journey. For twenty days their march lay through a desert, at the end of which they came to the banks of a river which seemed to them to be elevated "three or four leagues in the air." So steep were these banks that it was impossible to descend to the water, which appeared so far away as to seem to be only an arm's-length in width, and yet their guides assured them that it was over half a league broad. Although it was summer time, it was quite cold, and the country was covered with a growth of stunted pines. For three days they followed the bank in search of a passage; and some volunteers who made the attempt returned with the report that they had only been able to accomplish a third of the descent, and that rocks which had seemed scarcely as high as a man, were found to be loftier than the towers

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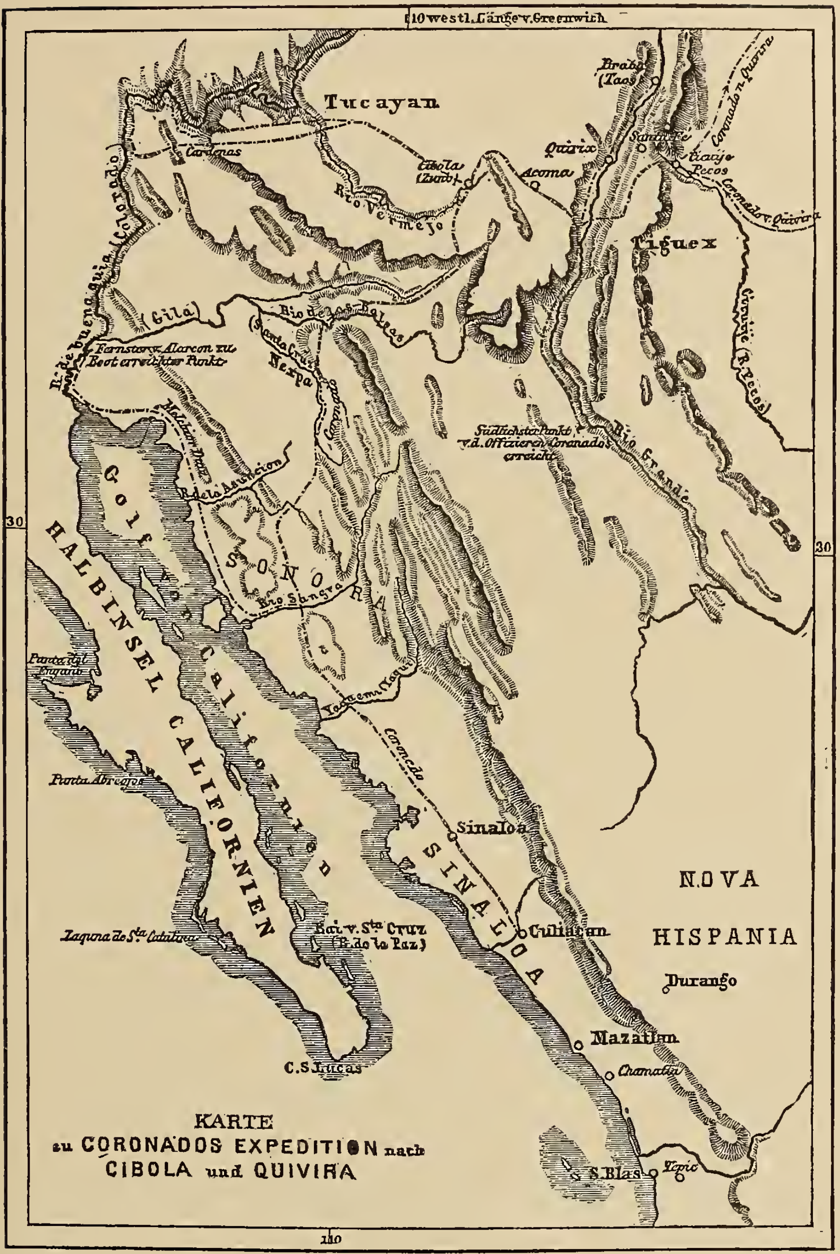
[1] Coronado's relation as given in English in Hakluyt, *Collection of Voyages*, etc., iii. 453 (reprint, London, 1810).

[2] Tusayan can be clearly identified as the site of the present Moqui villages. Bandelier, *Historical Introduction*, p. 15.



CORONADO'S EXPEDITION.[1]

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[1] The map given in Ruge's *Das Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, p. 417. With slight corrections, this is as accurate as our present information permits. Melchior Diaz penetrated farther north, and crossed the Colorado. Tiguex should be placed west of the Rio Grande, between Acoma and Quirex. The Rio "Sangra" is probably a mistake for "Sonora."

of Seville Cathedral. For three or four days more they continued on; but at length they were forced to return by want of water, which they had been obliged to seek for every night a league or two back from the river, and retraced their steps to Cibola.[1]

In the mean time the main body of the army, which had been left at Culiacan under the command of Tristan d'Arellano, with orders to follow Coronado in a fortnight, set out, and slowly advancing reached at length Cabeza de Vaca's province of Corazones. Here it was thought best to attempt to establish a colony; but owing to the difficulty of procuring a sufficient supply of food, it was subsequently transferred to the spot in the valley of the river which is now called Sonora. From here Don Roderigo Maldonado was despatched down the river in the hope of finding Alarcon's vessels. He returned without having accomplished his purpose, but brought back with him a native of huge stature, and reported that a nation of still larger men dwelt farther down the coast. The whole army now transferred itself across the river to the new colony, and there waited for further orders from Coronado.

About the middle of September, 1540,[2] Melchior Diaz and Juan Gallegos arrived from Cibola with instructions for the army to proceed thither at once. Gallegos continued on to Mexico, carrying to the Viceroy an account of the discoveries; and with him went Fray Marcos, who dared not remain any longer with the army, so incensed were they with him for his gross misrepresentations. Diaz was ordered to remain at the new colony in the capacity of governor, and to seek to put himself in communication with Alarcon's vessels. Immediately the army took up its march for Cibola, but Arellano remained behind. As soon as they had departed, Diaz set out to explore the sea-coast, leaving Diego d'Alcarraz in command in his stead, who turned out to be very poorly fitted to exercise authority, so that disorders and mutinies broke out. Diaz himself, after marching one hundred and fifty leagues in a southwesterly direction (as Castañeda reports),[3] struck the Tizon at some distance from its mouth, at a place where it was at least half a league wide. Here he found a race of huge men dwelling together in large numbers in underground cabins roofed with straw, from whom he learned that the vessels had been seen three days' march down the stream. Upon reaching the spot indicated, which the natives told him was fifteen leagues from its mouth, he came upon a tree with an inscription upon it, and buried under it he found a writing stating that Alarcon had come so far,[4] and after waiting there awhile had returned to New Spain. It also contained the information that this supposed south sea was actually a gulf which separated the mainland from what had been called the Island of California. With the intention of exploring this peninsula, Diaz proceeded up the river five or six days' march in the hope of finding a ford, and at length attempted to cross by means of rafts. The natives, whose assistance he had called in to help construct them, proved treacherous, and laid a plot to attack the Spaniards on both banks of the river, while a portion were in the act of crossing. When this was detected, they made their assault boldly, but were speedily put to flight. Diaz then continued his journey along the coast, which took here a southeasterly direction, until he reached a volcanic region where farther progress became impossible. While retracing his steps, he met with an accident which put an end to his life; but the rest of his party returned to Sonora in safety.

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[1] It is plain that this river was the Colorado; the description of the Grand Cañon cannot fail to be recognized. Bandelier, *Historical Introduction*, p. 15. The name by which it was called was the Tizon, the Spanish word for "firebrand," which the natives dwelling upon its banks were reported to be in the habit of carrying upon their winter journeyings. Castañeda, p. 50.

[2] Castañeda, *Relation*, p. 48; Ibid., p. 46, "Middle of October."

[3] Davis (*Spanish Conquest*, p. 160) suggests that he should have written "northwest." The anonymous Relacion (Pacheco's *Documentos Inéditos*, tom. xiv. p. 321) states that he travelled "westward."

[4] [See *ante*, p. 443, in the section of "Discoveries on the Pacific Coast." — Ed.]

While Diaz was making these explorations, the main body of the army had continued on to Chichilticalli without having encountered any other peril than being severely poisoned from having eaten preserved fruits that had been given to them by the natives. Castañeda records their falling in with a flock of large mountain sheep, which ran so swiftly that they could not be captured. When within a day's march of Cibola they were overtaken by a terrible storm, accompanied by a heavy snow-fall, which caused the Spaniards great suffering, and nearly cost the lives of their Indian allies, natives of a warm country. But on arriving they found comfortable quarters provided by Coronado, and the whole force was now reunited, with the exception of a detachment which had been sent upon an expedition in an entirely different direction.

A party of natives had come to Cibola from a village called Cicuyé, situated some seventy leagues away toward the east, under a chief to whom the Spaniards gave the name of Bigotes, from the long mustache he wore. They proffered their friendly services to the strangers and invited them to visit their country, at the same time making them presents of tanned bison-skins. One of them had the figure of this animal painted on his body, which gave the Spaniards their first knowledge of its appearance. Coronado made them in return presents of glass beads and bells, and ordered Hernando d'Alvarado to take twenty men with him and explore that region, and after eighty days to return and report what he had discovered. After five days' travel Alvarado came to a village called Acuco, situated on a precipitous cliff so high that an arquebus-ball could scarcely reach the top. The only approach to it was by an artificial stairway cut in the rock, of more than three hundred steps, and for the last eighteen feet there were only holes into which to insert the toes.[1] By showing a bold front, friendly relations were established with the inhabitants of this formidable stronghold, who numbered some two hundred fighting men, and a large supply of provisions was received from them. Three days' march farther brought them to a province called Tiguex, containing twelve villages situated on the banks of a great river.[1] The presence in the party of Bigotes, who was a renowned warrior well known in all that region, conciliated the favor of the people of Tiguex; and the country pleased Alvarado so much, that he sent a messenger to Coronado to persuade him to make it his winter quarters.[2] Continuing his journey, in five days more he reached Cicuyé, which he found to be a strongly fortified village of four-story terraced houses, built around a large square. It was also protected by a low stone wall, and was capable of putting five hundred warriors into the field.[3] Here they were welcomed with great demonstrations of friendship, and received many gifts of turquoises, which were abundant in that country.[4] While resting here for several days they fell in with an Indian slave, — a native of the region lying toward Florida, which De Soto afterward explored, — who told them marvellous tales about the stores of gold and silver to be found in the great cities of his own country. This man they named "the Turk," from his resemblance to men of that nation; and such implicit credence did they place in his stories, that after penetrating a little way into the plains under his guidance, — where for the first time they saw the bisons, with whose skins they had become familiar, — they retraced their steps in order to bring this information to Coronado. On reaching Tiguex, Alvarado found Cardenas there, who had

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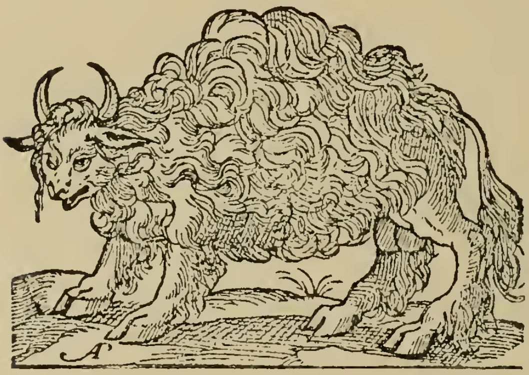
[1] The identity of Acuco with the modern pueblo of Acoma is perfectly established. See the plates and description in Lieutenant Abert's report, *Senate Executive Documents, no.* 41, 30*th Congress*, 1*st Session*, p. 470. Jaramillo is evidently wrong in naming this place Tutahaco, p. 370. Hernando d' Alvarado in his Report calls it Coco.



THE BUFFALO (*after Thevet*).[5]

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[1] Davis (*The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 185, note) places Tiguex on the banks of the Rio Puerco; and General Simpson (*Coronado's March*, p. 335), on the Rio Grande, below the Puerco. But Mr. Bandelier (*Historical Introduction*, pp. 20-22), from documentary evidence, places it higher up the Rio Grande, in the vicinity of Bernalillo; corresponding perfectly with the "central point" which Castañeda declared it to be (p. 182).

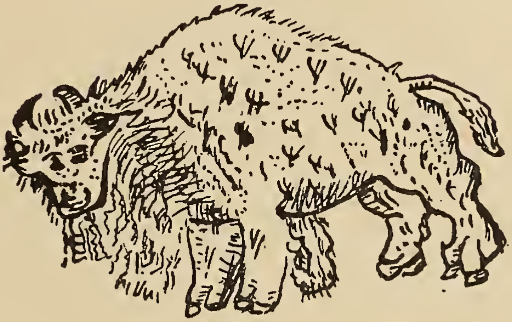
[2] Alvarado's report of this expedition can be found in Buckingham Smith's *Coleccion de documentos*, p. 65; Pacheco's *Documentos Inéditos*, tom. iii. p. 511. He says, "Partimos de Granada veinte y nueve de Agosto de 40, la via de Coco."

[3] General J. H. Simpson, *Coronado's March*, p. 335, has identified Cicuyé with Old Pecos. Additional arguments in support of this opinion may be found in Bandelier's *Visit to the Aboriginal Ruins in the Valley of Pecos*, p. 113.

[4] The turquoise mines of Cerillos, in the Sandia Mountains, are about twenty miles west of Pecos. Bandelier's *Visit*, pp. 39, 115.

[5] [This is one of the earliest engravings — if not the earliest — of the buffalo, occurring on folio 144 *verso*, of Thevet's *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique*, Antwerp, 1558. Davis (*Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 67) says Cabeza de Vaca is the earliest to mention the buffalo. — ED.]

been sent on by the General, in accordance with his advice, to prepare winter quarters for the army now on its march from Sonora. Alvarado accordingly decided to remain in that province and wait for the coming of the army; but in making their preparations for its comfort the Spaniards showed very little consideration for the natives, forcing them to abandon one of their villages, taking only the clothes that they were wearing.



Copy from Sarg maj Vte de Galdivia Mendoza's drawg (traced)

SKETCH OF THE BUFFALO.[1]

By this time Arellano had arrived at Cibola, coming from Sonora; and to him Coronado once more intrusted the command of the main force, with instructions for it to rest twenty days at Cibola, and then to proceed direct to Tiguex. He himself, having heard of a province containing eight towns called Tutahaco, took a party of his hardiest men and set out to explore it. On his way thither, which took the direction of the route to Tiguex, for two days and a half they were without water, and were forced to seek for it in a chain of snow-covered mountains. After eight days' march they reached this place, and there they heard of other villages situated still farther down the river. The people were found to be a friendly race, dwelling in buildings constructed of earth, like those at Tiguex, which province Coronado reached by following up the course of the river.[2]

On his arrival there he found Alvarado and the Turk, who repeated his story about the marvellous wealth to be found in his country, adding many fanciful embellishments, — which were the more readily believed, as he was able to distinguish copper from gold. He pretended that the people of Cicuyé had taken some gold bracelets from him when they made him prisoner, and Coronado accordingly sent Alvarado back to Cicuyé to reclaim them. The people there received him again in a friendly way, but denied all knowledge of the gold bracelets, and declared the Turk to be a liar. Upon this, Alvarado threw the chief men of the town and Bigotes into chains and brought them to Tiguex, where they were kept prisoners more than six months, to the great grief and indignation of the natives, who endeavored in vain to rescue them. This affair did much to discredit the Spaniards in the estimation of the natives, whom their subsequent harsh treatment soon stirred up to active resistance.

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[1] [By the kindness of the Rev. Edward E. Hale, D. D., a tracing by him from a sketch made about 1599 by order of Oñate, and by his Sergeant-Major Vincente de Galdivia Mendoza, is here copied. The original is inscribed, "Trasunto de como son las Bacos de Gibola.'' See *ante*, p. 477, note. — ED.]

[2] Bandelier (*Historical Introduction*, p. 22) places Tutahaco in the vicinity of Isleta, on the Rio Grande, in opposition to Davis's opinion (*Spanish Conquest*, p. 180) that it was at Laguna Coronado subsequently sent an officer southward to explore the country, who reached a place some eighty leagues distant, where the river disappeared in the earth, and on his way discovered four other villages. (Castañeda, p. 140.) These, Bandelier places near Socorro. (*Ibid.*, p. 24.) General Simpson (*Coronado's March*, p. 323, note) discusses the question of the disappearance of the river.

After the twenty days had expired, Arellano and the army started for Tiguex, passing on their way the rock of Acuco, which many of the Spaniards ascended to enjoy the view, — but with great difficulty, although the native women accomplished it easily, carrying their water-jars. They had rested, after their first day's march, at the finest town in all the province, where were private houses seven stories high. Here it began to snow. It was now early in December (1540), and for ten days of their journey the snow fell every night. But there was wood in plenty for their fires, and they did not suffer, even finding the snow a protection. But when they reached the village in the province of Tiguex, where their winter quarters had been prepared, they forgot all their past toils in listening to the delusive fables told them by the Turk. The whole province, however, was found to be in a state of revolt, occasioned by the severity of exactions imposed by Coronado in his anxiety for the comfort of his men, together with the brutality of officers and soldiers alike in carrying out his orders. The General had made requisition for three hundred pieces of cloth; and without allowing time for the natives to allot their several proportions to the different villages to complete the amount, the soldiers stripped the garments off whomsoever they met, without regard to rank or condition, and had added to the injury by offering violence to the women. The people of one of the villages had slain one of the Indian allies and driven off several of the horses, whereupon Coronado had sent Cardenas with the greater part of the force to attack it; and only after more than twenty-four hours of hard fighting, and when many of the Spaniards had been wounded by arrows, were the defenders at last forced to surrender by a device of the Indian allies, who drove a mine into the lower portion of the houses, and filled them with the smoke of burning combustibles. By an act of base treachery they were put to death after having been promised quarter; and at once the report was spread far and wide that the Spaniards were violators of their solemn engagements.

It was just at the time of the capture of this village that the main body of the army arrived; and then the snow began to fall and continued to do so for two months, so that it was impossible to undertake any new enterprise. Attempts were made, however, to conciliate the natives; but they refused to place any confidence in the representations made to them

Force was thereupon resorted to; and Cardenas, after an ineffectual attempt upon one of the villages, came near losing his life by treachery before the principal town of Tiguex, to which Coronado finally determined to lay regular siege. This lasted for fifty days, during which the besieged suffered greatly from want of water; and finally, in attempting to escape by night they were discovered, and a great many of them were driven into the river and perished. The Spaniards themselves suffered considerably, more than twenty being wounded by arrows, several of whom died from bad medical treatment. Two of the officers perished, — one killed in battle, the other taken prisoner and carried into the town.[1]

During the siege Coronado himself made a brief visit to Cicuyé, for the purpose of examining the country and restoring to his home the chieftain whom Alvarado had brought away. At this time he promised to set Bigotes also at liberty, when he should pass by the place on his way to the rich countries which the Turk had told about. This delighted the people, and he returned to the camp before Tiguex, leaving them in a very friendly state of mind toward him.

About this time there arrived messengers from Alcarraz and the colony at Sonora, bringing information of the death of Melchior Diaz, and of the disorderly condition prevailing there. Coronado immediately despatched Tobar to take command at that place, and to escort the messengers whom he sent to the Viceroy to report what had already been accomplished and the marvellous information received from the Turk. Tobar soon found himself involved in hostilities with the natives, and lost seventeen of his men by their poisoned arrows. Not feeling himself sufficiently secure at Sonora, he transferred the colony to the valley of Suya, forty leagues nearer to Cibola; and not long afterward he received orders from Coronado to rejoin the army with the best of his force.

When the siege was over, an expedition was sent out to receive the submission of the people of Chia, a large town situated four leagues west of the river, in whose charge were left four bronze cannon which were in a bad condition. Another expedition was equally successful in a province of seven villages called Quirex.[2]

For four months the river had been closed by ice strong enough to bear a horse; but now it had melted, and Coronado prepared to start for the lands called Quivira, Arche, and the country of the Guyas, which the Turk declared abounded to a greater or less degree with gold and silver. Many of the Spaniards, however, began to have their suspicions about these fine stories.

The army left Tiguex, April 23, 1541,[3] for Cicuyé, twenty-five leagues distant; and with them went Bigotes, who was set at liberty on arriving there, to the great joy of his countrymen. Provisions in abundance were supplied by them, besides a guide, named Xabe, a native of Quivira, who confirmed to some extent the stories of the Turk. On quitting Cicuyé they immediately entered the mountains, and after four days' march came to a broad river over which they were forced to build a bridge, which occupied four days more.[1] From here they journeyed in a direction north-northeast over the plains, and in a few days fell in with immense herds of bisons. At first there were only bulls, but some days later they came upon the cows and calves; and at this time, after seventeen days' march, they came upon a band of nomads called Querechos, busy in the pursuit of the animals. This people dwelt in tents made of tanned bison-skins stretched around poles planted in the earth and fastened above and below. They possessed large packs of dogs, by whom the tents were transported, and obtained their whole sustenance by hunting the bison. Castañeda relates that on one occasion he saw an arrow driven completely through the body of one of these animals. The Querechos were intelligent and perfectly fearless, but friendly; and by signs they confirmed what the Turk had said, adding that to the eastward was a large river whose banks were thickly inhabited, and that the nearest village was called Haxa. Two days' march farther on, the same tribe was again met, and they said that the villages lay still more to the east.

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[1] Castañeda (*Relation*, p. 101) says the siege terminated at the close of 1542; but it is clear, from the course of the narrative, that it must have been early in 1541.

[2] All the authorities agree in identifying Chia with the modern pueblo of Cia, or Silla, and in placing Quirex in the Queres district of Cochití, Santo Domingo, etc.

[3] Letter of Coronado to the Emperor Charles the Fifth; Ternaux-Compans, vol. ix. p. 356. Castañeda (*Relation*, p. 113) says it was on May 5.

As the Turk now represented that Haxa was only two days' march distant, Diego Lopez was sent in advance, with ten light-armed men, to explore it; while the army, continuing on in the same direction, fell in with an innumerable quantity of bisons, and lost several horses in chasing them. Lopez, after marching twenty leagues without seeing anything but the sky and the bisons, was at last brought back by the friendly natives; and his ill success contributed still more to discredit the Turk. One of the force, a native of Quivira named Sopete, had given quite different information about the route; and Coronado therefore sent out another exploring party under Rodrigo Maldonado, who came to a village in a great ravine, where a blind old man gave them to understand by signs that a long while before he had seen four of their countrymen: these were believed to be Cabeza de Vaca and his companions.[2] This people were very friendly, and gave to the Spaniards a great quantity of tanned skins and other objects, including a tent as large as a house. Forthwith a messenger was despatched to bring the whole body of the soldiers to this spot, who, on arriving, proceeded at once to divide the skins among themselves, to the great chagrin of the natives, who had supposed that they would only bless the skins, as Cabeza de Vaca had done, and then return them. While the army was resting here there came a terrible storm, in which hailstones fell of such enormous size as would have done great mischief if it had been encountered in the open plain. A party sent out to reconnoitre came upon another wandering tribe, called Teyas, who conducted the army for three days' march to their town, which was called Cona. This people were hostile to the Querechos, and had their faces and bodies painted; and from them guides were procured, who were not permitted to have any communication with the Turk. These confirmed what Sopete had said, that Quivira lay some forty days' march in a northerly direction; and they led the way to another great valley, a league broad, watered by a little stream, where were vines and fruit-trees in abundance; and here the army rested some time. As it had now become evident that the Turk had deceived them, and as their supply of food began to run short, Coronado called a council of war, at which it was decided that he should take thirty of the bravest and best mounted horsemen and push on in search of Quivira, and that the rest of the army should return to Tiguex, under the command of Arellano. This decision, however, was not well received by the soldiers, who besought their General not to leave them, declaring that they were ready to die with him. But Coronado would not yield to their wishes, and set out with his party, promising to send back word in eight days if they might rejoin him.

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[1] General J. H. Simpson (*Coronado's March*, p. 336) has given the reasons for regarding this river as the Gallinas, which is a tributary of the Pecos.

[2] Jaramillo (*Relation* p. 374) says that this was "much nearer New Spain;" but Castañeda (*Relation*, p. 120) makes them to have passed by this very village.

The army waited fifteen days, during which they killed a large number of bisons; but several of their number lost the way and were never found, although cannon were fired and every means taken to recover them. Then messengers arrived repeating the order to return to Tiguex, and they quitted the valley for the country of the Teyas. This nomadic people knew the region perfectly, and supplied them with guides, by whom they were conducted back in twenty-five days to the river of Cicuyé, which they struck more than thirty leagues below where they had built the bridge, passing on their way great salt marshes. The guides told them that the river flowed toward the east, and fell into the river of Tiguex more than twenty days' journey away. From this point they marched up the river to Cicuyé, where they were no longer well received by the inhabitants, who refused to furnish them with provisions. Accordingly they returned to Tiguex, arriving about the middle of July, 1541.

In the mean time Coronado, after marching in a northerly direction over the plains for thirty days, came to a large river, which was named for Saints Peter and Paul. All this time he and his men had lived entirely upon the flesh of bisons, and often had only their milk to drink. Sopete said there were villages farther down the river; and accordingly he followed the northern bank for three days or more in a northeasterly direction, until he came to one situated upon a branch of the great river. Journeying for four or five days more, he reached in succession six or seven other villages similarly situated, until he arrived at one which he was told was called Quivira.[1] Here he heard of other villages still farther distant on the banks of a yet larger river called Teucarea. Great was Coronado's disappointment at finding that Quivira, instead of being as he had been informed a city of stone houses of many stories, consisted only of a collection of straw-built huts, and that its people were the most barbarous of any that he had hitherto encountered. They ate their meat raw, like the Querechos and the Teyas, and were clad in tanned bison-skins, not having any cotton; but they cultivated maize. The Turk, who had for some time been conducted in chains with the rear-guard, was now interrogated as to his motives in so misrepresenting the nature of the country, and misleading the Spaniards. He replied that his own country lay beyond Quivira, and that the people of Cibola had begged him to lead the strangers astray upon the plains, so that they might perish by famine, as it was supposed that they relied upon maize for their food, and did not know how to chase the bison. One night he endeavored to stir up the people of Quivira to massacre the Spaniards; but being put upon their guard, the Spaniards strangled him, to the great delight of Sopete. No gold or silver was found in the country; but one of the chiefs wore a plate of copper suspended from his neck, by which he set great store. Coronado says that Quivira was nine hundred and fifty leagues distant from Mexico, and was situated in latitude 40°. The soil was rich and black, watered by many streams, and bore an abundance of grapes and plums.[1] Here he remained for twenty-five days, sending out exploring parties in all directions, who found great difficulty in communicating with the natives, owing to the diversity of languages spoken by them, and the want of interpreters. It was now the latter part of July,[2] and it was time to start to rejoin the army at Tiguex. So, after collecting a supply of maize for the journey, and erecting a cross with an inscription saying that Coronado had been

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[1] In his *Letter to Charles V.* (p. 358), Coronado states that having marched forty-two days after parting from the main body of his force, he arrived at Quivira in about sixty-seven days

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(p. 359). This gives twenty-five days for accomplishing the distance to the point of separation, instead of thirty-seven, as stated by Castañeda (*Relation*, pp. 127, 134), who estimates that they had travelled two hundred and fifty leagues from Tiguex, marching six or seven leagues a day, as measured by counting their steps.

[1] *Letter to Charles V.*, p. 360. There is a great difference of opinion as to the situation of Quivira. The earlier writers, Gallatin, Squier, Kern, Abert, and even Davis, have fallen into the error of fixing it at Gran Quivira, about one hundred miles directly south of Santa Fé, where are to be seen the ruins of a Franciscan Mission founded subsequently to 1629. See *Diary of an excursion to the ruins of Abo, Quarra, and Gran Quivira, in New Mexico*, 1853, by Major J. H. Carleton (Smithsonian Report, 1854, p. 296). General Simpson, however, (*Coronado's March*, p. 339) argues against this view, and maintains that Coronado "reached the fortieth degree of latitude, or what is now the boundary line between the States of Kansas and Nebraska, well on toward the Missouri River." Judge Savage believes that he crossed the plains of Kansas and came out at a point much farther west, upon the Platte River. *Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society*, April, 1881, p. 240. Prince (*History of New Mexico*, p. 141) thinks that "Coronado traversed parts of the Indian Territory and Kansas, and finally stopped on the borders of the Missouri, somewhere between Kansas City and Council Bluffs." Judge Prince, who is President of the Hist. Society of New Mexico, adds that it would be impossible from what Castañeda tells us, to determine the position of Quivira with certainty. Bandelier (*Historical Introduction*, p. 25) is not satisfied that he reached as far northeast as General Simpson states, and believes that he moved more in a circle.

[2] Jaramillo (*Relation*, p. 377) says "it was about the middle of August;" but according to Castañeda (*Relation*, p. 141), Coronado got back to Tiguex in August.

there, he procured fresh guides, leaving Sopete in his home, and returned by the route he had come, as far as to the river named for Saints Peter and Paul. At that point, bending more towards the west, they reached the country where they had first fallen in with the Querechos, and had been turned from the direct course by the Turk; and in forty days they reached Cicuyé.

In the mean time, Arellano and the main portion of the force had been making preparations for passing the winter at Tiguex, and had been despatching parties in different directions to procure supplies of provisions One under Francisco de Barrio-Nuevo was sent in a northerly direction up the river and visited two provinces, of which one, called Hemez, contained seven villages; the other, named Yuque-Yunque, two fine ones on the bank of the river, and four others strongly fortified and difficult of access in the mountains.[1] Twenty leagues farther up the river was a large and powerful village called Braba, to which the Spaniards gave the name of Valladolid. It was built on both banks of a deep and rapid stream, which was crossed by a bridge of well-squared pine timber; and contained large rooms that could be heated, supported by huge pillars, superior to anything of the kind that had been seen in the country.[2] Another expedition was sent down the river, as has been already related.

By this time some apprehension began to be felt for Coronado's safety, as the time fixed for his return had expired and nothing had yet been heard from him. Accordingly Arellano started with a small party in search of him, and at Cicuyé he was attacked by the inhabitants, with whom he kept up a contest for four days. Tidings then came from the General; and, contenting himself with guarding the passes, Arellano waited there for his arrival. Coronado soon succeeded in re-establishing friendly relations, and continued on immediately to Tiguex. As soon as he reached that place he set about in earnest to pacify the whole province, and to persuade the inhabitants to return to their homes. The most strenuous exertions were made to procure a supply of clothing for the troops, who were in great distress for it, and to provide in every way for their comfort; so that Castañeda says, "Never was Spanish general in the Indies more beloved or better obeyed than he." In the spring he promised his men that they should start again in search of the unknown countries, about which the Turk had set their imaginations on fire. The greater part were firm in the conviction that the natives were familiar with gold, despite their assurances to the contrary, and that they should find it in abundance. But it is plain from Coronado's report that he did not share in this belief; and the sequel proved that others agreed with him. The region of Tiguex he found far too cold and too distant from the sea to make it a desirable situation for a colony.

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[1] Hemez evidently is the Jemez pueblos; and Yuque-Yunque has been identified as the Tehua pueblos, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, etc., north of Santa Fé. Bandelier, *Historical Introduction*, p. 23.

[2] General J. H. Simpson (*Coronado's March*, p. 339) has identified Braba with the celebrated pueblo of Taos, where such a stubborn resistance was made to the American arms in 1847. Of this, Gregg, in his *Commerce of the Prairies*, had given a description corresponding perfectly with that of Castañeda's *Relation*, p. 139.

About this time Tobar arrived with the reinforcements which, as we have seen, he had been ordered to bring from the valley of Suya. He had taken only the best soldiers, leaving many discontented and mutinous ones behind; and these arrived in the full expectation of finding the General already established in the rich countries about which the marvellous reports had reached them. But their disappointment was somewhat consoled when they learned that in the spring the whole army would start in the search of them. Tobar had brought despatches from the Viceroy, and private letters, — among them one informing Cardenas that he had fallen heir to his elder brother's estate. Cardenas accordingly obtained leave to return to Mexico, and several others went with him. Castañeda says that many more would have been glad to do so, if they had not been restrained by fear of being accused of cowardice. This shows the divided feeling that prevailed. And soon trouble arose between the General, who studied only the welfare of the whole army, and certain of the officers, who selfishly looked more after the interests of their own men; so that some already began to talk of abandoning the expedition and returning to New Spain.

When the winter was over, Coronado ordered preparations to be made to start for Quivira, on the way to the unknown countries. But fate had ordained a different termination for his enterprise. On a holiday, while he was amusing himself by tilting at the ring with Maldonado, Coronado's saddle-girths broke, and he fell to the ground, where he received a blow on the head from Maldonado's horse, which nearly cost him his life. A long illness followed, during which Cardenas suddenly returned in haste from Suya, with the news that he had found that post broken up and the inhabitants massacred. It seems that the discontented element left behind by Tobar, — pretending that they had been abandoned, and that the route for New Spain had left them on one side, — had deserted Alcarraz and the sick men under his charge, and had fled to Culiacan. Upon this the natives became insubordinate, and one night made an attack upon the enfeebled force with poisoned arrows, killing a number of them. The rest escaped on foot to Corazones, whose people, always friendly to the Spaniards, aided them on their way to Culiacan, where they, as well as the mutineers, were found by Gallegos not long afterward, when he arrived there with reinforcements.

The news of this calamity was so afflicting to Coronado that he grew worse, or, as Castañeda intimates, feigned to do so, as he had allowed himself to give way to the influence of superstitious terrors. In his youth the prediction had been made that he would become lord of a distant land, and that he would lose his life there by a fall. This now seemed to him to be in the way of accomplishment, and he longed to return to die with his wife and children. The surgeon had kept him informed of the discontent that prevailed among a portion of his force, and he accordingly took secret counsel with certain of the officers, in which it was agreed that they should persuade their men to present a petition, praying that they might be allowed to return to New Spain. A council of war was then held, at which the conclusion was reached that the country was neither sufficiently rich nor populous to make it worth the holding. Coronado thereupon issued the necessary orders for the return march. Some of the officers, however, repented of their decision, and asked the General to give them sixty picked men, with which to maintain themselves until reinforcements should be sent by the Viceroy; or for him to take that number of men for his escort, and leave the command of the expedition to some other person. But the army would not listen to either of these propositions, as they had no inclination to make the trial of any new commander. The consequence was that the zeal and affection of some of the officers for their chief disappeared, though that of the men still held firm.

It was in the early part of April, 1542, that the army began its return march to New Spain. Two of the missionaries remained behind, in the hope of making proselytes of the natives. One of them, a lay brother named Luis, remained at Cicuyé; the other, Juan de Padilla, who had led the charge at Tusayan, continued on to Quivira with some native converts; where, in the words of Castañeda, he speedily "received the martyr's crown." To better insure the safety of the priests, Coronado ordered his men to set at liberty their native slaves, and then started for Cibola. On the journey thither the horses, which thus far had kept in excellent condition, began to die in great numbers. The army accordingly rested a while there before entering upon the desert lying between that place and Chichilticalli; and some Christianized Indians from Mexico remained behind at Cibola, where they were found by Antonio de Espejo, forty-one years afterward, in 1583.[1]

The crossing of the desert was uneventful, and two days after they reached Chichilticalli, Gallegos arrived there from the Viceroy with reinforcements of men and munitions of war. Great was his dismay at finding the army on its way back, and all the splendid visions dissipated that the Turk had conjured up. Those of the officers who had offered to remain and hold the country until the Viceroy's commands should be received, now renewed their proposition; but the soldiers refused to return, and clamored to be led back to New Spain. Coronado found himself powerless to constrain them, even if he possessed the inclination to do so; nor was his authority sufficient to enable him to inflict any punishment upon the deserters who had abandoned Alcarraz at Suya. During the march, Castañeda says that Coronado kept up the fiction of being ill, and only allowed his intimates access to his person. The natives, seeing that the country was being abandoned by the Spaniards, kept up a succession of hostile encounters, in which several of the force perished. As provisions began to fail, the army hastened on to Petatlan, thirty leagues from Culiacan, the seat of Coronado's government. All the bonds of discipline had now become relaxed, and even his authority there as governor was not sufficient to reinforce it; but by begging his friends to use their influence with the men, he was able to bring about one hundred of the force back with himself to Mexico. Here he was received but coolly by the Viceroy, Mendoza; his reputation was gone, and soon after he was deprived of his position as Governor of New Gallicia.

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[1] *Carta, April* 23, 1584, *Documentos inéditos*, tom. xv. p. 180; Hakluyt, *Voyages*, etc. iii. 462 (edition of 1810).

Such was the end of an expedition which, as General Simpson says, "for extent in distance travelled, duration in time, and the multiplicity of its co-operating expeditions, equalled, if it did not exceed, any land expedition that has been undertaken in modern times."[1]

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE original sources of information in regard to the early Spanish explorations of New Mexico have been made available for students within the last thirty years by the publication of several collections of documents, preserved either in Mexico or in the Archivo de Indias, at Seville, or in the great national repository at Simancas. The first to appear was the one entitled *Documentos para la historia de Mejico*, published by order of the Mexican Government between 1853 and 1857.[2] This is distributed into four series, of which the third and the fourth contain important historical material bearing upon this subject. Next came the well-selected *Coleccion de varios documentos para la historia de la Florida y tierras adyacentes*, undertaken by the late Buckingham Smith, of which, however, only the first volume appeared in Madrid, in 1857.[3] Then Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta, the accomplished translator of Prescott's *Conquest of Peru*, published in Mexico a valuable *Coleccion de documentos para la historia de México*, in two volumes, the first in 1858 and the second in 1866.[4] But by far the most important of all is the great *Coleccion de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonizacion de las posesiones Españolas en América y Oceanía, sacados en su mayor parte del real Archivo de Indias.* Forty volumes of this indispensable repertory have already appeared at Madrid, between 1864 and 1884, edited by Joaquin Francesco Pacheco and other scholars.[5] A most essential service, however, had been rendered to the students of early American history at a still earlier date by the publication of Henri Ternaux-Compans' admirable series of *Voyages, relations, et mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique, publiés pour la première fois en Français,* of which twenty parts appeared in Paris between 1837 and 1841.[6] Prior to this our knowledge had been mainly restricted to Italian translations of original narratives published by Giovanni Battista Ramusio in the third volume of his *Navigationi et Viaggi*, Venice, 1556 (reprinted in 1565 and subsequently); of most of which Richard Hakluyt has given an English version in the third volume of his *Voyages, nauigations, traffiques, and discoueries*, London, 1600 (reprinted in 1810).

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[1] *Coronado's March*, p. 324.

[2] [See *ante*, p. 397. — ED.]

[3] [See *ante*, p. 290. — ED.]

[4] [See *ante*, p. 397. — ED.]

[5] [See Introduction, *ante*, p. vii. The latest volumes read on the titlepage: *Coleccion de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía sacados de los Archivos del reino y muy especialmente del de Indias. Competentemente autorizada.* — ED.]

[6] [See Introduction, *ante*, p. vi. — ED.]

The different expeditions, in their chronological order, may now be studied in the following original authorities: —

An account of the expedition of Nuño Beltran de Guzman to Ciguatan is contained in the *Primera* (*segunda*) (*tercera*) (*quarta*) *relacion anonima de la jornada que hizo Nuño de Guzman à la Nueva Galicia*, in Icazbalceta's *Coleccion*, vol. ii. pp. 288–306; 439–483. Other narratives can be found in Pacheco's *Documentos Inéditos*, tom. xiv., pp. 347–373, and 411–463; tom. xvi., pp. 363–375. De Guzman first conquered and then colonized Sinaloa, and even penetrated into Sonora, thus preparing the way for the subsequent explorations. Very little information, however, about New Mexico is to be obtained from any of these narratives.

Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca published his remarkable story at Zamora in 1542, under the title: *La relacion que dio Aluar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca de lo acaescido en las Indias en la armada donde yua por gouernador Páphilo de Narbaez, desde el año de veynte y siete hasta el año de treynta y seys que boluio a Sevilla con tres de su compañia.*[1] Notwithstanding the vivid interest that will always attach to this thrilling story of adventure and suffering, the indications given in it of the routes by which he journeyed, and of the places and peoples he visited, are practically of far too vague a character to enable them to be satisfactorily identified,[2] even if we feel warranted in placing implicit confidence in the author's veracity.

The original report by Fray Marcos de Nizza (of Nice) of his *Descubrimiento de las Siete Ciudades*, can be found in Pacheco's *Documentos inéditos*, tom. iii. p. 329; and the instructions received by him from the Viceroy Mendoza are given on p. 325 of the same volume. An Italian translation of the report is contained in Ramusio, *Navigationi*, vol. iii. p. 356 (ed. of 1565); and from this was made the English version in Hakluyt, *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 438 (ed. of 1810). But on comparing both Ramusio's and Hakluyt's versions with the original, not only will it be found that in many places they are mere paraphrases, but that frequently additional particulars have been foisted into the text. Especially noticeable are the many exaggerated statements in regard to the quantities of gold and of precious stones seen by the monk during his journey, or about which stories are told to him by the natives, for which there is not a vestige of authority to be found in the original. Fray Marcos claims to have related what he himself saw or what was told to him; but it is evident not only that he was prone to lend a credulous ear to whatever fictions might be imposed upon him, but that he grossly misrepresented what he had himself seen. This is directly charged upon him by those who followed in his footsteps under Coronado, and who suffered grievously by reason of his falsifications; so that he was even compelled to flee to Mexico to escape the consequences of their just indignation. We think that he fairly deserves the epithet of "the lying monk," which has been bestowed upon him, in spite of the air of probability which pervades the greater part of his narrative. But it must in justice be said, however, that he appears rather to have been carried away by religious enthusiasm than actuated by any personal or mercenary considerations; and with the hope of being able to convert the natives to Christianity, he invested them and their surroundings with the glow of his own imagination. Still, this need not militate against the truth of his statements in regard to the distances he travelled, or the physical characteristics of the regions through which his route lay; so that his narrative will always be important for the students of the topography, if not of the ethnology, of New Mexico at the period of its discovery.

Ternaux-Compans (*Voyages, etc.*, vol. ix. p. 256) has made a most faithful French translation, from copies of the originals at Simancas, of Fray Marcos's report, and of the letter from Mendoza to the Emperor Charles V., which accompanied it, as well as of the instructions received by the Friar from Mendoza.

The story of Coronado's romantic expedition in search of "The Seven Cities of Cibola" has been told with more or less of detail by four different persons who took part in it.

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[1] [For bibliography of this *Relacion* see *ante*, p. 286. — ED.]

[2] [See *ante*, p. 287. — ED.]

We have also three of his own letters and despatches narrating his earlier proceedings. Of these, the first is a brief one, written to the Viceroy Mendoza, dated Culiacan, March 8, 1539, transmitting a report received from Fray Marcos while upon his journey. An English version of this can be found in Hakluyt, *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 434 (ed. of 1810), translated from Ramusio, *Navigationi*, vol. iii. p. 395 (ed. of 1565); and a French translation, in Ternaux-Compans, vol. ix. p. 349. Next comes a short letter to the Viceroy dated April 10, 1539, in which he tells about the preparations for his ineffectual expedition to Topira; Hakluyt, p. 352; Ramusio, p. 435; Ternaux-Compans, p. 352. Of much greater importance, however, is the full report transmitted by him to Mendoza from Cibola (or Granada, as he called it), August 3, 1540, setting forth everything that had occurred between that date and April 22, when he had started. An Italian version of this is given by Ramusio, *Navigationi*, vol. iii. p. 359 (ed. of 1565); *Relatione de Francisco Vazquez de Coronado del viagio alle dette setta cita*. An English translation can be found in Hakluyt, *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 446 (ed. of 1810). Finally, there is the letter which he wrote to the Emperor Charles V., from Tiguex, after his return from Quivira, in which is related the course of events from April 23, 1541, up to October 20 of the same year. This can be found in Pacheco's *Documentos inéditos*, tom. iii. p. 363; and it has been repeated in tom. xiii. p. 261. A French translation of it is given in the *Voyages* of Ternaux-Compans, vol. ix. p. 355.

The four narratives by other pens are —

1. An anonymous *Relacion del suceso de la jornada que Francisco Vazquez hizo en el descubrimiento de Cibola*, contained in Buckingham Smith's *Coleccion de varios documentos*, p. 147. This was afterwards printed in Pacheco's *Documentos inéditos*, tom. xiv. p. 318, but with the erroneous date of 1531, instead of 1541.

2. A second anonymous account, entitled *Traslado de las nuevas y noticias que dieron sobre el descobrimiento de una Cibdad que llamaron de Cibola, situada en la Tierra Nueva*, can also be found in *Documentos inéditos*, tom. xix. p. 529, with the same error in the date.

3. Of much greater value is the *Relacion que dió el Capitan Joan Jaramillo, de la jornada que hizo à la tierra nueva de la que fué General Francisco Vazquez de Coronado;* of which a French translation was first published by Ternaux-Compans, in his *Voyages*, etc., vol. ix. p. 364. The original was afterwards printed in Buckingham Smith's *Coleccion*, p. 155, and subsequently in Pacheco's *Documentos inéditos*, tom. xiv. p. 304, but under the erroneous date of 1537. It is a straightforward, soldierly narrative, well written, and with many picturesque details, and it contains an unusual amount of topographical information; so that it is of great value in establishing the route followed by the expedition, and in identifying the various localities.

4. But if our knowledge of the expedition had been confined to the authorities thus far indicated, we should have had a very imperfect idea both of its events and of its results. In 1838 Ternaux-Compans published a translation into French of a quarto manuscript, of 157 leaves, which he had found in the Uguina Collection, at Paris, under the title *Relation du Voyage de Cibola enterpris in* 1540; *ou l'on traite de toutes les peuplades qui habitent cette contrée, de leurs mœurs et coutumes, par Pédro de Castañeda de Nagera* (*Voyages*, vol. ix. p. 1). Nothing has been discovered in relation to this writer except what is contained in his own account. He states that he "wrote his narrative in the city of Culiacan, where he was living in the midst of misery and dangers, as the whole country was in a state of insurrection" (p. 233). The volume bears the indorsement, "Finished copying at Seville, Oct. 26, 1596." As his name is not mentioned in the list of officers which he has given, it is supposed that he was only a private soldier. The work shows that he was a man of considerable education, but it is evidently the production of a novice in the art of literary composition. It is an attempt at a methodical narrative, divided into three parts, but it is quite difficult to follow in it the order of events. In the first part he treats of the incidents of the expedition, and of the army and its officers; the second contains a description of the provinces, villages, and mountains that were discovered, of the religion

and customs of the inhabitants, and of the animals, fruits, and vegetables to be found; and in the last part he tells about the return of the army, and explains the reasons for abandoning the attempt at colonization. As he wrote more than twenty years after the events he has described, he sometimes signifies his inability to remember precisely the number of miles travelled, or of the days during which they journeyed. He has even fallen into the error of making the day on which the expedition entered Campostello, Shrove Tuesday, 1541 (p. 24), although he gives the correct date, 1540, in the *Dedicatory Epistle* (p. xiv). Throughout his entire narrative, whenever he gives the date of the year, it is always one too large, as can be seen on pp. 101, 137, and 213. He professes to have written for the purpose of correcting the many misrepresentations and fables that had sprung up in regard to the country they had discovered, and the character of the people, and the nature of the animals to be found there. Castañeda impresses the reader as a religious, humane, and candid man, who cannot fail to win his confidence in the truth of the events he relates. He does not hesitate to expose and to comment upon the cruel and rapacious acts of his own countrymen; and he does full justice both to the natural amiability and to the valor of the natives. His various observations show him to have been a man of sagacity and good judgment. Mr. Bandelier vouches for the remarkable accuracy of his description of the country, although the distances generally are estimated one third too great (*Historical Introduction to Studies among the Sedentary Indians of New Mexico*, p. 22). The Castañeda MS. is now in the Lenox library.

These are all the original sources of knowledge in regard to the earliest attempts at exploration in New Mexico by the Spaniards, and especially respecting Coronado's expedition to the Seven Cities of Cibola. The historians of Mexico, from Gomara down, while adding no new information to that detailed by Castañeda, are in agreement with him as to the general facts.

Renewed attention was directed to Coronado's expedition and to the probable locality of Cibola by the publication of the reports contained in the *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance made by Lieut.-Colonel William H. Emory, in* 1846–1847, *with the advance guard of the army of the West*, during the war between the United States and Mexico,[1] and the *Report of Lieutenant J. W. Abert of his examination of New Mexico.* Colonel Emory, in a letter to Hon. Albert Gallatin, dated Oct. 8, 1847, made the statement that he had met with "an Indian race living in four-story houses, built upon rocky promontories, inaccessible to a savage foe, cultivating the soil, and answering the description of the seven cities of Coronado, except in their present insignificance in size and population, and the fact that the towns, though near each other, are not in a (continuous) valley six leagues long, but on different branches of the same stream" (p. 133). He had in mind the villages in the vicinity of Ciboletta, Laguna, etc., on the Rio San Jose, a tributary of the Rio Grande del Norte, about ninety miles east of the present Zuñi pueblo. This opinion was corroborated by Lieutenant Abert (p. 491). Mr. Gallatin thereupon proceeded to prepare for the *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society* (vol. ii. p. liii, 1848) an elaborate essay on the *Ancient semi-civilization of New Mexico, Rio Gila, and its vicinity*, in which large use was made of these military reports, and to which was prefixed a map compiled by Mr. E. G. Squier. In November of the same year Mr. Squier contributed to the *American Review* an article on *New Mexico and California. The ancient monuments and the aboriginal semi-civilized nations of New Mexico and California, with an abstract of the early Spanish explorations and conquests in those regions, particularly those falling within the territory of the United States.* Mr. Gallatin came to the conclusion that the seven cities "appear to have been near the sources of a tributary of the great Colorado, and not of the Rio del Norte" (p. lxxii); but he inclined to the opinion that they had been destroyed by the Apaches (p. xciv). Mr. Squier identified Cibola with Zuñi; but there are inconsistencies to be found between his map and statements contained in his article. In that same year Lieutenant J. H.

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[1] Senate Executive Documents, No. 41, 30th Congress, 1st Session, 1848.

Simpson, in his *Journal of a Military Reconnoissance from Santa Fé to the Navajo Country*,[1] gave a detailed description of Zuñi, which he considered to be the site of Cibola.

The explorations carried on in New Mexico and Arizona, from 1853 to 1856, during the search for a suitable route for the Pacific Railroad, took Lieutenant A. W. Whipple and Professor W. W. Turner over the same ground, and they both came to a similar conclusion (*Pacific Railroad Reports*, vol. iii. pp. 68, 104). But in 1857 Mr. H. M. Breckenridge published at Pittsburg a brief narrative of the *Early discoveries by Spaniards in New Mexico, containing an account of the castles of Cibola and the present appearance of their ruins*, in which he maintained that Cibola was the well-known ruin called Casa Grande, on the river Gila. Mr. R. H. Kern, however, upheld the Zuñi theory in his map, prepared in 1854 to accompany Schoolcraft's *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* (vol. iv. p. 33); and Mr. Schoolcraft himself adopted the same view (vol. vi. p. 70, 1857).

In the year 1869 important additions were made to our knowledge of the early history of New Mexico, and especially of Coronado's expedition. Mr. W. H. H. Davis, who had held an official position in that Territory, and in 1856 had published an interesting study of it under the title of *El Gringo*, gave to the world the first history of *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, Doylestown, Penn. In the same year Brevet Brigadier General Simpson, who had had his attention directed to the question twenty years previously, prepared for the *Annual Report of the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for* 1869 a thorough study, accompanied by a map, of *Coronado's March in search of the "Seven Cities of Cibola," and discussion of their probable location.*[2] In April of the same year there appeared in the *North American Review* an article by the late Mr. Lewis H. Morgan, entitled *The Seven Cities of Cibola*, in which that eminent archæologist made an elaborate argument in favor of the identification of that site with the remarkable group of ruined stone structures, discovered not long before in the valley of the Rio Chaco, one of the affluents of the Colorado, about one hundred miles to the northeast of Zuñi. On this point, however, both Mr. Davis (p. 119) and General Simpson have pronounced in favor of Zuñi, and General Simpson has even undertaken to answer Mr. Morgan's arguments in detail (p. 232). Mr. Morgan, nevertheless, still held to his opinion in his *Study of the houses of the American Aborigines*, p. 46 (*First annual report of the Archæological Institute of America*, 1880) expanded into the *House and House-life of the American Aborigines* (Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain region, in charge of J. W. Powell, vol. iv., 1881, pp. 167–170).

The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico, by Mr. Davis, is a valuable contribution to history, in which faithful and diligent use has been made of the original authorities and of unpublished documents; and it is the only full and connected narrative that has yet appeared of the series of events which it relates. The important episode to which General Simpson confines his attention is treated in abundant detail, and great acuteness and local knowledge are displayed in the discussion of the route followed by Coronado. It is likely to remain always the leading authority upon this subject.

In his elaborate work upon *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, Mr. H. H. Bancroft adopted the Zuñi theory as to the site of Cibola (vol. iv. p. 674), repeated in his *History of the Pacific States* (vol. x. p. 85).[3] This is also the opinion maintained by Mr. A. F. Bandelier in his *Historical Introduction to Studies among the Sedentary Indians of New Mexico*, p. 12 (*Papers of the Archæological Institute of America*.

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[1] Senate Executive Documents, No. 64, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 1850.

[2] Cf. also *Journal of the American Geographical Society*, vol. v. p. 194, and *Geographical Magazine* (1874), vol. i. p. 86.

[3] This is his *North Mexican States*, vol. i. pp. 27, 71–76, 82–87, which is at present his chief treatment of the subject. He touches it incidentally in his *Central America*, vol. i. p. 153; *Mexico*, vol. ii. pp. 293, 465–470; *California*, vol. i. p. 8; *Northwest Coast*, vol. i. pp. 44–46; but he promises more detailed treatment in his volumes on *New Mexico and Arizona*, which are yet to be published.

American series, no. 1, Boston, 1881). This is a very careful and thorough investigation of the whole subject of the geography of New Mexico and of the tribal relations of its inhabitants.

At a meeting, however, of the American Antiquarian Society in April, 1881, Rev. E. E. Hale read a paper entitled *Coronado's Discovery of the Seven Cities*, in which he expressed himself as inclined to abandon his previously maintained opinion[1] in favor of the Zuñi identification, on account of certain newly discovered evidence set forth in an accompanying letter from Lieutenant J. G. Bourke, who argued that the Moqui pueblos better satisfy the conditions of the question. To this the present writer replied in a communication at the following October meeting of the society, under the title *What is the true site of "The Seven Cities of Cibola" visited by Coronado in* 1540? In this all the different opinions are discussed and the Zuñi theory upheld.

The same view is supported by Mr. L. Bradford Prince, late Chief-Justice of New Mexico, in his *Historical Sketches of New Mexico from the earliest records to the American occupation*, 1883 (p. 115). This modest little volume is the first attempt yet made to write a continuous history of the Territory down to the year 1847. It is a useful and in the main a trustworthy compendium. But in the chapter upon Coronado he has followed Castañeda's erroneous dates, as Davis also has done before him, and he has fallen into a few other mistakes.[2]

Henry W. Haynes

EDITORIAL NOTE.

IN the *Don Diego de Peñalosa y su descubrimiento del reino de Quivira* of Cesário Fernández Duro, published at Madrid in 1882, there is an enumeration (pp. 123–144) of the expeditions organized in New Spain for exploration towards the north. The following list, with the chief sources of information, is taken from this book:

1523. Francisco de Garay to Pánuco. *Documentos inéditos* (Pacheco), xxvi. 77.
1526. Garay and Nuño de Guzman to Pánuco, *MS.* in Archivo de Indias.
1530. Nuño de Guzman to New Galicia. *Doc. inéd.* (Pacheco) xiv. 411; also xiii. and xvi. (see chap. vi. of the present History, *ante*, p. 441 and chap. vii. p. 499).
1531. Coronado to Cibola. *Doc. inéd.* (Pacheco), xiv. 318; xix. 529. (See chap. vii.)
1533. Diego de Guzman to Sinaloa, *Doc. inéd.* (Navarrete); B. Smith's *Coleccion*, 94.
1536. Cabeça de Vaca. *Doc. inéd.* (Pacheco), xiv. (See chap. iv.)
1537. Coronado to Amatepeque. *Muñoz's MSS.* in Madrid Acad. of Hist. lxxxi., fol. 34.
1539. Fray Marcos de Nizza to Cibola. *Muñoz MSS.*; *Ramusio*; *Ternaux-Compans*; *Doc. inéd.* (Pacheco), iii. 325, 351.
1539. Coronado to Cibola. (See chap. vii.)
1539. Hernando de Soto. (See chap. iv.)
1540. Melchior Diaz. (See chap. vii.)
1540. Hernando de Alvarado and Juan de Padilla to the South Sea. *Doc. inéd.* (Pacheco), iii. 511; B. Smith, 65. (See chap. vii.)
1540. Gomez Ariaz and Diego Maldonado along Gulf of Mexico. Garcilasso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca.*
1541. Coronado to Tiguex. *Doc. inéd.* (Pacheco), iii. 363; xiii. 261. (See chap. vii.)
1548. Juan de Tolosa, one of the captains serving under Cortés.

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[1] See *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1857, and October, 1878.

[2] No attempt is made to establish a theory in another recent compendium, Shipp's *De Soto and Florida* ch. vii.

1554. Francisco de Ibarra to Copala, New Biscay, etc. *Doc. inéd.* (Pacheco), xiv. 463.

1558. Guido de Lavazares to Pánuco and Florida.

1559. Tristán de Arellano to the Coast of Florida, and river Espiritu Santo. *Doc. inéd.* (Pacheco), iv. 136, xiii. 280.

1563. Diego Ibarra to Copala. *Doc. inéd.* (Pacheco), xiv. 553.

1566. Juan Pardo to Florida. *Doc. inéd.* (Pacheco), iv. 560.

1568. Francisco Cano to New Mexico, *Doc. inéd.* (Pacheco), xix. 535.

1569. Juan de Orozco on New Gallicia, with map. *Doc. inéd.* (Pacheco), ii. 561.

1575. Juan de Miranda on the Country. *Doc. inéd.* (Pacheco), xvi. 563.

1581. Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado to New Mexico and Cibola.

1581. Fray Francisco Ruiz among the Indians.

1582. To New Mexico. *Cartas de Indias*, 230.

1582. Antonio de Espejo to New Mexico. Juan Gonzáles de Mendoza's *Historia del Reino de China*, Madrid, 1589; De Laet's *Novus Orbis.*

1583. Cristóbal Martín to New Mexico. *Doc. inéd.* (Pacheco), xvi. 277.

1584. Antonio de Espejo's continued discoveries. *Doc. inéd.* (Pacheco), xv. 151.

1589. Juan Battista de Lomas Colmenares agrees to settle New Mexico. *Doc. inéd.* (Pacheco), xv. 54.

1590. Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, Governor of New Leon, to New Mexico. *Doc. inéd.* (Pacheco), iv. 283; xv. 191.

1596. Sebastian Viscaino on the Coast.

1598. Juan de Oñate to New Mexico. Bustamante, *Los Tres Siglos de México ; Doc. inéd.* (Pacheco), xvi. 88, 306, 316–320. Of his expedition to the Pueblo of Acomo, Luis Tribaldo of Toledo sent an account to Hakluyt in 1603, and extracts from it are published in De Laet's *Novus Orbis.*

1599. Juan de Humaña to Quivira.

Others are noted from 1600 to 1783. Captain George M. Wheeler, U. S. Geological Survey, is preparing a Chronology of the Voyages and Explorations to the West Coast and the interior of North America between 1500 and 1800.

The alleged expedition of Peñalosa to Quivira is placed about 1662. The accounts of it depend on a *Relacion del descubrimiento del Pais y Ciudad de Quivira echo por D. Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa, escrita por el Padre Fr. Nicolas de Freytas* (1684). In 1882 there were two annotated renderings of this narrative,— one by Duro, mentioned at the beginning of this note, who discredits the journal and gives other documents on the same theme ; the other, an English version, was issued under the title, *The expedition of Don Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa, from Santa Fé to the river Mischipi and Quivira in* 1662, *as described by Father Nicholas de Freytas. With an account of Peñalosa's projects to aid the French to conquer the mining country in Northern Mexico ; and his connection with Cavelier de la Salle. By John Gilmary Shea*, New York, 1882.

Dr. Shea in this volume claims that Quivira was north of the Missouri, while it has generally been placed south of that river. He also derives from this narrative an opinion, contrary to the one ordinarily received, namely, that La Salle was carried, against his will, beyond the mouths of the Mississippi in his expedition of 1682 ; for he judges his over-shooting the mouths was intentional, in order to land where he could better co-operate with Peñalosa in wresting the mines in New Mexico from the Spaniards.

CHAPTER VIII.

PIZARRO, AND THE CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT OF PERU AND CHILI.

BY CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, F.R.S.
Honorary Secretary of the Hakluyt Society.

WHEN the Isthmus of Darien was discovered by Vasco Nuñez de Balbóa, during the six years between 1511 and 1517, there can be little doubt that tidings, perhaps only in the form of vague rumors, were received of the greatness and the riches of the Empire of the Yncas. The speech which the son of the Cacique Comogre is said to have made to the gold-seeking followers of the discoverer of the South Sea most probably had reference to Peru; and still more certainly, when the Cacique of Tumaco told Vasco Nuñez of the country far to the south which abounded in gold, and moulded the figure of a llama in clay, he gave tidings of the land of the Yncas. There was a chief in the territory to the south of the Gulf of San Miguel, on the Pacific coast, named Biru, and this country was visited by Gaspar de Morales and Francisco Pizarro in 1515. For the next ten years Biru was the most southern land known to the Spaniards; and the consequence was that the unknown regions farther south, including the rumored empire abounding in gold, came to be designated as *Biru*, or Peru. It was thus that the land of the Yncas got the name of Peru from the Spaniards, some years before it was actually discovered.[1]

Pedro Arias de Avila, the governor of the mainland called Castilla del Oro, founded the city of Panamá. He went there from the Pearl Islands, in the vessels which had been built by his victim Vasco Nuñez, while Gaspar de Espinosa, the *Alcalde Mayor*, led the rest of the colony by land. The city was founded in 1519. The governor divided the land among four hundred settlers from Darien. Among them were Pascual de Andagoya, Hernando Luque (a priest), Francisco Pizarro, and Diego de Almagro. Nombre de Dios, on the Atlantic side of the isthmus, was settled towards the end of the same year by a captain named Diego Alviles, in obedience to orders from Pedro Arias.[1]

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[1] [Cf. Markham's *Royal Commentary of G. de la Vega*, vol. i. chap. iv. Kohl says that the name "Peru" first occurs in Ribero's map (1529), and that his delineations of the coast of Peru were made probably after Pizarro's first reports. — ED.]

In the year 1522 Pascual de Andagoya, who had come out to Darien with Pedro Arias in 1514 and was a cavalier of good family from the province of Alava, was appointed inspector-general of the Indians on the isthmus. He made a journey to a district called Chuchama, south of the Gulf of San Miguel, where the chief told him that a certain people from a province called Biru, farther south, came to make war upon them in canoes at every full moon. Andagoya sent to Panamá for reinforcements, in order to comply with the prayer of the people of Chuchama that he would defend them, as well as to discover what there was farther south. Having received an addition to his forces, he set out with the chief of Chuchama, and in six days arrived at the province called Biru. It had already been visited by Morales and Pizarro. After capturing their principal stronghold, several chiefs of Biru made their submission to Andagoya. From these people he collected information respecting the great empire of the Yncas, and he then descended a river and continued the examination of the coast in a small vessel which had followed him from Chuchama. But he was attacked by a severe illness caused by having been capsized in a canoe, and then kept for several hours in his wet clothes. He therefore returned to Panamá, to report the knowledge he had acquired, giving up his intention of conducting discovery to the southward in person. It was fully three years before Andagoya had so far recovered as to be able to ride on horseback.

The governor, Pedro Arias, therefore requested Andagoya to hand over the enterprise to three partners who formed a company at Panamá. These were Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque.

Francisco Pizarro was born about the year 1470[2] in the province of Estremadura, and was the illegitimate son of Gonzalo Pizarro, a soldier who had served under the Great Captain in Italy. He had arrived at Darien in the expedition of Alonzo de Ojeda in 1509. During fifteen years he had been diligently serving as a brave, steady, much-enduring man-at-arms; and on two or three occasions he found himself in important and responsible positions. In 1524 he was a citizen of Panamá with very limited means, but endowed with indomitable energy and perseverance, and fifty-four years of age. Diego Almagro is said to have been a foundling. At all events his parentage is unknown. He had probably served for some years on the isthmus, but his name does not occur until he entered into this partnership. Almagro is described as a man of short stature, with a very plain face, and was at least as old as Pizarro. He was hasty in temper, but generous and warm-hearted, and his fine qualities attracted to him many faithfully attached adherents. Luque had been schoolmaster at Darien, and was now the principal parochial clergyman at Panamá, holding valuable property on the adjacent island of Taboga, and in an influential position in the colony.

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[1] Nombre de Dios was abandoned on account of its unhealthy situation, in the reign of Philip II., and Puerto Bello then became the chief port on the Atlantic side.

[2] [Authorities do not agree on the date of his birth, placing it between the years 1470 and 1478 Prescott, i. 204. Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, p. 317.—Ed.]

Pizarro was to command the expedition; Almagro was to keep open communications with Panamá and bring supplies; while Luque acted as agent, and obtained the needful funds.

One of the small vessels which had been built for Vasco Nuñez was obtained, and a force of eighty men (one hundred and twelve, according to Xeres) and four horses was collected. Pizarro prepared to sail with this single vessel and two canoes, having received all the information and instructions that Andagoya could give him, and taking with him the interpreters brought from Biru by that officer. It was arranged that large trees near the sea-shore should be blazed, as guides to the course taken by Pizarro, when his partner Almagro should follow with supplies.

Pizarro sailed from Panamá Nov. 14, 1524, and after enduring terrible sufferings on the coast of Biru, including famine, and losing twenty-seven of his men, he went back to Chuchama, and sent the treasurer Nicolas de Ribera to Panamá with the gold which he had collected. Meanwhile Almagro had followed in another vessel with provisions, and went on the traces of his companion by means of the trees that had been marked, until he reached the Rio San Juan in 4° north. Finding no further traces of Pizarro he returned, having lost an eye in an encounter with natives. He also lost upwards of seventy men;[1] but he obtained some gold.

After this failure it was more difficult to obtain money and recruits for a second attempt. Fortunately, the *Alcalde Mayor*, who was impressed with the promising character of the undertaking, came forward with the necessary funds, which he advanced through the agency of Luque. Gaspar de Espinosa thus became one of the partners. The agreement between the partners was signed March 10, 1526. Luque signed as the agent of Espinosa. Pizarro and Almagro could neither read nor write. One Juan de Pares signed on the part of Pizarro, and Alvaro del Quiro for Almagro.

The second expedition sailed in 1526. It consisted of two vessels commanded by Pizarro and Almagro respectively, with a very able and gallant sailor named Bartolomé Ruiz, of Moguer, as pilot. There were one hundred and sixty men all told. The adventurers made direct for the river of San Juan, the farthest point reached by Almagro during the previous voyage. Here Pizarro landed with his troops. Almagro returned to Panamá in one vessel, for recruits and provisions, while Ruiz proceeded on a voyage of discovery to the southward in the other.

Ruiz made a remarkable voyage, having rounded Cape Passado and reached 1° south. He was thus the first European to cross the equator on the southern passage. He also fell in with a raft under sail, which belonged to Tumbez in Peru, and thus obtained several curious specimens of Ynca art, and some additional information. Almagro made a prosperous voyage back to Panamá, and returned with supplies.

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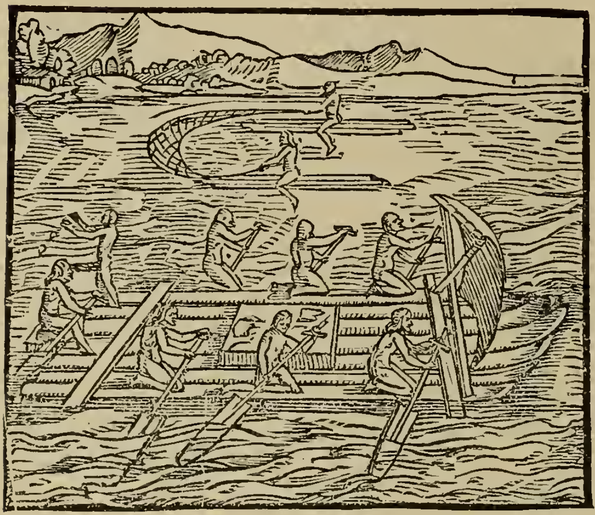
[1] [His followers probably numbered about a hundred. Herrera places them as low as eighty; Father Naharro, at one hundred and twenty-nine. Prescott, i. 211. — Ed.]



NATIVE RAFTS.

Pizarro had been left on a forest-covered, fever-haunted coast, which has changed very little from that day to this. Hoping to find a better country inland, he undertook long marches through the tangled forest; but many of his men perished, and his party returned to the coast, suffering from disease and famine. In this sorry plight the all-enduring Pizarro was found, when Almagro and Ruiz returned.

Almagro had found a new governor installed at Panamá. Pedro de los Rios had superseded Pedro Arias, who was transferred to Nicaragua, where he died in 1532. With the new governor's sanction, about eighty recruits were collected, and with these and a fresh supply of stores Almagro returned to the Rio de San Juan.

The two partners then embarked, and under the guidance of the pilot Ruiz they advanced along the coast as far as Atacames. They were now in the province of Quito, a part of the Ynca empire. Here were large towns, much ground under cultivation, and a formidable array of well-armed troops to oppose their depredations. It was evident that the Spanish force was too weak to make a successful settlement. Pizarro proposed a return; Almagro opposed him, and there was a violent quarrel, which was outwardly reconciled, leaving a permanent feeling of suppressed jealousy and ill-will on both sides. Finally it was resolved that Pizarro and part of the force should remain on the island of Gallo, which had been discovered by Ruiz in 1° 57′ north, while Almagro should return once more for recruits. The arrangements caused much discontent. The men complained that they were being left to starve. Some wrote letters home to Panamá,

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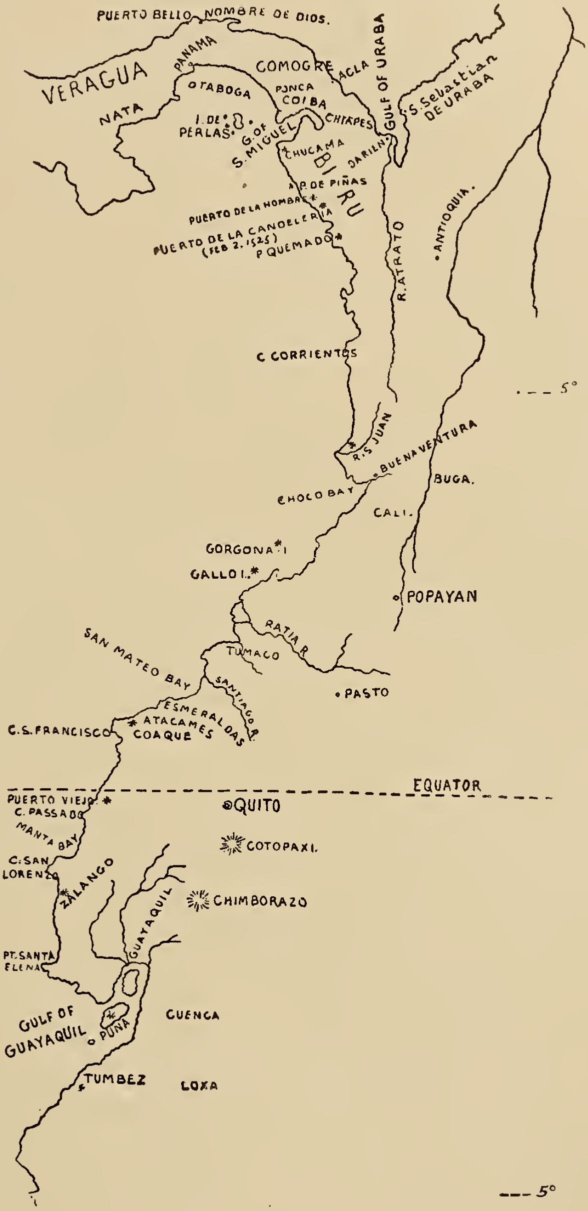
[1] [This is Benzoni's sketch of the rafts and boats used by the native on the Pacific coast of the northern parts of South America. Edition of 1572, p. 165. — Ed.]

full of complaints, which were seized by Almagro. One, however, named Saravia, concealed a note in a large ball of cotton sent as a present to the governor's wife. It contained the following lines: —

> "Pues Señor Gobernador,
> Mírelo bien por entero,
> Que allá va el recogedor,
> Y acá queda el carnicero."[1]

Pizarro, soon after Almagro's departure, sent off the other ship with the most mutinous of his followers. But the governor, Los Rios, was much incensed at the result of the expedition. He refused to



SKETCH MAP OF THE CONQUEST OF PERU, NO. I.[2]

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[1] Helps translates them: —

> "My good Lord Governor,
> Have pity on our woes;
> For here remains the butcher,
> To Panamá the salesman goes."

Prescott (*Peru*, vol. i. p. 257) has thus rendered them into English: —

> "Look out, Señor Governor,
> For the drover while he's near;
> Since he goes home to get the sheep
> For the butcher, who stays here."

[2] [This map and map No. 2 show the modern geography. The development of the cartography of Peru may be traced in Ramusio (1556) in the map of the parts of the world newly discovered; in Ortelius (1584 and 1592) and De Bry, part iii. (1592, a map of South America corrected in 1624); in Wytfliet, 1597 (see map on a later page); in Van Baerle's edition of Herrera (1622); in Sanson, with the course of the Amazon (1656); in Dudley's *Arcano del mare* (carta xxviii. 1647), for the coast; in Vander Aa (1679), and in Boudouin's translation of Garcilasso de la Vega, published at Amsterdam in 1737. Markham, in his *Reports on the Discovery of Peru*, gives a map showing the marches of Francisco and Hernando Pizarro, May, 1532, to May, 1533. Other maps are given by Prescott, H. H. Bancroft, and Helps. The best, however, is in Markham's *Travels of Cieza de Leon*. — ED.]

give any further countenance to the enterprise, and sent two vessels, under the command of Don Pedro Tafur, of Cordova, to Gallo, with orders to take every Spaniard off the island and bring them back to Panamá. Meanwhile Pizarro and his people were suffering from famine and disease, and from the incessant rains. Nearly all had lost every feeling of desire for hazardous adventures. They longed only to be relieved from their sufferings, and hailed the arrival of Tafur with unconcealed joy.

Then it was that Pizarro displayed that heroic resolution which has made the famous act of himself and his sixteen companions immortal. The story is differently told. Herrera says that Tafur stationed himself in one part of the vessel, and drawing a line, placed Pizarro and his soldiers on the other side of it. He then told those who wished to return to Panamá to come over to him; and those who would remain, to stay on Pizarro's side of the line. But Garcilasso de la Vega tells us that when Pizarro saw his men electing to return in the ship, he drew his sword and made a long line with the point along the sand. Then, turning to his men, he said, "Gentlemen! This line signifies labor, hunger, thirst, fatigue, wounds, sickness, and every other kind of danger that must be encountered in this conquest until life is ended. Let those who have the courage to meet and overcome the dangers of this heroic achievement cross the line, in token of their resolution, and as a testimony that they will be my faithful companions. And let those who feel unworthy, return to Panamá; for I do not wish to put force upon any man. I trust in God that, for his greater honor and glory, his Eternal Majesty will help those who remain with me, though they be few, and that we shall not miss those who forsake us." Of the two accounts, that of Garcilasso is probably nearer the truth, because it is unlikely that the embarkation would have taken place before the election was made. It would naturally be made on the beach, before going on board. Most of the authorities give the number of those who crossed the line at thirteen. Xeres, Pizarro's secretary, says there were sixteen. Herrera gives the names of thirteen heroic men, Garcilasso supplying the remaining three; and they deserve to be held in memory.[1]

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[1] (*a*) Bartolomé Ruiz, of Moguer, the pilot.

(*b*) Pedro de Candia, a Greek, who had charge of Pizarro's artillery, consisting of two falconets; an able and experienced officer. After the death of Pizarro he joined the younger Almagro, who, suspecting him of treachery, ran him through at the battle of Chupas. He left a half-caste son, who was at school at Cusco with Garcilasso de la Vega.

(*c*) Cristóval de Peralta, a native of Baeza, in Andalusia. He was one of the first citizens of Lima when that city was founded, — in 1535.

(*d*) Alonzo Briceño, a native of Benavente. He was at the division of Atahualpa's ransom, and received the share of a cavalry captain.

(*e*) Nicolas de Ribera, the treasurer, was one of the first citizens of Lima in 1535. He passed through all the stormy period of the civil wars in Peru. He deserted from Gonzalo Pizarro to the side of the president, Gasca, and was afterwards captain of the Guard of the Royal Seal. He is said to have founded the port of San Gallan, the modern Pisco. Ribera was born at Olvera, in Andalusia, of good family. He eventually settled near Cusco, and died, leaving children to inherit his estates.

(*f*) Juan de la Torre, a native of Benavente. in Old Castile. He was a stanch adherent of Gonzalo Pizarro, and was at the battle of Anaquito, where he showed ferocious enmity against the ill-fated viceroy, Blasco Nuñez de Vela. He married a daughter of an Indian chief near Puerto Viejo, and acquired great wealth. After the battle of Sacsahuana, in 1548, he was hanged by

Nothing could shake the resolution of Pizarro. He would not return until he had achieved greatness, and he found sixteen good men and true to stand by him in his great need. They removed from Gallo to the island of Gorgona, where there was some game and better water; while the others returned with Tafur to Panamá.

The governor looked upon Pizarro's conduct as an act of madness, and refused all succor; but at length yielding to the entreaties of Luque and Almagro, he allowed one vessel to be sent to Gorgona, with strict orders to return in six months. So a small vessel was fitted out under the command of the pilot Ruiz, and after seven weary months the little forlorn hope at Gorgona descried the white sail, and joyfully welcomed their friends with a supply of food and stores. Full of hope, Pizarro and his gallant friends embarked; and the expert Ruiz, guided by information obtained from the Peruvian sailors on the raft, made direct for the Gulf of Guayaquil, performing the voyage in twenty days. The year 1527 was now well advanced. Anchoring off the island of Santa Clara, they stood across to the town of Tumbez on the following day. Here they saw the undoubted signs of a great civilization, betokening the existence of a powerful empire. Their impressions were confirmed by a subsequent cruise along the Peruvian coast as far as Santa, in 9° south latitude. They learned enough to justify a return to Panamá with the report of a great discovery, the importance of which would justify an application to the Spanish Government for some valuable concession to Pizarro and his partners. Pizarro took with him, from Tumbez, a lad who was to act as interpreter, — called Felipillo by the Spaniards, — and also a few llamas. He then made the best of his

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order of the president, Gasca. He was a citizen of Arequipa, and left descendants there.

(*g*) Francisco de Cuellar, a native of Cuellar; but nothing more is known of him.

(*h*) Alonzo de Molina, a native of Ubeda. He afterwards landed at Tumbez, where it was arranged that he should remain until Pizarro's return; but he died in the interval.

(*i*) Domingo de Soria Luce, a native of the Basque Provinces, probably of Guipuzcoa; but nothing more is known of him.

(*j*) Pedro Alcon. He afterwards landed on the coast of Peru, fell in love with a Peruvian lady, and refused to come on board again. So the pilot Ruiz was obliged to knock him down with an oar, and he was put in irons on the lower deck. Nothing more is known of him.

(*k*) Garcia de Jerez (or Jaren). He appears to have made a statement on the subject of the heroism of Pizarro and his companions, Aug. 3, 1529, at Panamá. *Documentos inéditos, tom.* xxvi. p. 260, quoted by Helps, vol. iii. p. 446.

(*l*) Anton de Carrion. Nothing further is known of him.

(*m*) Martin de Paz. Nothing further is known of him.

(*n*) Diego de Truxillo (Alonzo, according to Zarate). He was afterwards personally known to Garcilasso at Cusco. He appears to have written an account of the discovery of Peru, which is still in manuscript. *Antonio,* ii. 645; also, *Leon Pinelo.*

(*o*) Alonzo Ribera (or Geronimo) was settled at Lima, where he had children.

(*p*) Francisco Rodriguez de Villa Fuerte was the first to cross the line drawn by Pizarro. He was afterwards a citizen of Cusco, having been present at the siege by the Ynca Manco, and at the battle of Salinas. Garcilasso knew him, and once rode with him from Cusco to Quispicanchi, when he recounted many reminiscences of his stirring life. He was still living at Cusco in 1560, a rich and influential citizen. [Mr. Markham has given the number as sixteen in his *Reports on the Discovery of Peru,* p. 8, together with his reasons for it, which do not commend themselves, however, to Kirk, the editor of Prescott (*History of the Conquest of Peru,* edition of 1879, i. 303). Helps dismisses the story of the line as the melodramatic effort of a second-rate imagination. Cf. also Markham's *Travels of Cieza de Leon,* p. 419. — Ed.]

way back to Panamá; and it was agreed that he should proceed to Spain and make a direct application to the Crown for authority to undertake the conquest of the empire of the Yncas. In the spring of 1528, after having collected the necessary funds with much difficulty, Pizarro set out for Spain, accompanied by Pedro de Candia. Luque and Almagro waited at Panamá for the result.

Francisco Pizarro was well received by the Emperor Charles V. in an interview at Toledo; but the sovereign set out for Italy immediately afterwards, and subsequent arrangements were made with the Government of the queen-mother. The capitulation was signed on the 26th of July, 1529. Pizarro was appointed captain-general and *adelantado*, and was decorated with the order of Santiago. He was also granted a coat-of-arms, and thirteen out of the sixteen who crossed the line at Gallo were ennobled by name. Almagro was made governor of Tumbez, and afterwards received the title of marshal. Luque was to be bishop of Tumbez, and protector of the Indians. Ruiz received the title of grand pilot of the South Sea. Candia was appointed commander of the artillery. Pizarro visited Estremadura, and from his home took back with him to Peru his four brothers. Hernando, the eldest and only legitimate son of his father, was a big tall man, with thick lips and very red nose, brave and proud, with an uncompromising temper, and ruthlessly cruel. Juan and Gonzalo were illegitimate, like Francisco, and Francisco Martin de Alcantara was a uterine brother. His young cousin Pedro Pizarro, the future historian, then only fifteen, went out as the conqueror's page; Fray Vicente de Valverde, a fanatical Dominican, also went out; and Pizarro set sail from San Lucar on the 19th of January, 1530. On arriving at Panamá, he was upbraided by Almagro for not having attended fairly to his (Almagro's) interests, while careful to secure everything for himself. From that time the old partners were never really friends, and there was

EMBARKING.[1]

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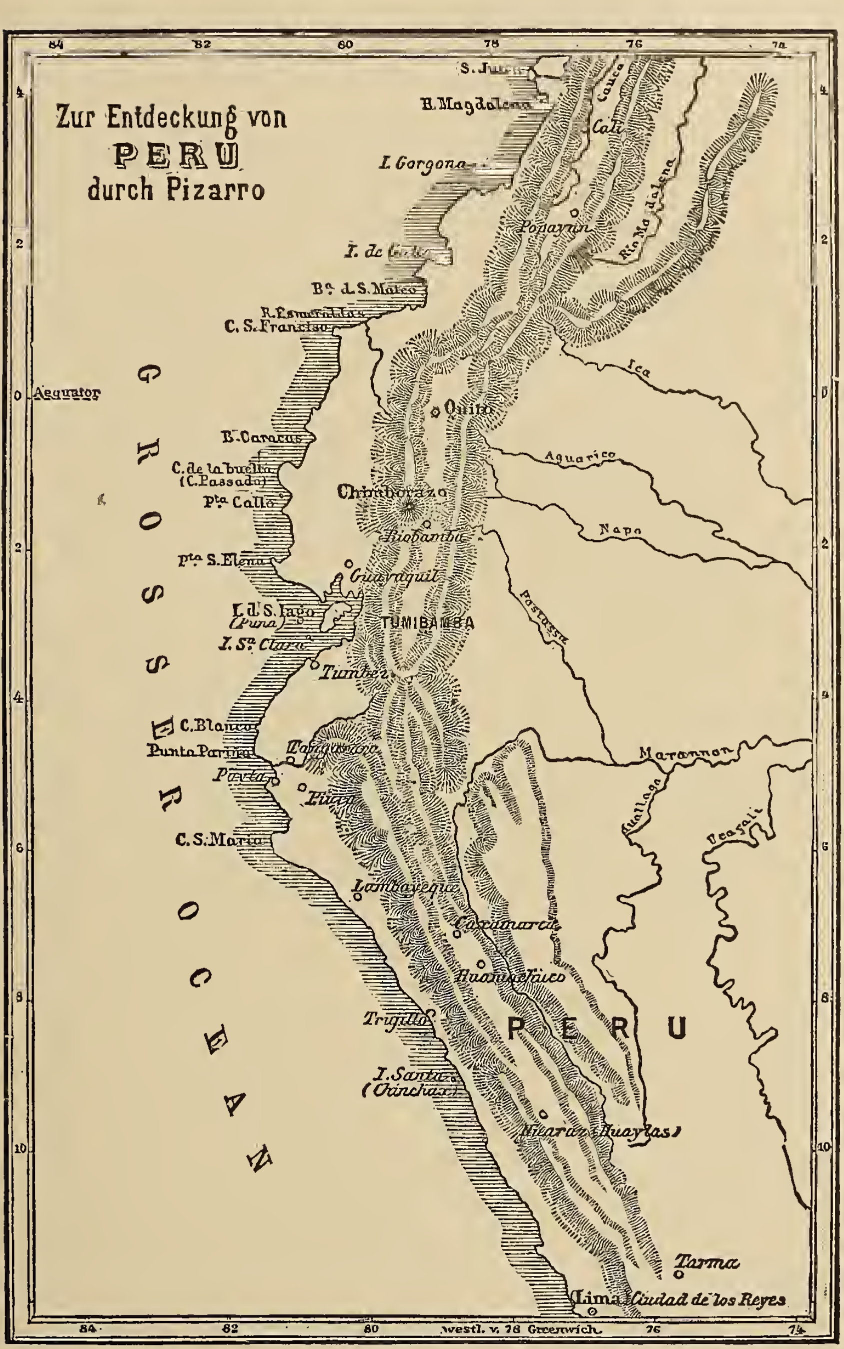
[1] [Fac-simile of a cut made to do duty in various connections in Antwerp publications of the last half of the sixteenth century. It is copied in this case from fol. 23 of *De Wonderlijcke ende warachtighe Historie* (Zarate), published by Willem Silvius in 1573. — ED.]



PIZARRO'S DISCOVERIES.[1]

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[1] [The map given in Ruge's *Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, p. 436. — ED.]

ill-concealed enmity between Almagro and Hernando Pizarro. Meanwhile preparations for the expedition were busily proceeded with at Panamá; and, as on former occasions, Almagro was to follow with supplies and re-inforcements.

Pizarro sailed from Panamá on the 28th of December, 1531, with three small vessels carrying one hundred and eighty-three men and thirty-seven horses. In thirteen days he arrived at the bay of San Mateo, where he landed the horses and soldiers to march along the shore, sending back the ships to get more men and horses at Panamá and Nicaragua. They returned with twenty-six horses and thirty more men. With this force Pizarro continued his march along the sea-coast, which was well peopled; and on arriving at the bay of Guayaquil, he crossed over in the ships to the island of Puna. Here a devastating war was waged with the unfortunate natives, and from Puna the conqueror proceeded again in his ships to the Peruvian town of Tumbez. The country was in a state of confusion, owing to a long and desolating war of succession between Huascar and Atahualpa, the two sons of the great Ynca Huayna Capac, and was thus an easy prey to the invaders. Huascar had been defeated and made prisoner by the generals of his brother, and Atahualpa was on his way from Quito to Cusco, the capital of the empire, to enjoy the fruits of his victory. He was reported to be at Caxamarca, on the eastern side of the mountains; and Pizarro, with his small force, set out from Tumbez on the 18th of May, 1532.

NATIVE HUTS IN TREES.[1]

The coast of Peru is a rainless region of desert, crossed at intervals by fertile valleys which follow the courses of the streams from the Andes to the sea. Parallel with this coast region, to the eastward, is the *sierra*, or mountainous country of the *cordilleras* of the Andes, the cradle and centre of the civilized tribes of Peru. Still farther to the eastward are the great rivers and vast forests or *montaña* of the basin of the Amazons.[2] Thus the length

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[1] [Benzoni's sketch of the native habitations on the coast towards Peru. Edition of 1572, p. 161. — ED.]

[2] See the section on "El Dorado," *post.*

EL INGA ATAHUALPA ULTIMO REY.
del Peru.

ATAHUALPA.[1]

of Peru is divided into three very different and distinctly marked regions, — the coast, the *sierra*, and the *montaña*.

The first part of Pizarro's march was southward from Tumbez, in the rainless coast region. After crossing a vast desert he came to Tangarara, in the fertile valleys of the Chira, where he founded the city of San Miguel, the site of which was afterwards removed to the valley of Piura. The accountant Antonio Navarro and the royal treasurer Riquelme were left in command at San Miguel, and Pizarro resumed his march in search of the Ynca Atahualpa on the 24th of September, 1532. He detached the gallant cavalier, Hernando de Soto, into the *sierra* of Huancabamba, to reconnoitre, and pacify the country. De Soto rejoined the main body after an absence of about ten days. The brother of Atahualpa, named Titu Atauchi, arrived as an envoy, with presents, and a message to the effect that the Ynca desired friendship with the strangers.

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[1] [From Herrera (1728), vol. iii. p. 5. Quaritch in 1870 (*Catalogue*, 259, no. 651) held at £105 the original oil paintings from which the likenesses of thirteen Incas in Herrera's *Hechos de los Castellanos* were engraved, in 1599, with an extra one of Atahualpa, which was not given in Herrera. The previous thirteen are given in small marginal engravings in the border of the frontispiece of Herrera's fifth and sixth Decades, and copied in the edition of Barcia, who throws discredit on the engravings which De Bry had given. These last are reproduced in Tschudi's *Antiquedades Peruanas*. Cf. *Catalogue of Gallery of the New York Historical Society*, No. 378. — ED.]

ATAHUALPA.[1]

Crossing the vast desert of Sechura, Pizarro reached the fertile valley of Motupe, and marched thence to the foot of the *cordilleras* in the valley of the Jequetepeque. Here he rested for a day or two, to arrange the order for the ascent. He took with him forty horses and sixty foot, instructing Hernando de Soto to follow him with the main body and the baggage. News arrived that the Ynca Atahualpa had reached the neighborhood of Caxamarca about three days before, and that he desired peace. Pizarro pressed forward, crossed the *cordillera*, and on Friday, the 15th of November, 1532, he entered Caxamarca with his whole force. Here he found excellent accommodation in the large masonry buildings, and was well satisfied with the strategic position. Atahualpa was established in a large camp outside, where Hernando de Soto had an interview with him. Atahualpa announced his intention of visiting the Christian commander, and Pizarro arranged and perpetrated a black act of treachery. He kept all his men under arms. The Ynca, suspecting nothing, came into the great square, walking in grand regal procession. He was suddenly attacked and made prisoner, and his people were massacred.

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[1] [Fac-simile of the copper-plate in the English edition of Thevet's *Pourtraitures and Lives* appended to North's *Plutarch*, Cambridge, England, 1676, p. 66. A somewhat famous picture by a Peruvian artist, Monteros, representing the Spanish soldiers hustling the wailing women out of the hall while the funeral rites over Atahualpa were in progress, is heliotyped in the second volume of Hutchinson's *Two Years in Peru*. — ED.]

The Ynca offered a ransom, which he described as gold enough to fill a room twenty-two feet long and seventeen wide, to a height equal to a man's stature and a half. He undertook to do this in two months, and sent orders for the collection of golden vases and ornaments in all parts of the empire.[1] Soon the treasure began to arrive, while Atahualpa was deceived by false promises; and he beguiled his captivity by acquiring Spanish and learning to play at chess and cards.

Meanwhile Pizarro sent an expedition under his brother Hernando, to visit the famous temple of Pachacamac on the coast; and three soldiers were also despatched to Cusco, the capital of the empire, to hurry forward the treasure. They set out in February, 1533, but behaved with so much imprudence and insolence at Cusco as to endanger their own lives and the success of their mission. Pizarro therefore ordered two officers of distinction, Hernando de Soto and Pedro del Barco, to follow them and remedy the mischief which they were doing. On Easter eve, being the 14th of April, 1533, Almagro arrived at Caxamarca with a reinforcement of one hundred and fifty Spaniards and eighty-four horses.

On the 3d of May it was ordered that the gold already arrived should be melted down for distribution; but another large instalment came on the 14th of June. An immense quantity consisted of slabs, with holes at the corners, which had been torn off the walls of temples and palaces; and there were vessels and ornaments of all shapes and sizes. After the royal fifth had been deducted, the rest was divided among the conquerors. The total sum of 4,605,670 ducats would be equal to about £3,500,000 of modern money.[2] After the partition of the treasure, the murder of the Ynca was seriously proposed as a measure of good policy. The crime was committed by order of Pizarro, and with the concurrence of Almagro and the friar Valverde.[3] It was expected that the sovereign's death would be followed by the dispersion of his army, and the submission of the people. This judicial murder was committed in the square of Caxamarca on the 29th of August, 1533. Hernando de Soto was absent at the time, and on his return he expressed the warmest indignation. Several other honorable

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[1] [Accounts of the space to be filled differ. Cf. Prescott's *Peru*, i. 422; Humboldt's *Views of Nature* (Bohn's ed.), 410, 430. — Ed.]

[2] [Prescott (*History of the Conquest of Peru*, i. 453) enters into an explanation of his conversion of the money of Ferdinand and Isabella's time into modern equivalents, and cites an essay on this point by Clemencin in vol vi. of the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid. — Ed.]

[3] [Atahualpa was hurriedly tried on the charge of assassinating Huascar and conspiring against the Spaniards. Oviedo speaks of the "villany" of the transaction. Cf. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru*, vol. i. p. 467. Pizarro's secretary, Xeres, palliates the crime as being committed upon "the greatest butcher that the world ever saw."

Prescott (*Peru*, ii. 473, 480) prints several of the contemporary accounts of the seizure and execution of Atahualpa. He says that Garcilasso de la Vega "has indulged in the romantic strain to an unpardonable extent in his account of the capture; . . . yet his version has something in it so pleasing to the imagination, that it has ever found favor with the majority of readers. The English student might have met with a sufficient corrective in the criticism of the sagacious and sceptical Robertson." There are the usual stories of a comet at the time of the death of the Ynca. Cf. Humboldt, *Views of Nature*, pp. 411, 429. — Ed.]

El Adelantado Don DIEGO de ALMAGRO
Capitan Liberaliſſimo.

DIEGO DE ALMAGRO.[1]

cavaliers protested against the execution. Their names are even more worthy of being remembered than those of the heroic sixteen who crossed the line on the sea-shore at Gallo.[2]

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[1] [From Herrera (1728) vol. ii. p. 285. An original manuscript letter of Almagro, Jan. 1, 1535, addressed to the Emperor, and asking for a province beyond Pizarro's, is noted in Stevens, *Bibliotheca geographica*, no. 109. — ED.]

[2] They are as follows: —

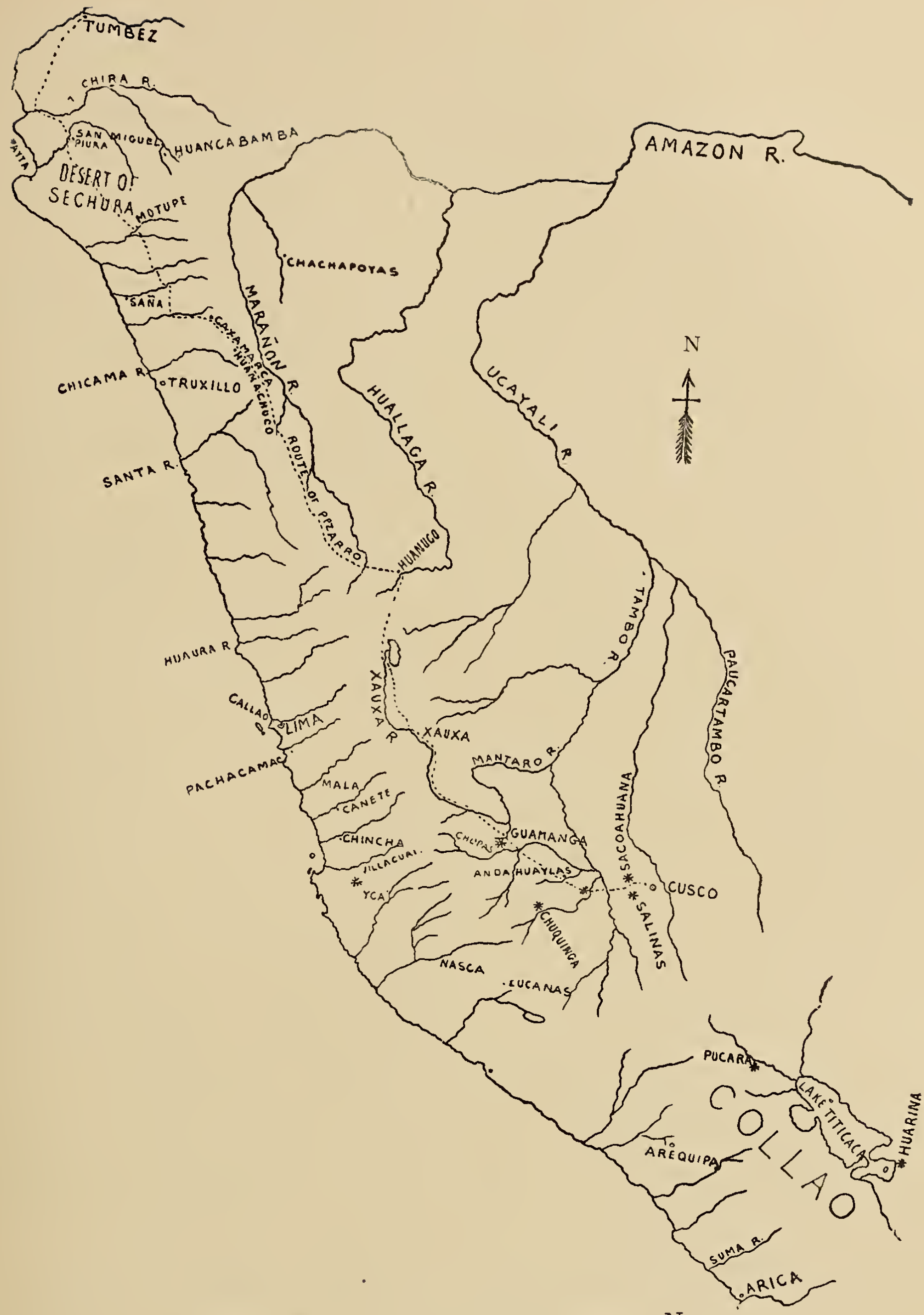
(*a*) Hernando de Soto, the explorer of Florida and discoverer of the Mississippi.

(*b*) Francisco de Chaves, a native of Truxillo. He was murdered at Lima, in 1541, in attempting to defend the staircase against the assassins of Pizarro. Zarate says that when he died he was the most important personage in Peru, next to Pizarro.

(*c*) Diego de Chaves, brother of Francisco, whose wife, Maria de Escobar, introduced the cultivation of wheat into Peru.

(*d*) Francisco de Fuentes, in the list of those who shared the ransom.

(*e*) Pedro de Ayala.



SKETCH MAP OF THE CONQUEST OF PERU. No. 2.

Pizarro at first set up a son of Atahualpa as his successor; but the boy died within two months. A more important matter was the despatch of the treasure to Spain, with tidings of the conquest. The first ship, laden with

(*f*) Diego de Mora, afterwards settled at Truxillo on the coast of Peru. The president, Gasca made him a captain of cavalry, and he was subsequently corregidor of Lima.

(*g*) Francisco Moscoso.

(*h*) Hernando de Haro, taken prisoner by the Ynca Titu Atauchi, but treated kindly.

(*i*) Pedro de Mendoza, in the list of those who shared the ransom.

(*j*) Juan de Rada, a stanch follower of

Peruvian gold, arrived at Seville on the 5th of December, 1534. The second ship followed in January, having on board, besides the treasure, Hernando Pizarro, the conqueror's brother. The excitement caused by these arrivals was intense; and there was an eager desire among adventurers, both of high and low degree, to become settlers in this land of promise.

In September Pizarro began his march from Caxamarca to Cusco, the capital of the empire, with five hundred Spaniards and about one hundred and fifty horses. The artilleryman Candia had charge of two falconets. The march was along the lofty valleys and over the passes of the *sierra*, by Huamachuco, Huánuco, Xauxa, and Huamanga. The rear-guard was attacked by Titu Atauchi, brother of Atahualpa, with six thousand men; and eight Spaniards were taken prisoners, among them Francisco de Chaves and Hernando de Haro, who had protested against the murder of the Ynca Atahualpa, and Sancho de Cuellar, who had been clerk to the court at the mock trial. They were taken to Caxamarca, which had been abandoned by the Spaniards. Chaves and Haro were treated with the greatest kindness. Cuellar was strangled on the spot where Atahualpa was put to death. Hernando de Soto and Almagro led the van of the Spanish army, and they had to fight a well-contested battle beyond the Apurimac, with a native army led by one of the generals of Atahualpa. Leaving a garrison at Xauxa, Pizarro followed more leisurely; and on forming a junction with Almagro on the great plain of Sacsahuana, near Cusco, he perpetrated another great crime. Challcuchima, one of Atahualpa's ablest generals, who had been taken prisoner, was burned alive. Soon afterward the Ynca Manco, son of Huayna Capac, and the rightful heir to the sovereignty, arrived at the Spanish camp to make his submission and claim protection. His rights were recognized; and on the 15th of November, 1533, the conqueror Pizarro entered the city of Cusco in company with the rightful sovereign. The Ynca Manco was inaugurated with the usual ceremonies and rejoicings; but in March, 1534, his beloved city of Cusco was converted into a Spanish town, and a municipality was established. The palaces and spacious halls were appropriated as churches and private houses of the conquerors. The Dominicans received the great Temple of the Sun as their monastery; and Friar Valverde, who became the first bishop of Cusco, in 1538, took the spacious palace of the Ynca Uira-ccocha, in the great square, for his cathedral.

It was not long before the fame of the riches of Peru brought more conquerors to seek for a share of the spoils. In March, 1534, Pedro de Alvarado, one of the conquerors of Mexico, landed at Puerto Viejo, close

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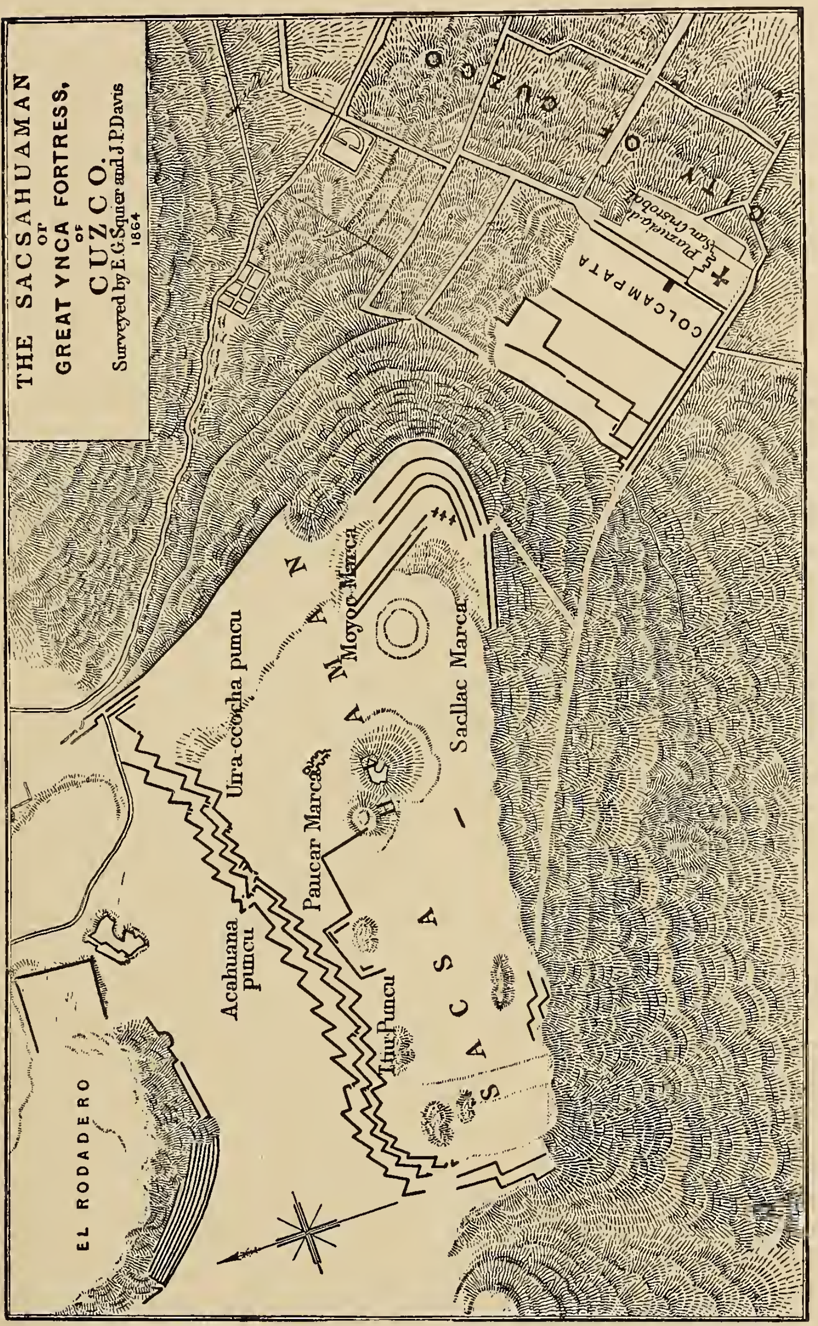
Almagro. He accompanied his chief on his expedition to Chili, and avenged his death by the assassination of Pizarro.

(*k*) Alonzo de Avila.

(*l*) Blas de Atienza was the second man who ever embarked on the Pacific, when he served under Vasco Nuñez de Balbóa in 1513. He settled at Truxillo; and his daughter Inez accompanied Pedro de Ursua in 1560 in his ill-fated expedition to discover El Dorado. His son Blas was a friar, who published a book called *Relacion de los Religiosos*, at Lima, in 1617.

[Cf. also note in Markham's *Reports on the Discovery of Peru*, p. 104. — Ed.]



PLAN OF YNCA FORTRESS NEAR CUSCO.

(From Markham's *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, vol. ii. p. 305.)

to the equator, with five hundred Spaniards, half of whom were mounted. Among them was the noble cavalier Garcilasso de la Vega, father of the future historian. After suffering dreadful hardships in passing through the forests of the coast, the adventurers reached Riobamba, with a loss of one fourth of their number. Pizarro, leaving a garrison of ninety men under his brother Juan at Cusco, proceeded to the sea-coast, where he had an interview with Alvarado at Pachacamac. It was agreed that Alvarado should return to his government of Guatemala, while many of his surviving followers attached themselves to the fortunes of Pizarro.

The conqueror now resolved to fix the principal seat of his government within a short distance of some convenient seaport. He finally selected a site in the valley of the Rimac, six miles from the shores of the Pacific Ocean. Here Pizarro founded the city of Lima on the festival of Epiphany, the 6th of January, 1535. It was called "Ciudad de los Reyes" (the city of the kings) in honor of Charles V. and his mother Juana, and also in memory of the day. The city was laid out on a regular plan, which has been little altered down to the present time, with broad streets, at right angles, and a spacious square near the centre, one side of which was to be occupied by the cathedral and another by the palace. Pizarro appointed municipal officers, collected laborers, and with great energy pushed on the work of building.

BUILDING OF A TOWN.[1]

Hernando Pizarro, arriving with such welcome treasure, was very graciously received in Spain. Charles V. confirmed all his brother's previous grants, and created him a marquis;[2] while Almagro, with the title of marshal, was empowered to discover and occupy territory for two hundred leagues, beginning from the southern boundary of Pizarro's government. Hernando himself was created a knight of Santiago, and was authorized to enlist recruits, and equip a fleet for his return to Peru. The return of Hernando was the signal for the breaking out of a feud between the old partners. Almagro and his friends declared that Cusco itself was to the south of the boundary assigned to the territory of Pizarro. The conqueror hurried from his work of building at Lima to Cusco, and made a solemn reconciliation with Almagro, by a written agreement dated June 12, 1535. Almagro was induced to undertake an expedition for the discovery and

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[1] [Fac-simile of a cut made to do duty in various Antwerp imprints on Peru of the latter half of the sixteenth century. It is copied in this case from folio eighteen (reverse) of *De Wonderlijcke ende Warachtighe Historie* (Zarate), published by Willem Silvius, 1573. — ED.]

[2] There is no record, however, that a special designation for the marquisate was ever granted to Pizarro. It is therefore an error to call him Marquis of Atabillos, as he is sometimes designated. He signed himself simply the Marquis Pizarro.

GABRIEL DE ROJAS.[1]

conquest of Chili. He was accompanied by a large army of Indians, led by two Yncas of the blood royal; and he had with him about two hundred Spaniards. He set out from Cusco in the autumn. Pizarro then returned to the coast, to push forward the building of Lima, and to found the cities of Truxillo (1535), Chachapoyas (1536), Huamanga (1539), and Arequipa (1540). Hernando Pizarro, on his return, was sent to join his brothers Juan and Gonzalo at Cusco, and to take command of that city and fortress.

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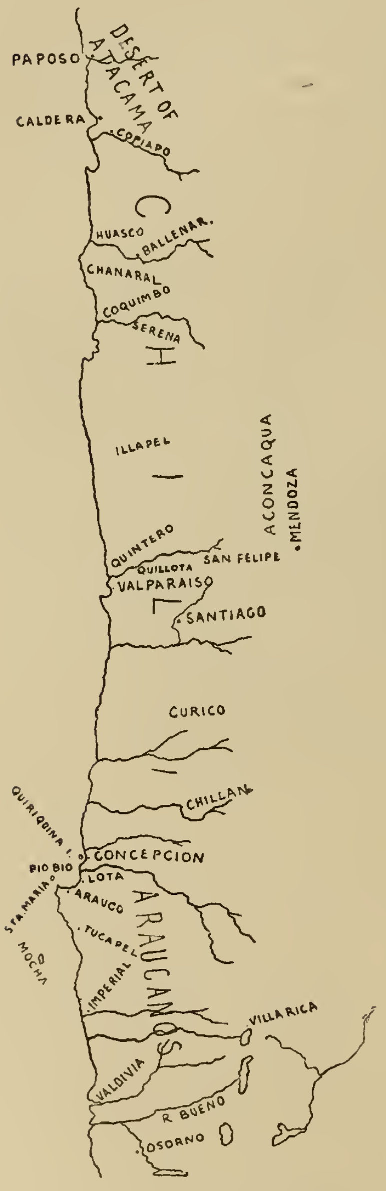
[1] [Fac-simile of an engraving in Herrera, vol. iv. p. 260. He was one of the distinguished cavaliers of the Conquest, to whom Muñoz — erroneously, as Prescott thinks — assigned the authorship of the *Relacion primera* of Ondegardo. He was distinguished at the defence of Cusco, when that town was besieged by the Indians. Later, as governor of Cusco for Almagro, he had charge of Gonzalo Pizarro while he was held a prisoner, and had, later still, command of the artillery under Gasca. He died at Charcas. — ED.]

The Spaniards had already begun to look upon the natives as their slaves, and the young Ynca Manco was not only treated with neglect, but exposed to every kind of humiliating insult. He escaped from Cusco, and put himself at the head of a great army of his subjects in the valley of Yucay. This was a signal; and immediately the whole country was in revolt against the invaders. Juan Pizarro was driven back into Cusco, and the city was closely besieged by the armies of the Ynca from February, 1536. The besiegers succeeded in setting the thatched roofs of the halls and palaces on fire, and the Spanish garrison was reduced to the greatest straits. The Yncas had occupied the fortress which commands the town, and Juan Pizarro was killed in an attempt to carry it by storm. Finally Hernando Pizarro himself captured the fortress, after a heroic defence by the Ynca garrison. Still the close siege of the city continued, and the garrison was reduced to the last straits by famine. Month after month passed away without tidings. At last the season for planting arrived, and in August the Ynca was obliged to raise the siege.



SKETCH MAP OF THE CONQUEST OF CHILI.

Chili, the long strip of land along the west coast of South America, to the south of Peru, had been conquered by the Yncas as far as the river Maule. Beyond that limit were the indomitable tribes of Araucanian Indians. Bounded on one side by the *cordillera* of the Andes, and on the other by the sea, the country enjoys a temperate climate, suited for the cultivation of wheat and the rearing of cattle. It can be approached from Peru either by traversing the great desert of Atacama on the coast, or by marching over the snowy plateaus and rocky passes of the Andes. Almagro chose the latter route. The Indian auxiliaries, led by Paullu, the brother of Ynca Manco, and by the Uillac Umu, or high-priest, marched first, carrying provisions and making arrangements for their supply, taking the road through the Collao and Charcas (the modern republic of Bolivia). The Indian contingent was followed by one hundred Spaniards under Don Juan Saavedra; and this advanced party waited at Paria, in the south of Charcas, for the main body. This was commanded by Don Rodrigo Orgoñez, a native of Oropesa, who had served under the constable Bourbon at the sack of Rome. He was a brave and experienced commander, ever faithful to his chief, the marshal Almagro. The whole force, when united in the distant valley of Jujuy, consisted of five hundred Spaniards, with two hundred horses. The march across the Andes to Coquimbo, in Chili, during the winter of 1536, was a time of intense suffering and hardship bravely endured; but it was stained by the most revolting cruelties to the people of Charcas and Jujuy.

Almagro advanced from Coquimbo to the southward, and his Peruvian contingent suffered a defeat from an army of Promauca Indians. He was reinforced by Orgoñez and Juan Rada, another faithful adherent, who brought with them the royal order appointing Almagro to be *adelantado*, or governor, of New Toledo, which was to extend two hundred leagues from the southern limit of Pizarro's government of New Castile. The explorers now desired to return and occupy this new government, which they claimed to include the city of Cusco itself. Almagro had arranged that three small vessels should sail from Callao, the port of Lima, for the Chilian coast, with provisions. Only one ever sailed, named the "Santiaguillo," having a cargo of food, clothing, and horse-shoes. She arrived in a port on the coast of Chili; and when the tidings reached Almagro, he sent the gallant Juan de Saavedra, the leader of his vanguard, with thirty horsemen, to communicate with her. Saavedra found the little vessel anchored in a bay surrounded by rugged hills covered with an undergrowth of shrubs, and having a distant view of the snowy *cordillera*. In some way it reminded him of his distant Spanish home. Saavedra was a native of the village of Valparaiso, near Cuenca, in Castile. He named the bay, where the principal seaport of Chili was destined to be established, Valparaiso. This was in September, 1536. Landing the much-needed supplies, Saavedra rejoined his chief, and the expedition of Almagro began its painful return journey by the desert of Atacama. On arriving at Arequipa, Almagro first heard of the great insurrection of the Yncas. Marching rapidly to Cusco, his lieutenant, Orgoñez, defeated the Ynca Manco in the valley of Yucay; and Almagro entered the ancient city, claiming to be its lawful governor.

The royal grant had given Pizarro all the territory for two hundred and seventy leagues southward from the river of Santiago, in 1° 20′ north, and to Almagro two hundred leagues extending from Pizarro's southern limit. Herrera says that there were seventeen and one half leagues in a degree. This would bring Pizarro's boundary as far south as 14° 50′, and would leave Cusco (13° 30′ 55″ south) well within it. But neither the latitudes of the river Santiago nor of Cusco had been fixed, and the question was open to dispute.

Almagro seized upon Cusco on the 8th of April, 1537, and placed the brothers Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro, who had defended the place against the Yncas, in confinement. News then came that a large body of men under Alonzo de Alvarado, sent by the governor Pizarro from Lima, was approaching Cusco. Alvarado, with about five hundred men, had advanced as far as the river Abancay, where he was surprised and defeated by Orgoñez on the 12th of July, 1537. Meanwhile some reinforcements were arriving at Lima, in reply to the appeals of Pizarro for help against the native insurrection.

The ecclesiastic Luque had died; but the other partner who advanced the money for the original expedition, the licentiate Gaspar de Espinosa, still lived; and he now joined Pizarro at Lima, with a force of two hundred and fifty men. Cortés also despatched a vessel with supplies and military stores from Mexico.

The Marquis — as Pizarro was now styled — sent an embassy to Almagro at Cusco, under the licentiate Espinosa, in the hope of settling the dispute amicably. Almagro, elated by his successes, was in no mood for moderating his demands; and, unfortunately, Espinosa died very suddenly in the midst of the negotiation. It was broken off; and Almagro declared his intention of retaining Cusco and marching to the coast, in order to establish for himself a seaport. Orgoñez had again defeated the Ynca Manco, dispersed his army, and forced him to take refuge, with his family and little court, in the mountainous fastness of Vilcabamba. Leaving Gonzalo Pizarro in prison at Cusco, Almagro marched to the valley of Chincha, on the sea-coast, taking Hernando Pizarro with him. At Chincha he began to lay out a city, to be called Almagro, which was to rival Lima, one hundred miles to the northward. Chincha is nearly in the same latitude as Cusco.

While he was at Chincha, Almagro received news that Gonzalo Pizarro and Alonzo de Alvarado had escaped from their Cusco prison, and reached the camp of the marquis, near Lima. After some correspondence, it was agreed that a friar named Francisco de Bobadilla should arbitrate, and that Pizarro and Almagro should have a personal interview in the little town of Mala, near the coast, between Lima and Chincha. The meeting took place on the 13th of November, 1537. There was a furious altercation. They parted in anger; indeed Almagro, fearing treachery, rode off very hastily. A cavalier of Pizarro's party had hummed two lines of an old song in his hearing, —

"Tiempo es el cavallero,
Tiempo es de andar de aqui."

It was the last time the old partners ever saw each other. The friar's award was that a skilful pilot should be sent to fix the latitude of the river of Santiago, and that meanwhile Almagro should deliver up Cusco, and Hernando Pizarro should be set at liberty. But in order to secure the safety of his brother, the marquis made the concession that Almagro should hold Cusco until the boundaries were fixed. Hernando was then allowed to leave the camp of Almagro.

But the marquis had no intention of allowing his rival to retain Cusco. Too old to take the field himself, he intrusted the command of his army to his brother Hernando. His rival was also broken down by age and infirmities, and Rodrigo de Orgoñez became the actual commander of Almagro's forces. He retreated by short marches towards Cusco, the old marshal being carried in a litter, and requiring long intervals of rest. The marquis led his army down the coast to Yca, where he took leave of it, and returned to Lima. His brother Hernando then proceeded still farther along the coast to Nasca, and ascended the *cordilleras* by way of Lucanas, reaching the neighborhood of Cusco in April, 1538. Almagro had arrived at Cusco ten days before.

Orgoñez took up a position at a place called Salinas, about three miles from Cusco, with a force of five hundred men and about two hundred horses. His artillery consisted of six falconets, which, with the cavalry, he stationed on the flanks of his infantry. On Saturday, the 26th of April, 1538 (or the 6th, the day of Saint Lazarus, according to Garcilasso), Hernando Pizarro began the attack. The infantry was led by his brother Gonzalo, and by Pedro de Valdivia, the future governor of Chili. Crowds of Indians watched the battle, and rejoiced to see their oppressors destroying one another. The cavalry charged at full gallop, the infantry fought desperately; but Orgoñez was killed, and after an hour the fortune of the day turned against the marshal. His soldiers fled to Cusco, followed by the victorious party, and Almagro himself was put in chains and confined in the same prison where he had put the Pizarros. His young son Diego, — by an Indian girl of Panamá, — to whom the old man was devotedly attached, was sent at once to the camp of the marquis at Lima, in charge of Alcantara, the half-brother of the Pizarros. Hernando then prepared a long string of accusations against his defeated foe, obtained his condemnation, and caused him to be garroted in the prison. Almagro was buried in the church of La Merced at Cusco, in July, 1538.

The Marquis Francisco Pizarro received the young Almagro with kindness, and sent him to Lima, ordering him to be treated as his son. The governor himself remained for some time at Xauxa, and then proceeded to Cusco, where he confiscated the property of Almagro's followers. He sent his brother Gonzalo to conquer the people of Charcas. In 1539 Hernando Pizarro set out for Spain; but the friends of Almagro were before him. He was coldly received, and eventually committed to prison for his conduct at Cusco, and lingered in captivity for upwards of twenty years.

Pizarro returned to Lima, and despatched numerous expeditions in various directions for discovery and conquest. Gomez de Alvarado was intrusted with the settlement of Huánuco; Francisco de Chaves, of Conchucos; Vergara and Mercadillo were to explore Bracamoras and Chachapoyas; and Pedro de Candia was to settle the Collao. Gonzalo Pizarro himself undertook an expedition to the land of cinnamon, — the forest-covered region to the eastward of Quito. Leaving Pedro de Puelles in command at Quito, Gonzalo entered the forests with three hundred and fifty Spaniards and four thousand Indians on Christmas Day, 1539. The hardships and sufferings of these dauntless explorers have seldom been equalled by any body of men on record. Descending the rivers Coca and Napo, Gonzalo intrusted the command of a small vessel to Francisco de Orellana to go on in advance and seek for supplies. But Orellana deserted his starving comrades, discovered the whole course of the river Amazon, and returned to Spain. Out of the three hundred and fifty Spaniards that started, fifty deserted with Orellana, two hundred and ten died of hunger and disease, and the miserable remnant eventually returned to Quito with their intrepid leader, Gonzalo Pizarro, in June, 1542.

The marquis had also resolved to renew the attempt to conquer Chili, which had been abandoned by Almagro. A cavalier had actually been sent out from Spain, named Pedro Sanchez de Hoz, to undertake this service. The marquis associated with him a commander on whose judgment, resolution, and fidelity he could better rely. Pedro de Valdivia was a native of Serena in Estremadura. He had seen much service in Italy; was at the taking of Milan and at the battle of Pavia. He had arrived in Peru in 1535, having been sent from Mexico by Hernando Cortés when the governor of Peru appealed for help to resist the Ynca revolt. He did important service for the Pizarros at the battle of Salinas.

Having collected one hundred and fifty soldiers at Cusco, Valdivia began his march for Chili in March, 1540. His camp-master was Pedro Gomez; his standard-bearer, Pedro de Mayor; his chief of the staff, Alonso Monroy. Francisco de Aguirre and Jeronimo de Alderete were his captains of cavalry; Francisco de Villagran led the arquebusiers, and Rodrigo de Quiroga the pikemen. Two priests, named Bartolomé Rodrigo and Gonzalo Marmolejo, accompanied the expedition. Before starting, Valdivia went to the cathedral of Cusco, and swore, in presence of Bishop Valverde, that the first church he built should be dedicated to Our Lady of the Assumption, the patroness of Cusco, and that the first city he founded should be named Santiago, after the patron of Spain. Valdivia marched by way of the desert of Atacama, and at the very outset he made an agreement with Sanchez de Hoz that the sole command should rest with himself.

Valdivia had for a guide the friar Antonio Rondon, who had accompanied Almagro's expedition; and with his aid he overcame all the difficulties of the march, and safely reached Copiapo in Chili. Advancing by Huasco and Coquimbo, he defeated a large army of natives in the valley of Chili or Aconcagua, and eventually selected a site for the foundation of a new city on the banks of the river Mapocho, in the territory of the Cacique Huelen-Guala. The foundation of the church, dedicated

Pedro de Valdibia Governador de Chile.

PEDRO DE VALDIVIA.[1]

to the Assumption, in accordance with the vow made at Cusco, was laid on the 12th of February, 1541. The plan of the city was laid out, and it received the name of Santiago. The officers of the municipality were elected on the 7th of March, to remain in office for one year.

It was not long before the natives of Chili took up arms to oppose the intruders. Valdivia marched against a large body, leaving Monroy in command at Santiago. But another force of Indians attacked the city itself, with desperate valor, during fifteen days, killing four Spaniards and twenty-three horses, and setting fire to the houses. Valdivia hastily returned; and although the whole country was in insurrection, Monroy nobly volunteered to make his way to Peru and return with reinforcements and supplies. He set out Jan. 28, 1542. Valdivia began to cultivate the land near Santiago, and to sow wheat, in the hope of raising crops; and on the hill of Santa Lucia he constructed a fort where provisions and valuables could be stored. But the little colony continued to suffer much from scarcity of provisions. Monroy, hiding in the woods during the day and travelling at night, escaped from Chili and reached Cusco in safety. He succeeded in getting a small vessel sent from the port of Arequipa to Valparaiso, while he himself returned by the desert of Atacama, reaching Santiago in December, 1543. Valdivia was now able to assume the offensive, and the armed Indians retired to a distance from Santiago.

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[1] [From Herrera (1728), iv. 200. — Ed.]

VALDIVIA.[1]

The chief pilot of Panamá, an experienced Genoese seaman named Juan Bautista Pastene, with Juan Calderon de la Barca, was ordered to undertake a voyage of discovery along the coast of Chili at about the same time. He sailed from Callao in July, 1544, and arrived at the port of Valparaiso in August, in his little vessel the "San Pablo." Here he was visited by Valdivia, who confirmed the name of Valparaiso and officially declared it to be the port of Santiago. Valdivia proclaimed the foundation of the town of Valparaiso on the 3d of September, 1544, and appointed Pastene his lieutenant in command of the Chilian seas. The two little vessels "San Pedro" and "Santiaguillo" then took some men-at-arms on board, and proceeded on a voyage of discovery to the southward on the 4th of September. Pastene went as far as 41° south, discovering a harbor which was named Valdivia, the mouths of several rivers, the island of Mocha and the Bay of Penco. He returned to Valparaiso on the 30th of September, and reported his success to the governor, who now had two hundred Spaniards at Santiago, besides women and children. In the same year Valdivia sent a captain named Bohan to found a town in the valley of Coquimbo, to serve as a refuge and resting-place on the road between Santiago and Peru. It was named La Serena, after the native place of Valdivia. The "San Pedro" was sent to Coquimbo to be caulked and otherwise repaired. The governor then undertook an expedition to the south, crossed the river Maule, defeated a large body of Indians at a

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[1] [Fac-simile of a part of a copperplate, which appears in Ovalle's *Historica Relacion de Chile*, Rome, 1648. — Ed.]

PASTENE.[1]

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[1] [Fac-simile of part of a copperplate in Ovalle's *Hist. Rela. de Chile,* Rome, 1648.—ED.]

EL MARQUEZ DON FRANCISCO PISARRO
de Truxillo,

PIZARRO.[1]

place called Quilacara, and advanced as far as the banks of the river Biobio, returning to Santiago, after an absence of forty days, in March, 1546. Pastene had made another voyage to Callao, taking with him the gallant Alonso Monroy, who died on the passage. He returned to Valparaiso,

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[1] [Fac-simile of engraving in Herrera, vol. ii. p. 280. De Bry (part vi.) gives a small medallion likeness. Cf. Verne's *La Découverte de la Terre.* Prescott (vol. i.) gives an engraving after a painting in the series of the line of the viceroys, preserved at that time in the viceregal palace at Lima. It gives the conqueror in civic costume, with cap and cloak, and a letter in one hand and a glove in the other. A colored representation of the royal standard borne by Pizarro is given in *El General San Martin*, Buenos Ayres, 1863. They continue to show, or did exhibit till recently, a body claimed to be that of Pizarro, in the cathedral at Lima. (Hutchinson's *Two Years in Peru*, vol. i. p. 309.) — ED.]

PIZARRO.[1]

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[1] [Fac-simile of the engraving as given in Montanus and Ogilby. — **Ed.**]

with a melancholy account of the disturbed state of Peru, Dec. 1, 1547; and Valdivia determined, after much deliberation, to take up arms against Gonzalo Pizarro, as a loyal servant of the Spanish Crown. He went on board Pastene's ship, made sail Dec. 10, 1547, and arrived at Callao, the port of Lima. He had founded a new colony, and left it securely established in Chili.

During the seven years of Valdivia's absence in Chili, stirring events had occurred in the land of the Yncas. The marquis returned to Lima, where he was busily engaged in the work of building, and in administering the affairs of his vast command. Many of the ruined followers of Almagro were there also, driven to desperation by the confiscation of their property. They were called, in derision, the "men of Chili." Pizarro treated them with contemptuous indifference, and expelled the young Almagro from his house.

The most conspicuous of the malcontents was Juan de Rada; and he matured a plot for the assassination of the governor. On the 26th of June, 1541, the conspirators, headed by Rada, ran across the great square during the dinner hour, and entered the court of Pizarro's house.[1] The marquis had just dined, and his brother Martin de Alcantara, the judge Velasquez, Francisco de Chaves, and others were with him. Being unarmed, several of those present, on hearing the outcry, let themselves down into a garden from the corridor, and escaped. Chaves went out on the stairs, where he was murdered by the conspirators, who were running up. The marquis had thrown off his robe, put on a cuirass, and seized a spear. He was past seventy. His brother, a cavalier named Gomez de Luna, and two pages were with him. The assassins numbered nineteen strong men. Pizarro fought valiantly, until Rada thrust one of his companions on the spear and rushed in. Alcantara, Luna, and the two pages were despatched. Pizarro continued to defend himself until a wound in the throat brought him to the ground. He made the sign of the cross on the floor, and kissed it. He then breathed his last. The conspirators rushed into the street shouting, "The tyrant is dead!" The houses of the governor and his secretary were pillaged. Juan de Rada coerced the municipality and proclaimed Diego Almagro, the young half-caste lad, governor of Peru. The body of Pizarro was buried in the cathedral, by stealth, and at night.

But the colonists did not immediately submit to the new rule. Alvarez de Holguin, one of Pizarro's captains, held Cusco with a small force, and Alonzo de Alvarado opposed the conspiracy in the north of Peru. The bishop Valverde, of Cusco, and the judge Velasquez were allowed to embark at Callao in November, 1541; but they fell into the hands of the Indians on the island of Puna, in the Gulf of Guayaquil, and were both killed.

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[1] [A view of the house of Francisco Pizzaro, as it is now or was recently existing, is shown in Hutchinson's *Two Years in Peru*, vol. i. p. 311. — ED.]

VACA DE CASTRO.[1]

The followers of Almagro the lad, as he was called, determined to march from Lima in the direction of Cusco, so as to get between Alvarado and Holguin. At Xauxa the youthful adventurer had the misfortune to lose his most trusty adherent. Juan de Rada died of fever. The two most influential of his supporters who remained were Cristóval de Sotelo and Garcia de Alvarado, — and they had quarrelled with one another. Their delays enabled Holguin to pass to the north, and unite his forces with Alvarado's. Almagro then established himself at Cusco, where Sotelo was murdered by his rival Alvarado; and the latter was put to death by the young Almagro, who assumed the direction of his own affairs. He was barely twenty-two years of age.

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[1] [From Herrera (1728), vol. iv. p. 1. — Ed.]

The Emperor Charles V., long before the death of Pizarro, had decided upon sending out a royal judge to act as the old conqueror's coadjutor and adviser, especially with regard to the treatment of the Indians. For this delicate post the emperor's choice fell upon Dr. Don Cristóval Vaca de Castro, a Judge of the Audience of Valladolid. After a long voyage the new judge had landed at Buenaventura, a town recently founded by Pascual de Andagoya, near that river San Juan where Pizarro had waited in such dire distress during his first voyage. He had a royal order to assume the post of governor of Peru in the event of Pizarro's death; and on arriving at Popayan he received tidings of the assassination. He then proclaimed his commission as governor, and advanced southwards, by way of Quito, along the Peruvian coast. At Huara he was joined by Alvarado and Holguin with their forces. He entered Lima, and then proceeded, by way of Xauxa, in search of the assassins. Young Almagro had a force of five hundred Spaniards, with two hundred horses; and he had a park of artillery consisting of sixteen pieces under the direction of the veteran Pedro de Candia. With this force he left Cusco in July, 1542. Vaca de Castro marched in great haste to Guamanga, in order to secure that important post before Almagro could reach it from Cusco. The rebels, as they must be called, took a route along the skirts of the *cordillera*, until they reached an elevated plateau called Chupas, above and a little to the south of the newly built town of Guamanga. Their object appears to have been to cut off the communications of Vaca de Castro with the coast. In order to approach them, it was necessary for the royal army to evacuate Guamanga, and ascend a very steep slope to the terrace-like plateau where Almagro's army was posted. It was the 16th of September, 1542, and the ascent from Guamanga must have occupied the greater part of the day. The army of Vaca de Castro was marshalled by the veteran Francisco de Carbajal, an old soldier who had seen forty years' service in Italy before he crossed the Atlantic. Carbajal led the troops into action with such skill that they were protected by intervening ground until they were close to the enemy; and when Almagro's artillery opened fire on them, the guns were so elevated as to do no execution. This led young Almagro to suspect Pedro de Candia of treachery, and he there and then ran the old gunner through the body, and pointed one of the guns himself with good effect. The royal army now began to suffer severely from the better-directed artillery fire. Then the opposing bodies of cavalry charged, while Carbajal led a desperate attack with the infantry, and captured Almagro's guns. Holguin fell dead; Alvarado was driven back, and young Almagro behaved with heroic valor. Yet when night closed in, the army of Vaca de Castro was completely victorious, and five hundred were left dead on the field. It was a desperately contested action. Almagro fled to Cusco with a few followers, where he was arrested by the magistrates. Vaca de Castro followed closely, and on arriving in the city he condemned the lad to death. Almagro suffered in the great square, and was buried by the side of his father in the church of La Merced.

Vaca de Castro assumed the administration of affairs in Peru as royal governor. In the same year the Dominican Friar Geronimo de Loaysa, a native of Talavera, became bishop of Lima. He was promoted to the rank of archbishop in 1545. Another Dominican, Juan de Solano, succeeded Valverde as bishop of Cusco in 1543. Gonzalo Pizarro, when he returned from his terrible expedition in the forests east of Quito, was induced by the governor to retire peaceably to his estates in Charcas. The efforts of Vaca de Castro as an administrator were directed to regulating the employment of the natives, and to improving communications.

When the good Bartolomé Las Casas returned to Spain, in 1538, he published his famous work on the destruction of the native race of America. He protested against the Indians being given to the Spaniards in *encomienda*, or vassalage for personal service.[1] At last the emperor appointed a committee consisting of churchmen and lawyers of the highest position, to sit at Valladolid in 1542, and to consider the whole subject. The result was the promulgation of what were called the "New Laws."

I. After the death of the conquerors, the *repartimientos* of Indians, given to them in *encomienda*, were not to pass to their heirs, but be placed directly under the king. Officers of his majesty were to renounce the *repartimientos* at once.

II. All *encomenderos* in Peru who had been engaged in the factious wars between the Pizarros and Almagros were to be deprived.

III. Personal service of the Indians was to be entirely abolished.

Blasco Nuñez Vela was appointed viceroy of Peru to enforce the "New Laws," assisted by a court of justice, of which he was president, called the *Audiencia* of Lima. There were four other judges, called *oidores*, or auditors, named Cepeda, Zarate, Alvarez, and Tejada. The viceroy and his colleagues embarked at San Lucar on the 3d of November, 1543. Leaving the judges sick at Panamá, the viceroy landed at Tumbez on the 4th of March, 1544, with great magnificence, and proceeded by land to Lima, proclaiming the "New Laws" as he advanced. The Spanish conquerors were thrown into a state of dismay and exasperation. They entreated Gonzalo Pizarro to leave his retirement and protect their interests, and when he entered Cusco he was hailed as procurator-general of Peru. He seized the artillery at Guamanga, and assembled a force of four hundred men, while old Francisco de Carbajal, the hero of the battle of Chupas, became his lieutenant.

The viceroy was a headstrong, violent man, without judgment or capacity for affairs. His first act after entering Lima was to imprison the late governor, Vaca de Castro. The principal citizens entreated him not to enforce the "New Laws" with imprudent haste. But he would listen to no arguments; and when the auditors arrived from Panamá, he quarrelled with them, and acted in defiance of their protests. At last the auditors ventured upon the bold step of arresting the viceroy in his palace, and placing him in confinement. He was sent to the island of San Lorenzo, and a government was formed with the auditor Cepeda as president, who suspended the "New Laws" until further instructions could be received from Spain. The auditor Alvarez was commissioned to embark on board a vessel with the viceroy, and take him to Panamá.

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[1] [See chap. v. — ED.]

Meanwhile Gonzalo Pizarro was approaching Lima by rapid marches, and he entered the capital on the 28th of October, 1544, at the head of twelve hundred Spaniards and several thousand Indians dragging the artillery, which had formed the special strength of young Almagro. The *Audiencia* submitted; the judges administered the oaths, and Gonzalo was declared governor and captain-general of Peru. At the same time Vaca de Castro persuaded the captain of a vessel on board of which he was confined in Callao Bay to get under way and convey him to Panamá. Accusations were brought against him in Spain, and he was kept in prison for twelve years, but was eventually acquitted and reinstated.

As soon as the ship conveying the viceroy to Panamá was at sea, the judge Alvarez liberated him. He landed at Tumbez in October, 1544, denounced Gonzalo Pizarro and the judge Cepeda as traitors, and called upon all loyal subjects to support him. Volunteers arrived, and Blasco Nuñez raised his standard at San Miguel de Piura. Gonzalo Pizarro assembled a rival force at Truxillo; but the viceroy retreated before him towards Quito, Carbajal pressing closely on his rear. The retreat was almost a rout. Passing through Quito, the viceroy took refuge at Pasto, within the jurisdiction of Sebastian Benalcazar, the governor of Popayan. Early in January, 1546, having received reinforcements, Blasco Nuñez ventured to advance once more towards Quito. Gonzalo Pizarro took up a strong position outside; but the viceroy, now accompanied by Benalcazar, made a detour and entered Quito. On the 18th of January, 1546, the viceroy led his followers to the plains of Anaquito, near the town, where his enemy was posted, seven hundred strong. The battle was not long doubtful. Alvarez the judge was mortally wounded. Benalcazar was left for dead on the field. The viceroy was unhorsed and wounded, and while lying on the ground his head was struck off by order of Pedro de Puelles, Pizarro's governor of Quito. The slaughter was terrific. Cruel old Carbajal never showed any mercy, and no quarter was given. Benalcazar, when he recovered, was allowed to return to Popayan; and Gonzalo Pizarro attended as chief mourner at the funeral of the viceroy in the cathedral of Quito.

Leaving a garrison at Quito, under Puelles, Gonzalo began his journey southwards in July, 1546, and entered Lima in triumph. The only resistance throughout Peru was from an officer in Charcas named Diego Centeno, a native of Ciudad Rodrigo, who had come to Peru in 1534 with Pedro Alvarado. He declared in favor of the viceroy at Chucuito; but Alonzo Toro, who had been left in command at Cusco by Gonzalo Pizarro, marched against him, and he fled into the fastnesses of Chichas, in the far south.

GASCA.[1]

Pizarro was undisputed master of Peru, and his lieutenant Carbajal retired to Charcas to work the silver mines.

News of the revolt had reached Spain, and the licentiate Pedro de la Gasca, an astute and very able ecclesiastic, was appointed to proceed to Peru, and mediate between the viceroy and the malcontents. He received very full powers, with large discretion, and was entitled president of the *Audiencia*. He was very ugly, with a dwarfish body and exceedingly long, ungainly legs. The president sailed from Spain on the 26th of May, 1546, and received the news of the viceroy's death on his arrival at the isthmus. He brought out with him the announcement of the revocation of the "New Laws," owing to the dangerous spirit of discontent they had caused through-

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[1] [This follows the engraving given by Prescott (*History of the Conquest of Peru*) of the portrait hanging in the sacristy of Saint Mary Magdalene at Valladolid, — an inscription on which says that Gasca died in 1567 at the age of seventy-one. — Ed.]

PEDRO DE LA GASCA.[1]

out the Indies. They were withdrawn by a decree dated at Malines on the 20th of October, 1545.

The president arrived at Panamá on the 11th of August, 1546, where he found the fleet of Gonzalo Pizarro, under the command of Pedro de Hinojosa. Soon afterward Lorenzo de Aldana arrived as an envoy from Pizarro, but was induced to submit to the president's authority. Hinojosa followed the example, and thus Gasca gained possession of the fleet. When the offer of pardon reached Lima, Gonzalo was advised by his lieutenant Carbajal to accept the terms; but the auditor Cepeda, who had turned against the viceroy and administered the oaths of office to a rebel, felt that there could be no pardon for him. The mad ambition of Pizarro induced him to listen to Cepeda rather than to Carbajal, and he finally rejected the offer of pardon; but many of his old followers deserted him.

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[1] [From Herrera (1728), vol. iv. p. 215. — Ed.]

Lorenzo de Aldana was despatched from Panamá, with several vessels, in February, 1547, and arrived in Callao Bay; while Diego Centeno once more rose in the south, and began to collect troops. Gonzalo Pizarro resolved to abandon Lima and march to Arequipa with only five hundred men, so numerous had been the desertions from his ranks. Aldana then entered the capital, while Gasca himself sailed from Panamá on the 10th of April, 1547, landing at Tumbez on the 13th of June. He advanced to Xauxa, and great numbers flocked to his standard. Pedro de Valdivia, the governor of Chili, had landed at Callao, and overtook the president, on his march towards Cusco, at Andahuaylas.

Gonzalo Pizarro, despairing of being able to make head against the president Gasca with all the prestige of royal approval on his side, had determined to retreat into Chili. But he feared to leave Centeno hanging on his rear, and thought it necessary first to disperse his forces. Centeno occupied a position near Huarina, at the south-eastern angle of Lake Titicaca, upwards of twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea. Pizarro's troops advanced to the attack over an open plain. He had about four hundred and eighty men, the strength of his army being in his infantry armed with arquebuses, and disciplined under the direct supervision of Carbajal. Centeno had a larger force, and was accompanied by Solano, the bishop of Cusco. Carbajal waited for the attack of the enemy, and then poured a deadly volley into their ranks. Centeno's footmen broke and fled; but his cavalry defeated Pizarro, and would have won the day, if they too had not been repelled and broken by the admirable steadiness of Carbajal's arquebusiers. As it was, Pizarro's victory was complete, and three hundred and fifty of Centeno's followers were killed. All fugitives taken by Carbajal were put to death without mercy.

The doomed Pizarro now abandoned all idea of retreating into Chili. He marched in triumph to Cusco, while the president Gasca approached by leisurely marches, gathering reinforcements by the way. With him were the bishops of Lima and Cusco, the marshal Alonzo de Alvarado, the veteran Hinojosa, Pascual de Andagoya the first adventurer in search of Peru, Valdivia the governor of Chili, Centeno, escaped from Huarina, Cieza de Leon the future historian, and many others well known to fame. The president's army crossed the river Apurimac, and advanced to the plain of Sacsahuana, near Cusco, whither Gonzalo Pizarro came out to meet him. On the morning of the 9th of April, 1548, the commanders of both armies made ready for battle. But soon there were symptoms of desertion on Pizarro's side. An important cavalier, Garcilasso de la Vega, galloped across to the army of Gasca. He was followed by the treacherous auditor Cepeda. Soldiers began to follow in small parties. Old Carbajal was humming two lines of an old song, —

"Estos mis cabellicos madre,
Dos á dos me los lleva el ayre."

Then desertions took place by companies and squadrons. Pizarro sorrowfully took his way to the royal camp and gave himself up. Carbajal was seized by the soldiers. He was hanged and quartered the following day, and soon afterwards Gonzalo Pizarro was executed in presence of the army.

The president entered Cusco on the 12th of April, and began a bloody assize. Scarcely a day passed without followers of Gonzalo Pizarro being hanged, flogged, or sent in large batches to the galleys. Two priests were executed. A canon of Quito, who was tutor to Gonzalo Pizarro's little son, was hanged for writing a book called *De bello justo*. At length, sated with blood, the president left Cusco on the 11th of July with Archbishop Loaysa, and went to a small village called Huayna-rimac in the neighborhood. He retired into this seclusion to escape the importunities of his partisans. Here he proceeded to arrange the distribution of *encomiendas*, or grants of lands and Indians, among his followers. He allowed a tenth of the Indians to be employed on forced labor in the mines, thus reversing the humane legislation advocated by Las Casas. Having completed his work, the president sent the archbishop to announce his awards at Cusco, and they caused a howl of rage and disappointed greed. Gasca himself went down to Lima by the unfrequented route of Nasca, and when a positive order from the emperor arrived, that all personal service among the Indians should be abolished, he suspended its publication until he was safe out of Peru. In January, 1550, the president Gasca sailed for Panamá, leaving the country in the greatest confusion, and all the most difficult administrative points to be solved by his successors. The municipality of Lima wrote a complaint to the emperor, representing the untimely departure of the president. His abilities and his services have been much overstated. He himself is the witness to his own revolting cruelties at Cusco.

Gasca left the government of Peru, with none of the difficulties settled, in the hands of the auditors or judges of the royal *Audiencia*, of which Don Andres de Cianca was president. His colleagues were Melchor Bravo de Sarabia, Hernando de Santillan, and Pedro Maldonado. The judges were in charge of the executive from January, 1550, to the 23d of September, 1551, when Don Antonio de Mendoza arrived from Mexico as viceroy. They had taken steps to organize a systematic plan for the instruction of the natives, under the auspices of Archbishop Loaysa, Friar Thomas de San Martin, and the indefatigable friar Domingo de Santo Tomas, the first Quichua scholar. They worked harmoniously under the viceroy Mendoza, who was a statesman of high rank and great experience. He promulgated the royal order against the enforced personal service of Indians, anticipating serious discontents and troubles, which he was resolved to meet and overcome. But his premature death at Lima, on the 21st of July, 1552, left the country once more in the hands of the judges, who had to meet a storm which would sorely test their administrative abilities.

The ringleader of the malcontents was a cavalier of good family named Francisco Hernandez Giron. Born at Caceres, in Estremadura, he crossed the Atlantic in 1535, and joined the unfortunate viceroy Blasco Nuñez de Vela at Quito, fighting under his banner in the fatal battle of Anaquito. He also did good service in the army of President Gasca, and was in the left wing at the rout of Sacsahuana. Gasca had assigned the plain of Sacsahuana to him, as his *repartimiento;* but he grumbled loudly, and all the malcontents looked upon him as their leader. The promulgation of the abolition of personal service was received with a howl of execration among the conquerors, who looked forward to the accumulation of wealth by the use of forced labor in the silver mines. Troubles broke out in Charcas, and Giron resolved to raise the standard of revolt at Cusco.

The 12th of November, 1553, was the wedding day of Don Alonzo de Loaysa, a nephew of the archbishop, who married a young lady named Maria de Castilla. The *corregidor* of Cusco and most of the leading citizens were at the supper. Suddenly Giron presented himself in cuirass and helmet, with his sword drawn, and a crowd of conspirators behind him. The street was occupied by a body of cavalry under his lieutenant, Tomas Vasquez. The guests sprang from their seats, but Giron told them not to fear, as he only wished to arrest the *corregidor.* He and the others then put out the lights and drew their swords. The *corregidor* took refuge with the ladies in the drawing-room, and shut the doors. Two guests were stabbed. Many escaped by the windows and climbed a wall at the back of the house. The *corregidor* and other officials were seized and imprisoned. Giron issued a proclamation declaring that the conquerors would not be robbed of the fruits of their labors. He soon had a respectable force under his command; but most of the leading citizens fled to Lima. The rebel declared that his object was the public good, and to induce the king to listen to the prayers of his subjects. The *Audiencia* was called upon to restore matters to the state they were in at the time of Gasca's departure. Tomas Vasquez was sent to Arequipa, and Guamanga also declared in favor of Giron.

The governing judges were in great perplexity at Lima. After some hesitation they put the archbishop Loaysa in command of their army, with the judge Bravo de Saravia as his colleague. The marshal Alonzo de Alvarado was in upper Peru, and he also got some loyal cavaliers round him, and assembled a small force. Giron entered Guamanga Jan. 27, 1554, where he was joined by Tomas Vasquez, from Arequipa; and he then marched down to the coast. The judges encamped at Até, outside Lima, with five hundred arquebusiers, four hundred and fifty pikemen, three hundred cavalry, and fourteen field-pieces. Giron arrived at Pachacamac on the shores of the Pacific, and the judges advanced to Surco. But instead of boldly attacking, the rebels turned their backs and marched southwards along the coast to Yca, followed by a detachment under an officer named Meneses. Giron turned, and defeated his pursuers at Villacuri, in the desert between Pisco and Yca, but continued his retreat to Nasca. He had lost a great opportunity.

ALONZO DE ALVARADO.[1]

The royal army advanced to Chincha; but the archbishop quarrelled with Bravo de Saravia, and where so many commanded, and none were military men, efficient operations were impossible. Meanwhile Alvarado had assembled an army for the judges, of seven hundred men, the rendezvous being La Paz in upper Peru. With this force he entered Cusco on the 30th of March, 1554, and continued his march in search of Giron, who remained at Nasca, on the coast, until the 8th of May. On that day the rebels once more ascended the wild passes of the *cordillera* to Lucanas, and were soon in the neighborhood of Alvarado's army, which now numbered eleven hundred men. The rebels encamped at Chuquinga, in the wildest part of the Andes, on a mountain terrace by the side of a deep ravine, with the river Abancay in front. The marshal Alvarado was on the other side of the ravine, and was advised not to attack, but to harass the retreat of Giron. But on the 21st of May, under every possible disadvantage, he ordered the river to be forded, and an attack to be made. The river was crossed, but the men could not form on the other side in the face of an active enemy. They fell back, and the retreat was soon converted into a rout. Alvarado was wounded, but contrived to escape with Lorenzo de Aldana and the learned Polo de Ondegardo who accompanied him, leaving seventy dead on the field, and two hundred and eighty wounded.

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[1] [Fac-simile of engraving in Herrera, iii. 235. — Ed.]

Giron entered Cusco in triumph. The judges, on receiving news of the disastrous battle of Chuquinga, decided that their army should advance to Xauxa, and eventually towards Cusco. The *Audiencia* now consisted of Dr. Melchor Bravo de Saravia, Hernando de Santillan, Diego Gonzalez Altamirano, and Martin Mercado. Altamirano was to remain in charge of the government at Lima, while the other judges marched with the army, preceded by their officer Pablo de Meneses with the royal standard. In July, 1554, the three judges, Saravia, Santillan, and Mercado reached Guamanga, and in August they entered Cusco, having met with no opposition. Giron had retreated to Pucara, near Lake Titicaca, a very strong position consisting of a lofty rock rising out of the plain. The royal army encamped in front of the rock, and the judges sent promises of pardon to all who would return to their allegiance. Giron hoped that the royal army would attack him, repeating the error at Chuquinga; but the judges had resolved to play a waiting game. A night attack led by Giron was repulsed. Then desertions began, Tomas Vasquez setting the example. The unfortunate rebel could trust no one. He feared treachery. He bade a heart-rending farewell to his noble-minded wife, Doña Mencia, leaving her to the care of the judge Saravia. He rode away in the dead of night, almost alone, and Pucara was surrendered. Meneses was sent in chase of Giron, who was captured near Xauxa. He was brought to Lima, Dec. 6, 1554, and beheaded. His head was put in an iron cage, and nailed up by the side of those of Gonzalo Pizarro and Carbajal. Ten years afterward a friend of his wife secretly took all three down, and they were buried in a convent. Doña Mencia, the widow of Giron, founded the first nunnery in Lima, — that of "La Encarnacion," — and died there as abbess.

Thus the judges succeeded in putting down this formidable insurrection, and were able to hand over the country, in a state of outward tranquillity, to the great viceroy who now came out to establish order in Peru.

Don Andrea Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, was nominated by Charles V., at Brussels, to be viceroy of Peru for six years. He came out with the intention of checking with a firm hand the turbulence of the military adventurers who were swarming over the country. Writing to the emperor before he sailed, May 9, 1555, he said that there were eight thousand Spaniards in Peru, of whom four hundred and eighty-nine held *repartimientos*, and about one thousand were employed officially or otherwise. A large portion desired to live in idleness. He proposed to employ them on expeditions into unknown regions, and he submitted that no more Spaniards ought to be allowed to come to Peru without good cause assigned. In a letter to his daughter, the governess Juana, the emperor approved the policy sketched out by the new viceroy.

The Marquis of Cañete landed at Payta, and travelling by land, entered Lima on the 29th of June, 1556. He assumed office with unprecedented state and solemnity. He was fully resolved to put down sedition once and for all. He ordered that no Spaniard should leave his town without permission of the authorities, and for good cause. As regards the *Audiencia*, he reported to the emperor that the judges were hostile to each other, and that they lived in such discord that all peace was hopeless. He spoke favorably of two, and requested that the others might be recalled. He also reported that the *corregidors* maintained quantities of idle soldiers waiting for opportunities of mischief. He estimated the number of the idlers at three thousand, and said that the peace of the country was endangered by the immorality, license, and excesses of these men. The viceroy kept all the artillery in the country under his own eye, ordering guns to be seized and brought to him wherever they could be found; and he formed a permanent guard of four hundred arquebusiers. He then sent for a number of settlers, of turbulent antecedents, who came to Lima joyfully, expecting that they were about to receive *repartimientos*. But he disarmed them, shipped them at Callao, and sent them out of the country. Among these banished men were included the most notorious disturbers of the peace in the late civil wars. Altogether thirty-seven were sent to Spain. Tomas Vasquez and Juan Piedrahita, the chief supporters of Giron, were beheaded, and the *corregidors* were authorized to seize and execute any turbulent or dangerous persons within their jurisdictions. These were very strong measures, but they were necessary. The intolerable anarchy under which Peru had groaned for so many years was thus stamped out. Moderate *encomiendas* were then granted to deserving officers.

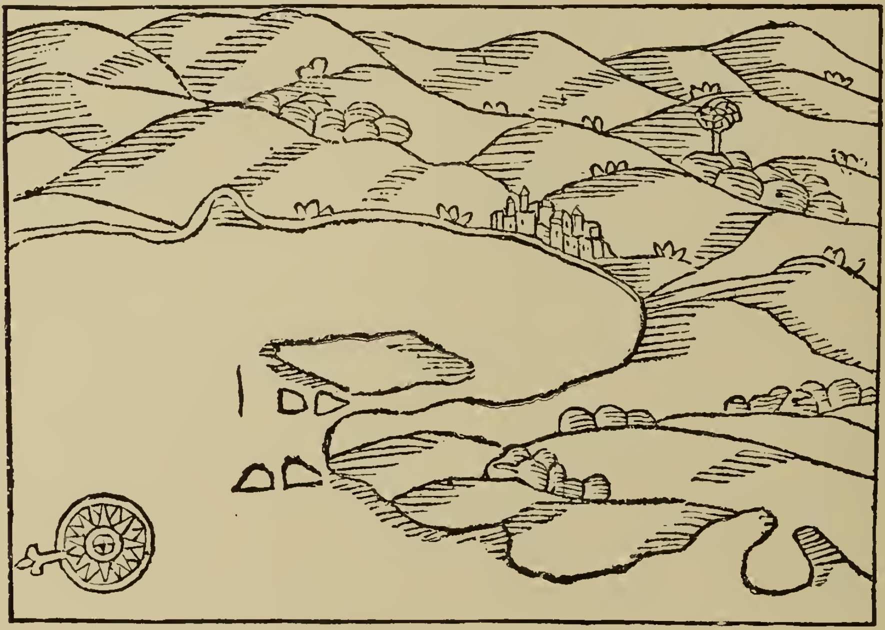
While the turbulence and cruelty of the Spanish conquerors were checked with relentless severity, the policy of the Marquis of Cañete towards the people and their ancient rulers was liberal and conciliatory. In both courses of action there was wisdom. After the siege of Cusco, the Ynca Manco, with his family and chief nobles, had taken refuge in the mountain fastness of Vilcabamba, and there he met his death in 1553, after a disastrous reign of twenty years. He was succeeded by his son Sayri Tupac, who continued in his secluded hiding-place. The viceroy thought it important, for the tranquillity of the country and the peace of mind of the Indians, that the descendant of their ancient kings should be induced to reside among the Spaniards. The negotiation was intrusted to the Ynca's aunt, a princess who had married a Spanish cavalier, and to Juan de Betanzos, an excellent Quichua scholar. It was settled that the Ynca should receive the *encomienda* forfeited by Giron (the valley of Yucay near Cusco, where he was to reside), together with a large pension. All was finally arranged, and on the 6th of January, 1558, the Ynca entered Lima, and was most cordially received by the viceroy. From that time he resided in the valley of Yucay, surrounded by his family and courtiers, until his death in 1560.

Several of the Spanish conquerors had married Ynca ladies of the blood royal, and a number of half-caste youths were growing up in the principal cities of Peru, who formed links between the Yncas and their conquerors. There was a school at Cusco where they were educated, and the Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega records many anecdotes of his early days, and enumerates the names of most of his school-fellows. The Marquis of Cañete also founded schools at Lima and Truxillo, and took great pains to supply the Indians with parochial clergy of good conduct, who were strictly prohibited from trading. In 1558 the *curacas*, or native chiefs, who had proved their rights by descent before the *Audiencia*, were allowed to exercise jurisdiction as magistrates.

The Marquis of Cañete founded the towns of Cuenca in the province of Quito, of Santa on the coast to the north of Lima, and of Cañete in a rich and fertile valley to the south. He also established the hospital of San Andres at Lima, and built the first bridge over the Rimac. Very great activity was shown in the introduction of useful plants and domestic animals. Vines were sent out from Spain and the Canaries, and a harvest of grapes was reaped near Cusco in 1555. Wheat was first reaped in the valley of Cañete by a lady named Maria de Escobar, and olives were planted in 1560. Other fruit trees and garden vegetables soon followed.

The king, Philip II., determined to supersede this able viceroy in 1560, appointing a young nobleman named Diego Lopez de Zuñiga y Velasco, Conde de Nieva, in his place. But the Marquis of Cañete died at Lima before his successor arrived, on the 30th of March, 1561, having governed nearly five years. He was buried in the church of San Francisco, but his bones were afterwards taken to Spain and deposited with those of his ancestors at Cuenca. The Conde de Nieva entered Lima on the 27th of April, — a month after the death of the marquis. He was a handsome young cavalier, of loose morals, and fond of every sort of pleasure. There is very little doubt that he lost his life owing to a powerful husband's jealousy. He was set upon in the street, after leaving the lady's house, in the dead of night. He was found dead on the 20th of February, 1564, and the matter was hushed up to prevent scandal. The judges of the *Audiencia* took charge of the government until the arrival of a successor.

During this period the Chilian colony was holding its own, with difficulty, against the indomitable Araucanian Indians. After the rout of Sacsahuana, the governor Valdivia took his leave of the president Gasca, and embarked at Arica on the 21st of January, 1549, with two hundred men. His lieutenant, Francisco de Villagra, had ruled at Santiago in his absence, vigilantly thwarting a plot of Alonzo de Hoz, whom he executed, and suppressing a revolt of the Indians of Coquimbo and Copiapo. He met Valdivia on his landing at Valparaiso and accompanied him to the capital. The first expedition of the governor, after his return, was undertaken with a view to establishing Spanish influence in the south of Chili. In January, 1550, with two hundred men, he crossed the Biobio, and intrenched himself in the valley of the Penco, where he founded the town of Concepcion, repulsing an attack from a large army of Indians with great slaughter. In the following year he founded the towns of Imperial and Valdivia still farther south.



CONCEPTION BAY.[1]

The Araucanians now flew to arms in defence of their fatherland, at the call of their aged chief, Colo-colo. A younger but equally brave leader, named Caupolican, was elected *toqui*, or general, of the army; and they began operations by attempting to destroy a Spanish fort at Tucapel. Valdivia hurried from Concepcion, at the head of fifty cavalry, and attacked the Araucanian host. The governor had with him a young Indian lad of eighteen, named Lautaro, as groom. There was great slaughter among the Araucanians, and they were beginning to give way, when all the best feelings of Lautaro were aroused at the sight of his countrymen in peril. On the instant he felt the glow of ardent patriotism. He went over to the enemy, exhorted them to rally, and led them once more to the attack. The Spanish force was annihilated, and the governor was taken prisoner. Led before the *toqui*, young Lautaro interceded for his master, and the generous Caupolican listened favorably; but the savage chief Leucaton protested, and felled Valdivia by a deadly blow with a club on the back of the head. This disaster took place on the last day of December, 1553. Don Pedro de Valdivia was in his fifty-sixth year, and by his conquest and settlement of Chili he won a place in history side by side with Cortés and Pizarro. He was childless.

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[1] [Fac-simile of a cut in Ovalle's *Historica Relacion de Chile*, Rome, 1648.--Ed.]

Francisco de Villagra succeeded his old chief as governor of Chili, and made preparations to repair the disaster. Lautaro became the second leader of his countrymen, under Caupolican. Their tactics were to allow the Spaniards to penetrate into their country as far as they pleased, but to cut off supplies, and harass their retreat. Thus Villagra easily marched from Arauco to Tucapel; but he was attacked by an immense army under Lautaro, which stopped his retreat, and he suffered such severe loss in the battle of Mariguanu that the town of Concepcion was abandoned in November, 1555. There was hard fighting again in 1556, in defence of the garrisons at Imperial and Valdivia. Early in the following year Lautaro was intrenched with an army on the banks of the Mataquito, when he was surprised at dawn by Villagra. He made a gallant defence, but was killed; and six hundred warriors fell with him. Thus died one of the noblest patriots of the American race.

In the same year the viceroy, Marquis of Cañete, appointed his son, Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, a youth barely twenty-two years of age, to be governor of Chili. His cavalry, under Luis de Toledo, marched by land over the desert of Atacama, while the young governor embarked at Callao, and sailed for Chili with three vessels conveying seven hundred infantry. Among the officers was Don Alonso de Ercilla, whose epic poem records the events of this famous war. Don Garcia landed at Coquimbo on the 25th of April, 1557, and the cavalry arrived on the following day. After having assumed the government at Santiago, and ungratefully dismissed Villagra, to secure the tranquillity of his own rule, he continued the interminable war. His first operation was to occupy the island of Quiriquina, off Talcahuano, and to build the fort of Pinto on the west side of the valley of the Penco. Here he was attacked by Caupolican with a great army. There were marvellous individual acts of bravery on both sides; Don Garcia himself was wounded, and two thousand Araucanians were slain. The governor then crossed the river Biobio and fought another great battle, Caupolican retreating with heavy loss. Don Garcia disgraced his victory by hanging twelve captive chiefs, including the heroic Galvarino. Penetrating far to the south, the town of Osorno was founded beyond Valdivia, and the archipelago of Chiloe was discovered. During the governor's absence in the far south, the *toqui* Caupolican

GARCIA HURTADO DE MENDOZA.[1]

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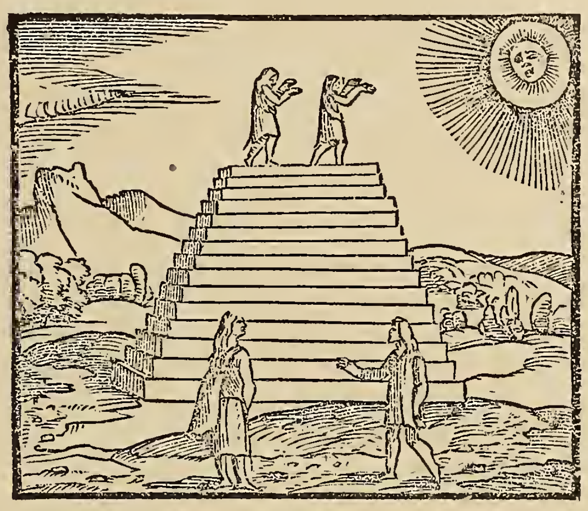
[1] [Fac-simile of a copperplate in Ovalle's *Historica Relacion de Chile*, Rome, 1648. — ED.]

was betrayed into the hands of Alonso de Reinosa, the captain in command at Tucapel, who put him to a horrible death by impalement.

There was now a brief interval of peace. Don Garcia had brought with him to Chili the good licentiate Gonzalez Marmolejo, afterwards first bishop of Santiago, who prepared rules for the humane treatment of the peaceful natives. Only a sixth were allowed to be employed at the mines; no one was to work who was under eighteen or over fifty; no laborer was to be forced to work on feast days, and all were to be paid and supplied with food. On the 5th of February, 1561, Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza embarked at Valparaiso and left Chili, being succeeded by Francisco de Villagra, the old companion in arms of Valdivia. Villagra died in 1563, and was succeeded by Rodrigo de Quiroga. In 1563 the bishopric of Santiago was founded, and in 1565 the royal *Audiencia* of Chili was instituted, with Dr. Melchor Bravo de Saravia as its first president. Its seat was fixed in the city of Concepcion.



PERUVIANS WORSHIPPING THE SUN.[1]

We must now return to the course of events in Peru. The scandalous death of the viceroy Conde de Nieva seems to have induced the king to choose his successor from among men learned in the law rather than from the nobility, and to drop the title of viceroy. Lope Garcia de Castro had been a judge of the *Audiencia* of Valladolid, and afterwards a member of the council of the Indies. He was appointed governor and captain-general of Peru, and president of the *Audiencia* of Lima, where he made his public entry Sept. 22, 1564. To avoid scandal, the belief had been encouraged that the Conde de Nieva had been murdered in bed. But everybody knew that he had been struck to the ground by several stout negroes with bags full of sand; that the blows had been continued until life was extinct; and that after the murder people came out of the house of the Zarates, and carried the body to the palace. The culprit was Don Rodrigo Manrique de Lara, a powerful citizen of proud lineage, who had discovered love passages between his young wife and her near relative the viceroy. But the judges thought there would be grave scandal if the delinquent was brought to justice, and the new governor took the same view. The affair was hushed up.

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[1] [After the sketch in Benzoni, edition of 1572, p. 168. — ED.]

Lope de Castro established a mint, imposed the *almojarifazgo*, or customs dues, and organized the work at the newly-discovered quicksilver mines of Huancavelica, and at the silver mines. In 1567 the Jesuits arrived in Peru, and in the same year the second council of Lima was convoked by Archbishop Loaysa, the governor assisting as representative of the king. The first council was in 1552. At the second the decisions of the council of Trent were accepted, and the parochial arrangements were made; while the governor proceeded with the work of fixing the divisions of land among the Indians, and marking out the country into *corregimientos*, or provinces, under *corregidors*. In 1567 Castro despatched an expedition from Callao, under the command of his nephew, Alvaro de Mendaña, who discovered the Solomon Islands. Lope Garcia de Castro governed Peru for five years, handing over his charge to his successor, in 1569, to return to Spain and resume his seat at the council board of the Indies.

Don Francisco de Toledo, second son of the third Count of Oropesa, was the king's major-domo, and was advanced in years when he was selected to succeed the licentiate Lope de Castro. In his case the title of viceroy was revived, and was retained by his successors until the independence. Landing at Payta, the viceroy Toledo travelled along the coast, closely observing the condition both of Spaniards and Indians; and he then made up his mind to visit every province within his government. He made his public entrance into Lima on the 26th of November, 1569.

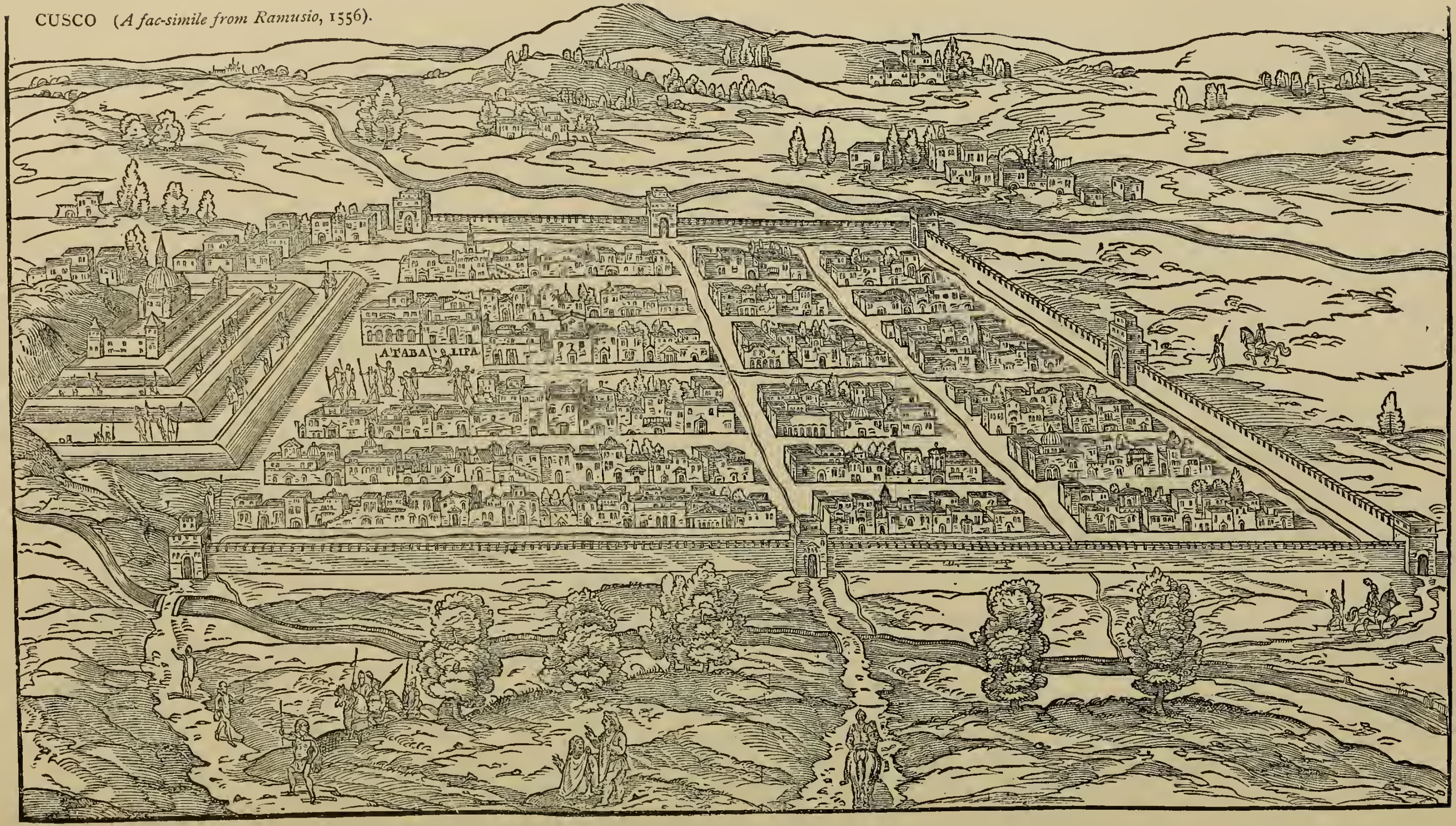
Toledo was assisted by statesmen of great ability and experience, who warmly sympathized with the aboriginal races, and were anxious for their welfare. Chief among his advisers was the licentiate Polo de Ondegardo, who had now been several years in Peru, had filled important administrative posts, — especially as *corregidor* of Charcas and of Cusco, — and had studied the system of the government and civilization of the Yncas with minute attention, especially as regards the tenures of land, and always with a view to securing justice to the natives. The licentiate Juan Matienzo was another upright and learned minister who had studied the indigenous civilization and the requirements of colonial policy with great care; while in affairs relating to religion and the instruction of the people, the viceroy consulted the accomplished Jesuit author, José de Acosta.

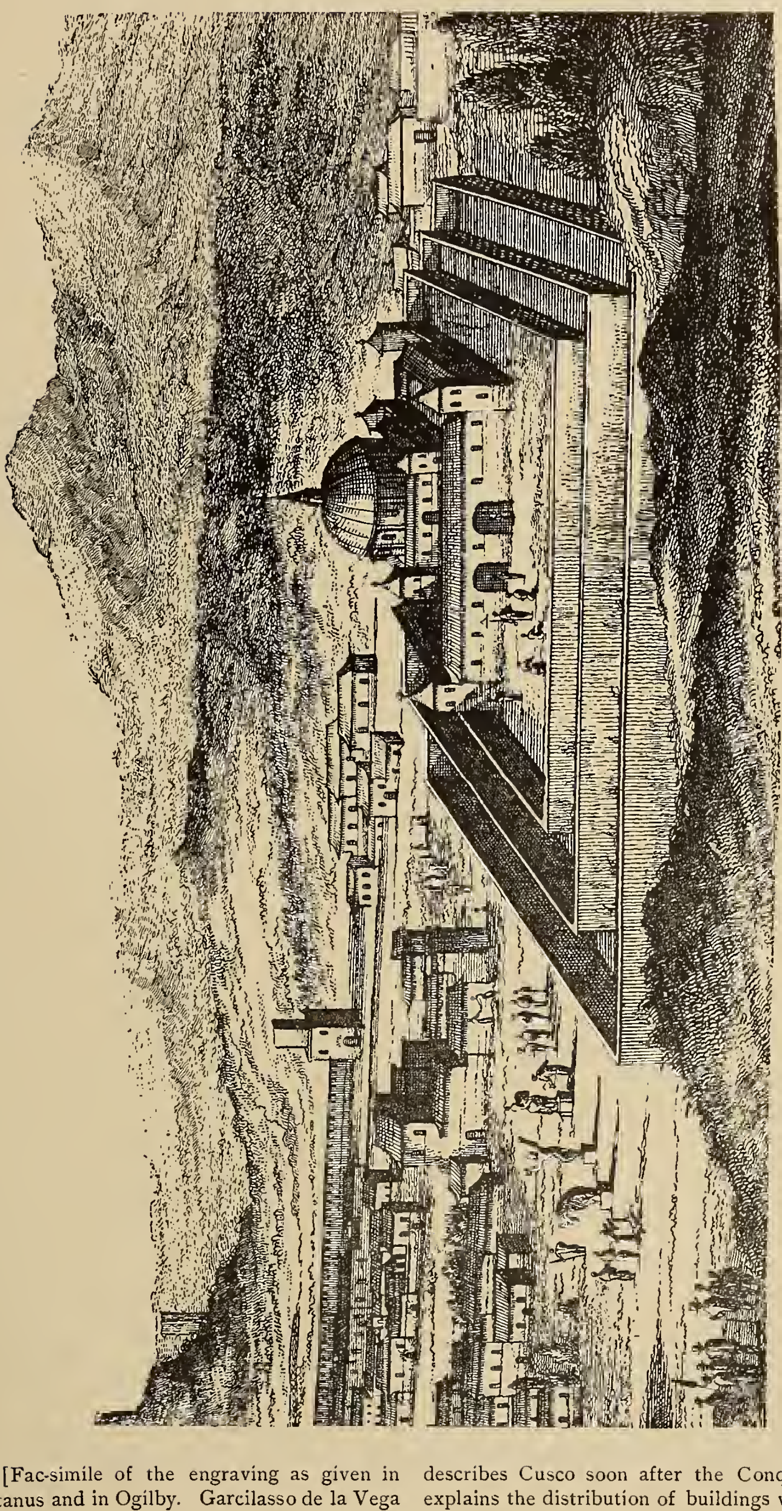
But the conduct of Toledo with regard to the Ynca royal family was dictated by a narrow view of political expediency, and was alike unwise and iniquitous. He reversed the generous and enlightened policy of the Marquis of Cañete. After the death of Sayri Tupac, the Ynca court had again retired into the mountain fastnesses of Vilcabamba, where the late Ynca's two brothers, Titu Cusi Yupanqui and Tupac Amaru, resided with many native chiefs and followers. When the new viceroy arrived at Cusco, in January, 1571, the Ynca Titu Cusi sent an embassy to him, and requested that ministers of religion might be sent to Vilcabamba. Accordingly, the friar Diego Ortiz arrived at the Ynca court; but almost immediately afterward Titu Cusi sickened and died, and the superstitious people, believing that it was the work of the friar, put him to death. The youthful Tupac Amaru was then proclaimed Ynca, as successor to his brother. This gave the viceroy the pretext he sought. He despatched a strong force into Vilcabamba, under the command of Martin Garcia Loyola, who was married to an Ynca princess, the daughter of Sayri Tupac. Loyola penetrated into Vilcabamba, and took young Tupac Amaru prisoner on the 4th of October, 1571. He was brought to Cusco and confined in a palace, under the shadow of the great fortress, which until now had belonged to the family of his uncle, the Ynca Paullu. But the viceroy had seized it as a strong position to be held by Spanish troops under his uncle Don Luis de Toledo. There was a trial for the murder of the friar; several chiefs were sentenced to be strangled, and Tupac Amaru, who was perfectly innocent and against whom there was no evidence, was to be beheaded.

The young sovereign was instructed for several days by two monks who were excellent Quichua scholars, and who spoke the language with grace and elegance. He was then taken to a scaffold, which had been erected in the great square. The open spaces and the hills above the town were covered with dense crowds of people. When the executioner produced his knife, there was such a shout of grief and horror that the Spaniards were amazed, and there were few of them with a dry eye. The boy was perfectly calm. He raised his right arm, and there was profound silence. He spoke a few simple words of resignation, and the scene was so heart-rending that the hardest of the conquerors lost self-control. Led by the bishop and the heads of the monasteries, they rushed to the house of the viceroy and threw themselves on their knees, praying for mercy and entreating him to send the Ynca to Spain to be judged by the king. Toledo was a laborious administrator, but his heart was harder than the nether millstone. He sent off the chief Alguazil, of Cusco, to cause the sentence to be executed without delay. The crime was perpetrated amid deafening shouts of grief and horror, while the great bell of the cathedral was tolled. The body was taken to the palace of the Ynca's mother, and was afterward interred in the principal chapel of the cathedral, after a solemn service performed by the bishop and the chapter. Toledo caused the head to be cut off and stuck on a pike beside the scaffold; but such vast crowds came to worship before it every day, that it was taken down and interred with the body.

The judicial murder of Tupac Amaru was part of a settled policy. Toledo intended to crush out all remains of reverence and loyalty for the ancient family among the people. He confiscated the property of

CUSCO (*A fac-simile from Ramusio*, 1556).





TEMPLE OF CUSCO.[1]

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[1] [Fac-simile of the engraving as given in Montanus and in Ogilby. Garcilasso de la Vega describes Cusco soon after the Conquest, and explains the distribution of buildings which was

the Yncas, deprived them of most of the privileges they had hitherto been allowed to retain, and even banished the numerous half-caste children of Spaniards by Ynca princesses.

At the same time he labored diligently to formulate and establish a colonial policy and system of government on the ruins of the civilization of the Yncas.

The instructions of the kings of Spain, through their council of the Indies, were remarkable for beneficence and liberality in all that concerned the natives. Strict orders were given for their instruction and kind treatment, and special officers were appointed for their protection. But at the same time there were incessant demands for increased supplies of treasure from the mines. It was like the orders of the directors of the East India Company to Warren Hastings, — justice to the natives, but more money. The two orders were incompatible. In spite of their beneficent rules and good intentions, the Spanish kings must share the guilt of their colonial officers, as regards the treatment of the natives. It is right, however, that the names of those conquerors should be recorded who displayed feelings of sympathy and kindness for their Indian vassals. Lorenzo de Aldana, who took a prominent and important part in the civil wars, died at Arequipa in 1556, and left all his property to the Indians whom he had received in *repartimiento*, for the payment of their tribute in future years. Marcio Sierra de Leguizamo described the happy condition of the people when the Spaniards arrived, and in his will expressed deep contrition at having taken part in their destruction. Garcilasso de la Vega was ever kind and considerate to his Indian vassals. Cieza de Leon in his writings[1] shows the warmest sympathy for the Ynca people. There were, however, too many of the first conquerors of a different stamp.

The viceroy Toledo wisely based his legislation on the system of the Yncas. His elaborate code, called the *Libro de Tasas*, was the text-book for all future viceroys. He fixed the amount of tribute to be paid by the

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made among the conquerors. A plan of the ancient and modern city, showing the conquerors' houses, is given in Markham's *Royal Commentaries of De la Vega*, vol. ii., and in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1871, p. 281. A plan of the ancient and modern town, by E. G. Squier, is given in that author's *Peru, Land of the Incas* (New York), 1877, p. 428. The house of Pizarro is delineated in Charton's *Voyageurs*, vol. iii. p. 367; and the remains of the palace of the first Inca, in Squier's *Land of the Incas*, p. 451.

Cieza de Leon says: "Cusco was grand and stately; it must have been founded by a people of great intelligence." (Markham's edition. *Travels*, pp. 322, 327.)

Early plans or views of Cusco are given in Ramusio, vol. iii. p. 412 (see *ante*, p. 554); in Münster's *Cosmographia*, 1572 and 1598; in Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum;* in De Bry, part vi., and in Herrera (1728), vol. iii. p. 161. There is a large woodcut map of Cusco, in Ant. du Pinet's *Plantz, Pourtraitz et Descriptions de plusieurs Villes*, etc., Lyons, 1564.

Vander Aa published a view at Leyden, and another is in Rycaut's translation of Garcilasso de la Vega, p. 12. Accounts of the modern town are given by Markham, Squier, and others, and there is a view of it in *Tour du Monde*, 1863, p. 265. — Ed.]

[1] For the writings of Cieza de Leon, see the "Critical Essay," *post*.

Indians, wholly exempting all males under the age of eighteen, and over that of fifty. He recognized the positions of hereditary nobles or *curacas*, assigning them magisterial functions, and the duty of collecting the tribute and paying it to the Spanish *corregidors*. He enacted that one seventh part of the population of every village should be subject to the *mita*, or forced labor in mines or factories; at the same time fixing the distance they might be taken from their homes, and the payment they were to receive. It was the abuse of the *mita* system, and the habitual infraction of the rules established by Toledo, which caused all the subsequent misery and the depopulation of the country. Humane treatment of the people was incompatible with the annual despatch of vast treasure to Spain. Toledo also fixed the tenures of land, organized local government by *corregidors*, and specified the duties of all officials, in his voluminous code of ordinances.

In the days of this viceroy the Inquisition was introduced into Peru, but the natives were exempted from its penalties as catechumens. Heretical Europeans or Creoles were alone exposed to its terrible jurisdiction. The first *auto da fé* took place at Lima on November 19, 1573, when a crazy old hermit, suspected of Lutheranism, was burned. Another was celebrated with great pomp on the 13th of April, 1578, the viceroy and judges of the *Audiencia* being present in a covered stand on the great square of Lima. There were sixteen victims to suffer various punishments, but none were put to death.

During the government of Toledo, in 1579, Sir Francis Drake appeared on the coast of Peru,[1] and in the following year the viceroy despatched an important surveying expedition to the Straits of Magellan under Sarmiento. After a long and eventful period of office, extending over upwards of twelve years, Don Francisco de Toledo returned to Spain. He was coldly received by Philip II., who said that he had not been sent to Peru to kill kings, and dismissed him. He was a hard-hearted man, but a conscientious and able administrator, and a devoted public servant.

Don Martin Henriquez, second son of the Marquis of Alcanizes, was then viceroy of Mexico, whence he was removed to Peru as successor to Toledo. He entered Lima on the 28th of September, 1581. He worked assiduously to carry out the ordinances of his able predecessor in all branches of administration; but his career was cut short by death after holding office for eighteen months. He died on the 15th of March, 1583, and was buried in the church of San Francisco. In 1582 he had founded the college of San Martin, to be under the rule of Jesuits, and on the 15th of August of the same year the second council of Lima assembled under the presidency of the archbishop.

Loaysa, the first archbishop of Lima, died in 1575, and the see was vacant for six years. Toribio de Mogrovejo was consecrated at Seville in 1580, and entered Lima May 24, 1581, at the age of forty-three. He at

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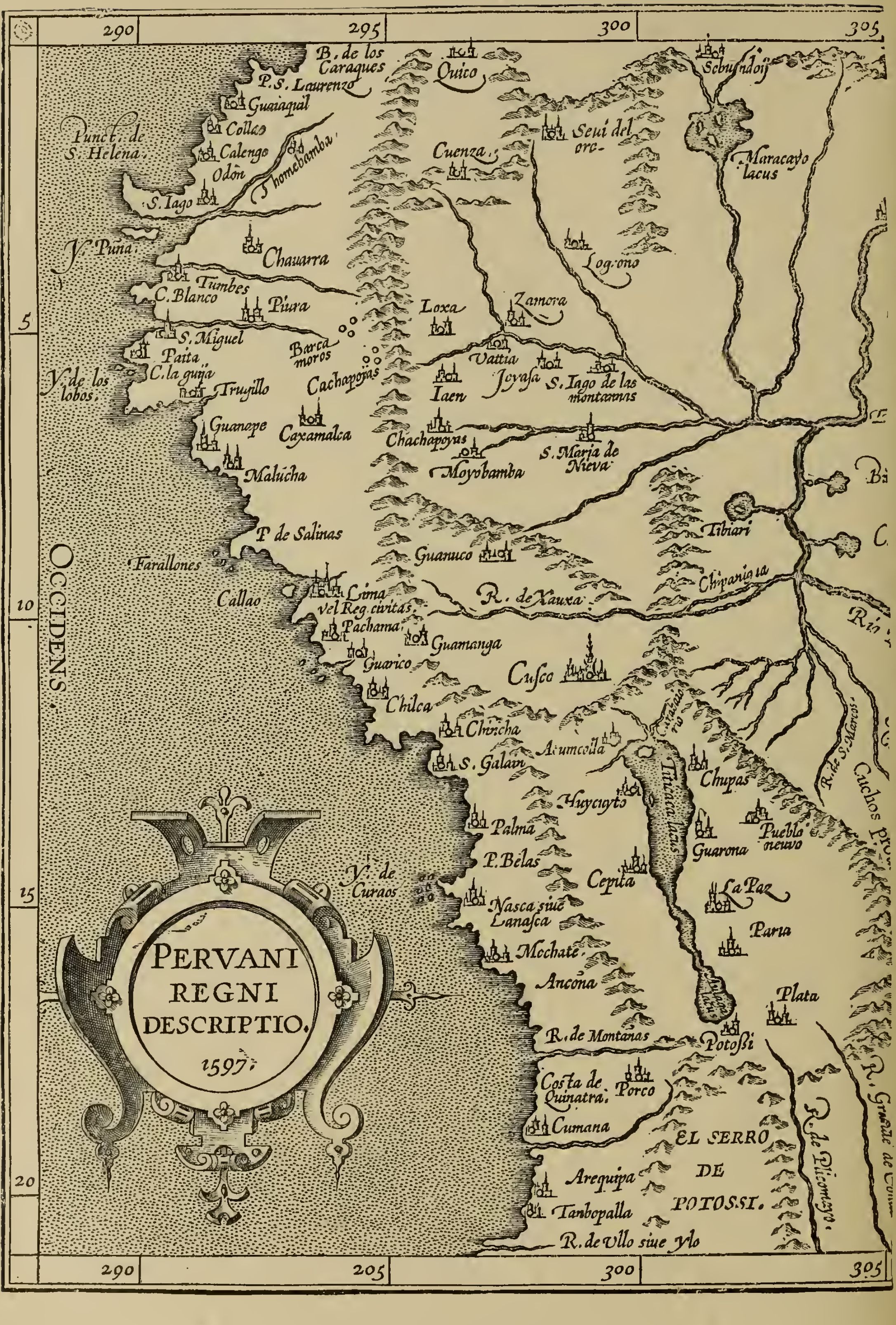
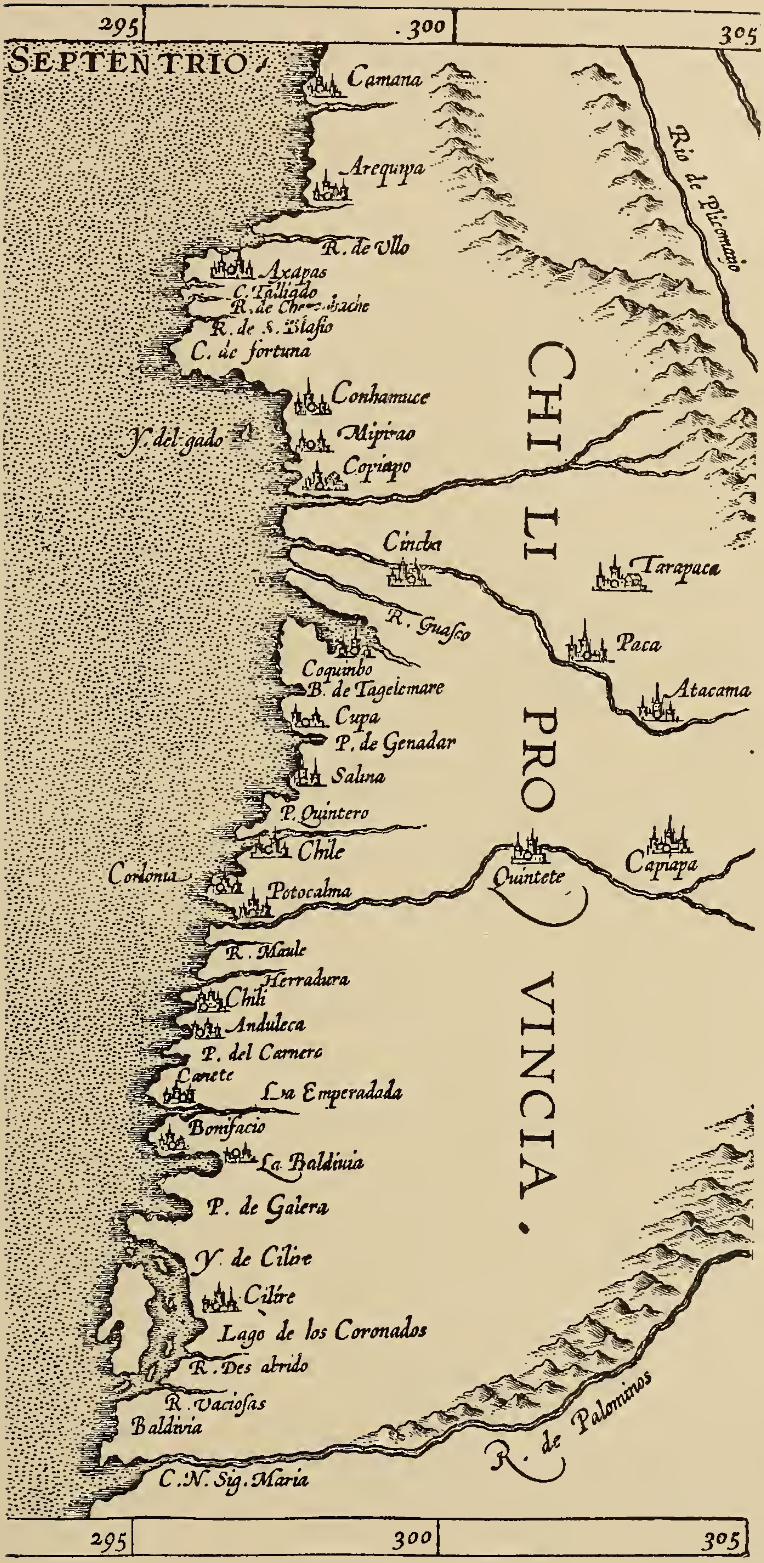
[1] [See Vol. III. p. 66. — ED.]



PERU (*after Wytfliet*, 1597).



CHILI (*after Wytfliet*, 1597).

once began the study of the Quichua language, to prepare for his tours of inspection. He had a mule, but generally travelled on foot, stopping in villages and at wayside huts, instructing, catechising, and administering the sacraments. He penetrated into the most inaccessible fastnesses of the Andes and visited all the coast valleys, journeying over burning deserts, along snowy heights, and through dense forests, year after year untiringly. He founded the seminary at Lima, for the education of priests, which is now known by his name. Besides the council of 1582, he celebrated two other provincial councils in 1592 and 1601, and ten diocesan synods. The principal work of these assemblies was to draw up catechisms and questions for the use of priests, with a view to the extirpation of idolatry, and to regulate parochial work. The good archbishop died at Saña on the coast, during one of his laborious visitations, on the 23d of March, 1606. He was canonized in 1680, and is revered as Saint Toribio. During his archiepiscopate a girl was born at Lima, of very poor and honest Spanish parents, named Rosa Flores, and was baptized by Saint Toribio in 1586. Her goodness and charity were equalled by her surpassing beauty, which she dedicated to God; and after her death, in 1617, a conclave of theologians decided that she had never strayed from the right path in thought or deed. She was canonized in 1671, and Santa Rosa is the patron saint of Lima, with her festival on the 30th of August.[1]

Don Fernando de Torres y Portugal, Conde de Villar Don Pardo, the successor of Henriquez, did not reach Lima until the 20th of November, 1586. He endeavored to prevent abuses in taking Indians for the *mita*, and ordered that none should be sent to unsuitable climates. During the previous forty years negroes had been imported into the coast valleys of Peru in considerable numbers as slaves, and supplied labor for the rich cotton and sugar estates. The Conde de Villar was an old man, with good intentions but limited capacity. He allowed abuses to creep into the financial accounts, which were in great confusion when he was superseded in the year 1590.

Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, the fourth marquis of Cañete, had already served in Peru, when his father was viceroy, and had won renown in his war with the Araucanians. He had also seen service in Germany and Italy. Married to Doña Teresa de Castro y de la Cueva, granddaughter of the proud Duke of Albuquerque, he was the first viceroy who had been allowed to take a vice-queen with him to Peru, and he was also accompanied by her brother, the gallant and chivalrous Don Beltran de Castro y Cueva, as commander of the forces. On the 6th of January, 1590, the new viceroy made his solemn entry into Lima, in a magnificent procession of richly adorned Indian nobles, arquebusiers and pikemen, gentlemen of the household, judges of the *Audiencia*, professors and students of the University of San Marcos, and kings-at-arms. The marquis came out with the usual injunctions to enforce the kindly treatment of Indians, but he received urgent demands from the king for more and more money. In 1591 he imposed the *alcabala*, or duties on sales in markets, and on coca. He was obliged to send increasing numbers of victims to the silver mines, and to the quicksilver mines of Huancavelica. He made numerous ordinances for the regulation of industries and of markets, the suppression of gambling, and the punishment of fugitive slaves. He founded the college of San Felipe and San Marcos at Lima in 1592. He despatched an important expedition under Mandaña, which discovered the Marquesas Islands. He was an active and intelligent ruler; but all the good he attempted to do was counterbalanced by the calls for treasure from Spain. He sent home 1,500,000 ducats, besides value in jewels and plate.

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[1] [A life of Santa Rosa, by Léonard de Hansen, was printed at Rome in 1664. A Spanish translation, *La bienaventurada Rosa*, etc., by Father Iacinto de Parra, was published at Madrid in 1668. It is enlarged upon the original from documents gathered to induce the Pope to canonize her. De Parra, in his *Rosa Laureada* (Madrid, 1670), gives an account of the movement to effect her canonization; and an account of the solemnities on the occasion of its consummation is printed in the *Mercure de France* (1671). A Spanish translation of Hansen, by Antonio de Lorea, was issued at Madrid in 1671; and a Portuguese version appeared at Lisbon in 1669 and 1674. Another Life, by Acuña, bishop of Caracas, was printed at Rome in 1665. A metrical *Vida de Santa Rosa*, by Oviedo y Herrera has the imprint of Madrid, 1711. (Cf. Leclerc, 1705, 1754-56, 1784, 1812 1813.) — Ed.]

After having governed Peru for six years and a half, the Marquis of Cañete begged to be allowed to return home. He was succeeded by Don Luis de Velasco, Marquis of Salinas, who came from Mexico, where he had been the viceroy. The Marquis of Salinas entered Lima on the 24th of July, 1596, and governed Peru until the end of 1604.

Chili had been comparatively quiet under the immediate successors of Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, although the war with the Araucanians had never actually ceased. In 1583 Philip II. selected a military officer of great experience and approved valor as governor of Chili. Don Alonso de Sotomayor left Spain for Buenos Ayres with seven hundred men, and made the journey across the Pampas and over the pass of Uspallata, reaching Santiago on the 22d of September, 1583. He and his brother Luis carried on a desultory war against the Araucanians for several years. During 1588 the attacks of the Indians were led by an intrepid heroine named Janequeo, who was resolved to avenge the death of her husband. The governor was superseded in 1592 and proceeded to Callao, where he commanded a ship, under Don Beltran de Cueva, in the fleet which attacked and captured Sir Richard Hawkins and his ship. Sotomayor then returned to Spain.

The new governor of Chili was Don Martin Garcia Oñez de Loyola, the same cavalier who married an Ynca princess, and captured young Tupac Amaru. He was a Basque, of the province of Guipuzcoa, and a near relative of Saint Ignatius. He arrived at Valparaiso, with four hundred soldiers and abundant supplies of warlike stores, on the 23d of September, 1592, reaching Santiago on the 6th of October. The Araucanians had elected the aged chief Paillamacu as their *toqui*, with two younger warriors named

Pelantaru and Millacalquin as his lieutenants. Believing the subjugation of Araucaria to be practicable, the new governor traversed the country between Imperial and Villarica during the year 1597, but failed to discover his astute foes. In the spring of 1598 Loyola was at Imperial, where he received a letter from his wife, the Ynca princess Doña Beatriz Coya, urging him to retreat to Concepcion, as the Araucanians were rising. He set out for Angol, accompanied by only sixty officers, on the 21st of November, 1598, and stopped for the night in the valley of Curalaba. When all were wrapped in sleep, the tents were attacked by five hundred native warriors, and the governor was killed, with all his companions. His widow, the Ynca princess, went to Spain with a young daughter, who was given in marriage by Philip III. to Juan Henriquez de Borja, heir of the house of Gandia, and was at the same time created Marquesa de Oropesa.

SOTOMAYOR.[1]

The death of the governor was a signal for a general rising. Within forty-eight hours there were thirty thousand Araucanian warriors in the field under the *toqui* Paillamacu. All the Spanish towns south of the river Biobio were taken and destroyed, the invasion was hurled back beyond Concepcion, and the Spaniards were placed on the defensive.

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[1] [Fac-similie of a part of a copperplate in Ovalle's *Historica Relacion de Chili.* Rome, 1648. — Ed.]

The seventeenth century opened in Peru with a period of peace, during which the system of government elaborated by the viceroy Toledo was to be worked out to its consequences, — and in Chili, with the prospect of a prolonged contest and an impoverished treasury. In both countries the future of the native races was melancholy and without hope.

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CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE king of Spain instituted the office of historiographer of the Indies, and that post was held for upwards of half a century by the learned Antonio de Herrera, who died in 1625. All the official reports and correspondence were placed in his hands, and he had the use of a great deal of material which is now lost; so that he is indispensable as an authority.[1] His great work, *Historia General de las Indias Occidentales*, covers the whole ground from 1492 to 1554, and is divided into eight decades, in strict chronological order. The history of the conquest of Peru and of the subsequent civil wars is recorded with reference to chronological order as bearing on events in other parts of the Indies, and not connectedly. The work first appeared in 1601 and 1615, in five folio volumes, and was republished in 1730. The English version by Stevens, in six octavo volumes (1725), is worthless. The episode relating to the descent of the river Amazon by Francisco de Orellana (*Herrera*, dec. vi. lib. ix.), was translated by Clements R. Markham, C. B., and printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1859 as a part of the volume called *Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons*.

Francisco Lopez de Gomara was another compiler, who never personally visited Peru, and is best known for his history of the conquest of Mexico. His narrative of the conquest of Peru forms an important part of his work entitled *Historia de las Indias*. Although he was a contemporary, and had peculiarly good opportunities for obtaining trustworthy information, he was careless in his statements, and is an unsafe authority.[2]

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, born in 1478 of an old Asturian family, was an eye-witness of the events on the isthmus which directly led to the discovery of Peru. He went out with the governor Pedro Arias in 1513, and was at Panamá when Pizarro and Almagro were fitting out their first expedition. He afterwards resided for many years in Hispaniola, and at his death, in 1557, he was chronicler of the Indies, the predecessor of Herrera. He was devoted to historical composition, interspersing his narrative with anecdotes and personal reminiscences; but most of his works long remained in manuscript. His two chapters on the conquest of Peru cover the ground from the landing of Pizarro to the return of Almagro from Chili.[3]

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[1] [See Introduction (p. i) and p. 67. — ED.]

[2] [Cf. the chapter on Cortés. — ED.]

[3] [The bibliography of Oviedo is traced in a note following the chapter on Las Casas. Prescott has measured him as an authority in his *Peru* (Kirk's edition, vol. ii. p. 305). Helps speaks of his history as a "mass of confusion and irrelevancy; but at the same time," he adds, "it is a most valuable mine of facts." A paper, appended to the combined edition of Peter Martyr and Oviedo published at Venice in 1534, seems to have been enlarged upon a tract *La Conquista del Peru*, published at Seville in 1534 (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.* p. 199), and is thought to bear some relation to the "Relatione d'un Capitano Spagnuolo" given in Ramusio, vol. iii. (*Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, vol. ii. p. 536; Sabin, xvi, no. 61,097). — ED.]

It is, however, a relief to escape from compilers, and to be able to read the narratives of the actual actors in the events they describe. The first adventurer who attempted to discover Peru was the *adelantado* Pascual de Andagoya, and he has recorded the story of his failures. Born of a good stock in the province of Alava, Pascual went out to Darien when very young, with the governor Pedro Arias, in 1514. After the failure of his first attempt he was in Panamá for some years, and in 1540 received the government of the country round the Rio San Juan, the scene of Pizarro's early sufferings. Here he founded the town of Buenaventura; but having got into a dispute with Benalcazar respecting the boundaries of their jurisdictions, Andagoya returned to Spain, where he remained five years. He accompanied the president Gasca to Peru, and died at Cusco on the 18th of June, 1548. He had broken his leg, but was recovering, when fever supervened, which carried him off. Gasca reported that his death was mourned by all, because he was such a good man, and so zealous in the service of his country. The historian Oviedo, who knew him well in the early days of the Darien colony, speaks of Andagoya as a noble-minded and virtuous person. He was a man of some education; and his humane treatment of the Indians entitles his name to honorable mention. His interesting narrative long remained in manuscript at Seville, but it was at length published by Navarrete.[1] An English translation,[2] by Clements R. Markham, C. B., with notes and an introduction, was printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1865.[3]

Francisco de Xeres, the secretary of Pizarro, wrote his account of the early days of the conquest of Peru on the spot, by order (March, 1533) of his master. He left Spain with Pizarro in January, 1530, returned to Seville with the first instalment of gold from Caxamarca in July, 1534; and his narrative, which embraces the period between these dates, was printed at Seville in the same year.[4] This edition and that of 1547, printed somewhat carelessly at Salamanca, are extremely rare.[5] The third and best-known edition was published at Madrid in 1749 in the Barcia Collection, *Historiadores primitivos de las Indias.* Italian editions appeared in 1535,[6] and in 1556 in Ramusio;[7] and a French version was published at Paris by M. Ternaux-Compans in 1837.[8] An English translation, with notes and an introduction by Clements R. Markham, C. B., was printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1872. There is a freshness and reality in the story told by Xeres, owing to his having been an eye-witness of all the events he describes, which the more elaborate accounts of compilers cannot

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[1] *Coleccion de viages y descubrimientos*, vol. iii. no. vii. p. 393.

[2] [*Narrative of the Proceedings of Pedrárias Davilla, and of the Discovery of the South Sea and Coasts of Peru*, etc. — ED.]

[3] [Oviedo traces Andagoya's career in vol. iv. p. 126. Cf. Bancroft's *Central America*, vol. i. p. 503; Helps, vol. iii. p. 426; and the notice in Pacheco, *Coleccion de documentos inéditos*, vol. xxxix. p. 552. — ED.]

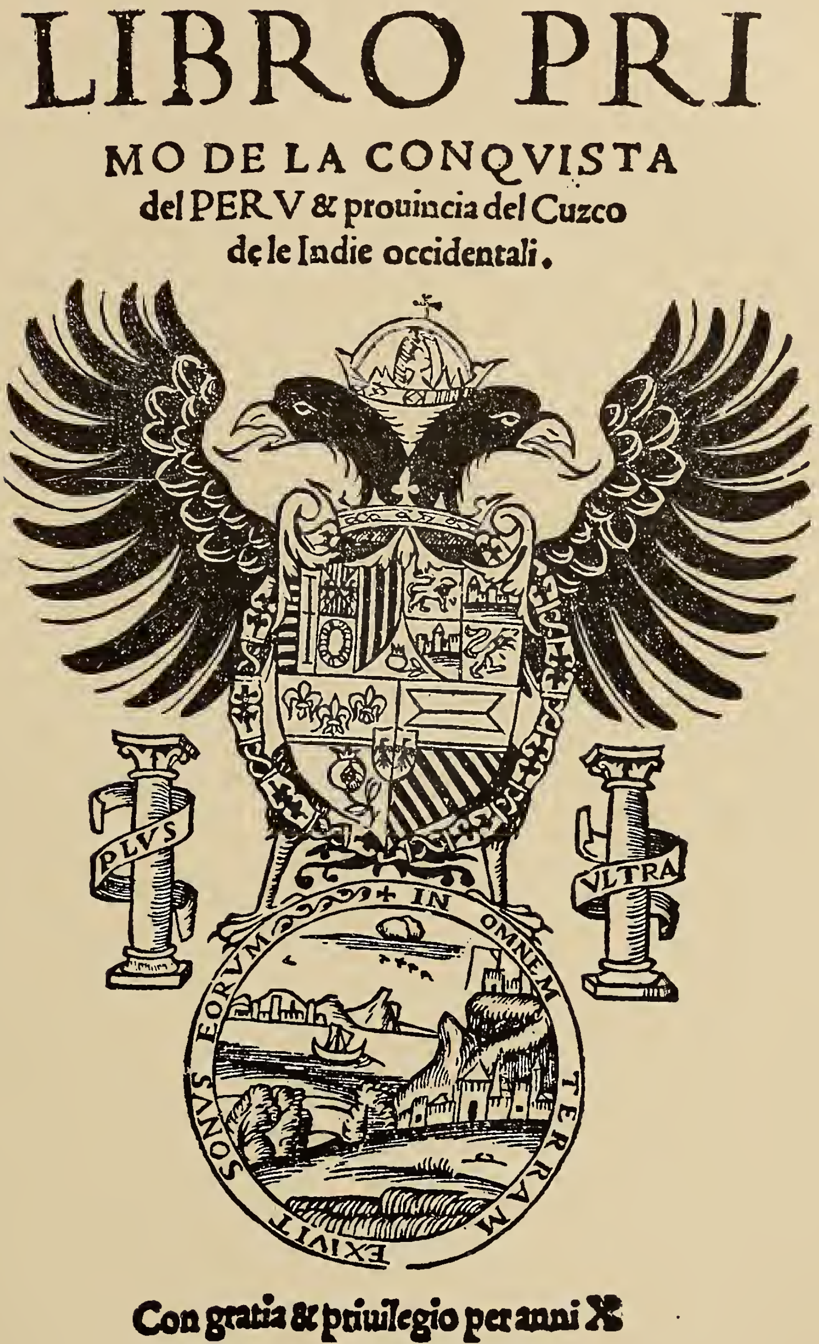
[4] [*Verdadera relacion de la Conquista del Peru.* There is a copy in the Lenox Library. Cf. *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 198. — ED.]

[5] [There are copies in the Lenox and Carter-Brown libraries. Quaritch in 1873 priced it at £35. Cf. *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, p. 277; Ternaux, no. 54; Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 146. It is sometimes bound with Oviedo's *Coronica*, and F. S. Ellis (1882, no. 221) prices the combined edition at £105. The *Huth Catalogue*, vol. v. p. 1628, shows an edition, *Conquista del Peru*, black-letter, without place or date, which Harrisse thinks preceded this 1547 edition. The Huth copy is the only one known. — ED.]

[6] [This Italian version (Venetian dialect) was made by Domingo de Gazlelu, and appeared at Venice; and a fac-simile of the title is given herewith showing the arms of the emperor. Rich (no. 11) in 1832 priced it at £1 4*s.*; Quaritch of late years has held it at £5 and £7; F. S. Ellis (1884) at £12, 12*s.*; and Leclerc (no. 2,998) at 750 francs. There are copies in the Lenox, Harvard College, and Carter-Brown (*Catalogue*, vol. i. no. 116) libraries. It was reprinted at Milan the same year in an inferior manner, and a copy of this edition is in the British Museum. Cf. *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 200, 201; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, p. 818; Huth, p. 1628; Court. no. 376. What is said to be a translation of this Italian version into French, *L'histoire de la terre neuve du Peru*, Paris, 1545, signed I. G. (Jacques Gohory), purports to be an extract from Oviedo's *Historia.* Cf. *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 264; *Court Catalogue*, no. 175. — ED.]

[7] [Vol. iii. p. 378. — ED.]

[8] [*Voyages*, etc., vol. iv. This edition is worth about eight francs. A German edition is recorded as made by Külb at Stuttgard in 1843. — ED.]



LIBRO PRI
MO DE LA CONQVISTA
del PERV & prouincia del Cuzco
de le Indie occidentali.

PLVS
VLTRA
IN OMNEM TERRAM EXIVIT SONVS EORVM

Con gratia & priuilegio per anni X

TITLE OF XERES. VENICE, 1535.

impart. Xeres has increased the value of his book by inserting the narrative of Miguel Astete, who accompanied Hernando Pizarro on his expedition to Pachacamac.

Hernando Pizarro wrote a letter to the royal *Audiencia* of Santo Domingo, which goes over the same ground as the narratives of Xeres and Astete, but is of course much briefer. It is peculiarly valuable as containing the observations of the man of highest rank in the expedition who was able to write.[1] The letter is dated November, 1533, and was written on his way to Spain with the treasure. Oviedo gives it in his *Historia General*,[2] and it is printed by Quintana in his *Vidas de Españoles celebres*.[3] It was translated into English by Clements R. Markham, C. B., and printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1872 in the volume of *Reports on the Discovery of Peru*.

Pedro Sancho, the notary, wrote a note of the distribution of the ransom of Atahualpa, with a list of the conquerors and the amount each received. It is contained in the inedited work of Francisco Lopez de Caravantes, and was reprinted by Quintana in his *Vidas de Españoles celebres*. An English translation by Clements R. Markham, C. B., was printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1872, in the volume already cited. See also *Ramusio*, vol. iii. p. 414, for an Italian version, in which form it was used by Robertson and Prescott.[4]

Vicente de Valverde, the Dominican friar who accompanied Pizarro in the conquest of Peru and took part in the imprisonment and murder of Atahualpa, was made bishop of Cusco in 1536. On his way to Spain, in 1541, he landed on the island of Puna, in the Bay of Guayaquil, was seized by the natives, and put to death with his brother-in-law and twenty-six other Spaniards. He wrote a detailed *Carta-relacion* on the affairs of Peru, which is still inedited. He also addressed letters to the emperor Charles V., which contain original information of great value. A copy of one, dated Cusco, April 2, 1539, was among Sir Thomas Phillipps's collection of manuscripts. It is frequently quoted by Helps.

Pedro Pizarro, a cousin of the conqueror, went out as his page in 1530, when only fifteen. He was an eye-witness of all the events of the Conquest, and of the subsequent civil wars, having retired to Arequipa after the assassination of his patron. Here he probably wrote his *Relaciones del Descubrimiento y Conquista de los Reynos del Peru*, finished in 1571. It is a plain, unadorned statement of facts, but of the highest value as an authority. It remained in manuscript for centuries, but was at length printed in the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de Espana*, v. 201–388.[5]

The death-struggle between the Pizarros and the old marshal Almagro is fully told in the above general histories; but light is also thrown upon the story from other directions. Among the manuscripts in the National Library at Madrid[6] there is an autobiography by a young scapegrace of noble birth named Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman, comprising a period from 1518 to 1543, from his nineteenth to his forty-fourth year. The early part reminds one of the adventures of Gil Blas; but in 1534 he went to Peru, and was a principal actor in the events which took place between the departure of Almagro for Chili in 1535 and his execution in 1538. Don Alonzo seems to have quarrelled with Hernando Pizarro during the siege of Cusco, and warmly espoused the cause of Almagro, who made him one of his executors. The latter portion of the autobiography, including a long letter to the emperor on the conduct of Hernando Pizarro, is very interesting, while the frankness of Don Alonzo's confessions as regards his own motives is most entertaining. *The Life and Acts of Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman* was translated and edited by Clements R. Markham, C. B., and printed by the Hakluyt Society in 1862. It had up to this time escaped notice.

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[1] [Prescott says (*Peru*, vol. i. p. 385): "Allowing for the partialities incident to a chief actor in the scenes he describes, no authority can rank higher." — ED.]

[2] Chap. xv. lib. 43.

[3] Paris, 1845, p. 180.

[4] [Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, *Additions*, no. 109, notes, but not *de visu*, a plaquette enumerating the treasure sent to Spain by Pizarro in 1534. F. S. Ellis (1884, no. 235) priced at £21 a second copy of the tract mentioned by Harrisse (no. 108) as known only in a copy in a private library in New York, entitled *Copey etlicher brieff so auss Hispania Kummen seindt*, 1535, which purports to be translated through the French from the Spanish. Ellis pronounces it a version of Harrisse's no. 109, the only copy known of which was, as he says, lost in a binder's shop. Cf. the *Libro ultimo de le Indie occidentale intitulato nova Castiglia, e del Conquisto del Peru*, published at Rome, May, 1535 (Sunderland, vol. i. no. 265). For the effect of Peruvian gold on prices in Europe, see Brevoort's *Verrazano*, p. iii. — ED.]

[5] [It would seem to have been used by Herrera. Navarrete communicated a copy to Prescott, who characterizes it in his *Conquest of Peru*, ii. 72. —ED.]

[6] *Papeles Manuscripts Originales y Ineditos*, G. 127.

The last years of the marquis Pizarro were occupied in laying out and building the capital of Peru, and we are indebted to the researches of the learned Peruvian, Don Manuel Gonzalez de la Rosa, for having discovered the most detailed account of the founding and early history of Lima among the manuscripts in the Biblioteca Colombina at Seville. The *Historia de la Fundacion de Lima* was written by the Jesuit Bernabé Cobo between 1610 and 1629, and was first printed under the superintendence of Dr. De la Rosa in the *Revista Peruana*.[1]

The story of the murder of Pizarro is told in the general histories, and there are some additional particulars in Montesinos. A very laudatory life of the marquis, which, however, contains the results of original research, is contained in the *Varones Ilustres del Nuevo Mundo*, by Fernando Pizarro y Orellana (Madrid, 1639). This work also contains Lives of Pizarro's brothers and of Almagro.[2]

But by far the best life of Pizarro, both as regards literary merit and conscientious research, is contained in the *Vidas de Españoles Celebres* by Don Manuel Josef Quintana.[3] Quintana also gives the texts of the original agreement (1526) between Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque, and of the capitulation (July 26, 1529, at Toledo) between Queen Juana and Pizarro. These documents are also given by Prescott in the Appendix to the second volume of his *Conquest of Peru*.[4]

After the assassination of Pizarro, the licentiate Vaca de Castro, having defeated the younger Almagro, succeeded as governor of Peru, and the history of his rule is told in his own letters. The first is to the emperor, reporting his arrival at Santo Domingo, and is very brief. The second, also to the emperor, is from Quito, and announces the assassination of Pizarro and the rebellion of Almagro the lad. The third is addressed to the emperor from Cusco, after the battle of Chupas, and is a straightforward statement of his proceedings. The fourth is a long letter from Cusco to his wife on private affairs. There is also a long letter on the revolt of young Almagro and the battle of Chupas from the municipality of Cusco to the emperor. These letters are included in the great official volume of *Cartas de Indias* published at Madrid in 1877, pp. 463–521. The *Vida y elojio del licenciado Vaca de Castro, Gobernador del Peru*, was written by Antonio de Herrera, the chronicler of the Indies.[5]

A good historian accompanied the ill-fated viceroy Blasco Nuñez de Vela to Lima. Augustin de Zarate was comptroller of accounts for Castile, and was sent out with the first viceroy to examine into the financial affairs of Peru. He collected notes and materials during his residence at Lima, and began the compilation of a history from the discovery by Pizarro to the departure of Gasca, when he returned to Spain. He had access to the best official sources of information, and his work is not without value; but he was strongly prejudiced, and his style is tedious and inelegant. He assigns as the reason for not having begun his narrative in Peru, that Carbajal had threatened any one who should attempt to record his exploits. In the earlier portions he relied on the testimony of the actors still living; but for the later part he was himself a spectator and actor. He had not intended to publish it in his lifetime; but the commendation of the emperor, to whom it was shown, induced him to depart from his purpose. The original manuscript of Zarate is or was preserved at Simancas; and Muñoz has disclosed how the printed volume differs considerably from it, in suppressing things too frankly stated, and in taking on a literary flavor not in the draft. Muñoz supposed that Florian d' Ocampo performed this critical office in passing the book through the press.[1] His *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista de la Provincia del Peru* was printed at Antwerp in 1555,[2] and a folio edition appeared at Seville in 1577;[3] but the best edition of Zarate is in the Barcia Collection, vol. iii. It was included in 1853 in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. xxvi.[4]

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[1] Lima, 1880.

[2] [The author of the *Varones* was a grandson of the daughter of Francisco Pizarro (cf. Carter-Brown, ii. 465). H. H. Bancroft, *Central America*, ii. 273. — ED.]

[3] [It was published at Madrid in 1807, 1830, 1833, and at Paris in 1845. — ED.]

[4] [Harrisse (*Bibl. Am. Vet.*, 132) quotes from Asher's *Catalogue*, 1865, a *Lettere di Pietro Arias*, 1525, without place, which he supposes to refer to the first expedition of Almagro, Pizarro, and Luque. — ED.]

[5] [Cf. the notice of Herrera with references, given in the Introduction. — ED.]

A more important narrative of the civil war, which ended with the death of the viceroy Blasco Nuñez, was written by Pedro de Cieza de Leon, and has been recently published. Cieza de Leon landed in South America when he was barely fifteen, in the year 1534, and during his military service he conceived a strong desire to write an account of the strange things that were to be seen in the new world. "Oftentimes," he wrote, "when the other soldiers were reposing, I was tiring myself by writing. Neither fatigue, nor the ruggedness of the country, nor the mountains and rivers, nor intolerable hunger and suffering have ever been sufficient to obstruct my two duties; namely, writing, and following my flag and my captain without fault." In 1547 he joined the president Gasca, and was present at the final rout of Gonzalo Pizarro. He was many years in Peru, and he is certainly one of the most important authorities on Ynca history and civilization, whether we consider his peculiar advantages in collecting information, or his character as a conscientious historian. He lived to complete a great work, but unfortunately only a small portion of it has seen the light. The first and second parts of the Chronicle of Cieza de Leon have been published, but they relate to Ynca civilization and are discussed in a chapter in the first volume of the present work. The third part, treating of the discovery and conquest of Peru by Pizarro, is inedited, though the manuscript is believed to have been preserved. Part IV. was divided into five books relating the history of the civil wars of the conquerors. Only the third book has been published in the *Biblioteca Hispano-Ultramarina.* It was very ably edited by Don Márcos Jiménez de la Espada (Madrid, 1877), and is entitled *La Guerra de Quito.* The volume begins with the departure of the viceroy Blasco Nuñez de Vela from Spain, and consists of fifty-three chapters in the first part, the concluding portion forming a subsequent volume.[5]

The proceedings of the president, Pedro de la Gasca, were recorded by himself in very full reports to the Council of the Indies, which almost amount to official diaries. The first, dated at Santa Marta on his way out, July 12, 1546, has been published in the official volume of *Cartas de Indias* (Madrid, 1877). Other published correspondence throws light on the astute proceedings of the president while he was at Panamá. His instructions to Lorenzo de Aldana, his letters to Gonzalo Pizarro, and the detailed report of his agent Paniagua have been published in the *Revista de Lima*, 1880. His report to the Council of the Indies, when on his way to attack Gonzalo Pizarro at Cusco (dated Andahuaylas, March 7, 1548), has not been edited. But the Chilian historian Don Diego Barros Arana has published[1] the long despatch from Gasca to the Council, dated at Cusco, May 7, 1548, in which he describes the rout of Sacsahuana, the executions of Gonzalo Pizarro and Carbajal, and the subsequent bloody assize at Cusco. The document frequently quoted by Prescott (in book v. chap. iii. of his history)[2] as *Relacion del Licenciado Gasca MS.* is an abridged and mutilated copy of this despatch of May 7, 1548, from the Muñoz Collection,[3] and is preserved at Simancas. The sentence pronounced on Gonzalo Pizarro is published in the *Revista Peruana* (1880), from the original manuscript of Zarate's Chronicle.[4] Gasca continues his narrative in the despatches to the Council, dated at Lima, Sept. 25 and Nov. 26, 1548, which are also published by Barros Arana.[5] There are six other despatches of the president from Lima, dated in 1549, in the *Cartas de Indias*. The invaluable papers of the president Gasca are not in the Archives at Seville, but have been preserved by his family.[6]

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[1] [Prescott, ii. 494. — ED.]

[2] [There is a copy in the Carter-Brown Library (*Catalogue*, no. 207). Quaritch priced it in 1879 at £9. — ED.]

[3] [There is a copy in the Carter-Brown Collection (no. 316); and others were sold in the Brinley (no. 5,346) and Murphy (no. 2,808) sales, as well as in the Sunderland (no. 13,521) and the Old Admiral's sales (no. 329) in England. Quaritch priced a copy at £16 10*s*. in 1883, — a rapid advance on earlier sales, but exceeded in 1884 by F. S. Ellis (£21). Leclerc (giving the date 1557) priced it in 1878 at 400 francs (no. 1,862). — ED.]

[4] [Zarate was early translated into other languages. An Italian version appeared at Venice in 1563, translated by Alfonzo Ulloa (Carter-Brown, i. 246; Leclerc, 1865 — 100 francs; Stevens — £3 3*s*.). Muller (*Books on America* (1872), nos. 1,231, etc.) enumerates five Dutch editions, the earliest edited by Willem Silvius, Antwerp, 1564 (the Carter-Brown copy is dated 1563, *Catalogue*, no. 245). In 1573 a new title and preface were put to the sheets of this edition. In 1596, 1598, and 1623 there were editions at Amsterdam. There were French versions published at Amsterdam in 1700, 1717, 1718, 1719, and at Paris in 1706, 1716, 1742, 1752-54, 1830. An English translation, made by T. Nicholas, was published at London in 1581 (Carter-Brown, vol. i. p. 285; Murphy, 2,213). Ellis priced a copy in 1884 at £28. — ED.]

[5] [For a detailed bibliography of the manuscripts and editions of Cieza de Leon, with various references, see the Editorial Note following this chapter. — ED.]

But the best-known historian of the period during which the president Gasca was in Peru was Diego Fernandez de Palencia, usually called "el Palentino," from the place of his birth. He went out to Peru, served in the army which was raised to put down the rebellion of Giron, and having collected materials for a history, he was appointed chronicler of Peru by the viceroy Marquis of Cañete. Fernandez first wrote the history of the rebellion of Giron, in the suppression of which he was personally engaged; and afterwards he undertook to write a similar account of the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro and the administration of Gasca. Fernandez is a very painstaking writer, and no history of the time enters so fully into detail; yet it is pleasantly written, and the graver narrative is frequently relieved by anecdotes of personal adventures, and by amusing incidents. He is however a thorough-going partisan, and can see no redeeming feature in a rebellion, nothing but evil in the acts of rebels. His book is called *Primera y Secunda Parte de la Historia del Peru, que se mando escrebir á Diego Fernandez, vecino de la ciudad de Palencia.* It was published at Seville in 1571 (folio; primera parte, pp. 142; segunda parte, pp. 130). This is the only edition.[7]

The first part of the work of the Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega relates to the history and civilization of the Yncas, and is discussed in the first volume of the present work. But the second part is a general history of the discovery of Peru, and of the civil wars down to the termination of the administration of the viceroy Toledo in Peru, and to the death of the governor Loyola in Chili. Like the first part, the second is rather a commentary than a history, for the Ynca quotes largely from other writers, especially from the

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[1] [In his *Proceso de Pedro de Valdivia i otros documentos inéditos concernientes a este conquistador, reunidos i anotados por Diego Barros Arana*, Santiago de Chile (1873), 8° pp. 392. — Ed.]

[2] [The Philadelphia edition, 1879, vol. ii. p. 406. — Ed.]

[3] The historiographer Juan Bautista Muñoz intended to have written an exhaustive history of America, but he only completed one volume. He however made copies of documents from the Seville Archives in 1782 and 1783, which form one hundred and fifty volumes. They are now in various libraries, but the greater part belongs to the Real Academia de la historia de Madrid. [See the Introduction to the present volume, p. iii. — Ed.]

[4] Prescott's copy (in his Appendix, vol. ii. p. 471) unfortunately contains various inaccuracies.

[5] *Ubi supra.*

[6] [Helps speaks of these family papers as in the possession of the Counts of Cancelada, and he used copies which were procured for him by Gayangos. *Spanish Conquest*, New York edition, iv. 227. — Ed.]

[7] [Rich (no. 48) priced this edition in 1832 at £5 5*s.*; Leclerc (no. 1,733) in 1878 at 800 francs. The Council of the Indies is said to have tried to check its circulation. A copy is in the Carter-Brown (i. 282) Collection; and another was sold in the Court sale recently (no. 128). — Ed.]

Palentino, always carefully indicating the quotations and naming the authors. But his memory was well stored with anecdotes that he had heard when a boy; and with these he enlivens the narrative, while often a recollection of the personal appearance or of some peculiarity of the historical character whose deeds he is recording enables him to give a finishing touch to a picture. His father was a conqueror and an actor in most of the chief events of the time;[1] his mother, an Ynca princess, and born in the city of Cusco; so the future author had special advantages for storing up information. He was born in 1539, but a few years after the conquest and one year after the death of Almagro. He passed his school days at Cusco, with many other half-caste sons of the conquerors, and went to Spain in 1560, dying at Cordova in 1616. The first part of his great work on Peru originally appeared at Lisbon in 1609, the second part at Cordova in 1617. The second and best edition of the two parts appeared at Madrid in 1723. The English translation of Sir Paul Rycaut (1688) is worthless, and there has never been a complete English version of the second part, which is entitled *Historia General del Peru*. The episode of the expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro to the land of cinnamon (part ii. lib. iii.) was translated by Clements R. Markham, C.B., and printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1859.[2]

The licentiate Fernando Montesinos is an authority of some reputation, but chiefly valuable for his studies of native lore. He was altogether upwards of fifteen years in Peru. He was there a century after the conquest. His *Memorias Antiguas Historiales* exclusively relate to Ynca history; but his *Annales* contain a history of the conquest and of subsequent events, and include some original documents, and a few anecdotes which are not to be found elsewhere.[3]

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The authorities for the final settlement of Peru, after the crushing of the spirit of revolt by the Marquis of Cañete, are a good deal scattered. A learned account of the life and administration of Andres Marquis of Cañete himself will be found in the admirable *Diccionario Histórico-Biografico del Peru* by General Mendiburu, published at Lima in 1880; which also contains a Life of his successor, the licentiate Lope Garcia de Castro.

The viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo has left a deeper mark on the history of Peru by his *Libro de Tasas* and *Ordenanzas* relating to mines and the treatment of Indians. The transactions with reference to the judicial murder of Tupac Amaru and the persecution of the Ynca family are briefly related by Garcilasso de la Vega; but there is a much more detailed account in the *Coronica Moralizada del Orden de San Augustin en el Peru* by Fray Antonio de la Calancha, published at Barcelona in 1638.[4] Calancha also gives the remorseful will of Mancio Sierra de Leguizamo, whose life-story is fully related by Don José Rosendo Gutierrez in the *Revista Peruana* (tomo ii. 1880).

The story of the capture and execution of Tupac Amaru by the viceroy Toledo is told in very full detail by Baltasar d'Ocampo, who was an eye-witness. His narrative has all the charm of honest truthfulness; and yet the incidents, thus simply related, are as interesting as the most ingeniously constructed romance. Unfortunately the story, as told by

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[1] [A view of what is called the house of Garcilasso de la Vega is given in Squier's *Peru, Land of the Incas*, p. 449. — ED.]

[2] [A detailed bibliographical note of Garcilasso de la Vega's works on Peru is given in Note B, following the present chapter. — ED.]

[3] [Prescott, who had copies of both manuscripts, speaks of the opportunities which Montesinos enjoyed in his official visits to Peru, of having access to repositories, and of making an inspection of the country. He adds that a comparison of his narrative with other contemporary accounts leads one sometimes to distrust him. "His writings seem to me," he says, "entitled to little praise, either for the accuracy of their statements or the sagacity of their reflections." — ED.]

[4] [Cf. Rich, no. 226 £2 10*s*.; Sabin, vol. iii. no. 9,870; Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 450; Dufossé, no. 11,818, — 2,180 francs. A second part was printed at Lima in 1653 by Cordova y Salinas, the same who published a Life of Francisco Solano, the apostle of Peru, at Lima in 1630, which appeared, augmented by Alonzo de Mendieta, at Madrid in 1643 (Leclerc, nos. 1,714, 1,731. — ED.]

Ocampo (*Descripcion de la Provincia de San Francisco de Villcapampa*), has never been printed. It is among the manuscripts of the British Museum.[1]

Polo de Ondegardo, the learned lawyer, was the principal adviser of the viceroy Toledo. He arrived in Peru before the president Gasca, and held the important posts of *corregidor* of Potosi and of Cusco. He had a profound knowledge of the Ynca system of government, and his two *Relaciones*,[2] addressed to the Marquis of Cañete and the Conde de Nieva, discuss the land tenures, colonial policy, and social legislation of the natives. His labors were all undertaken with a view to adapting the best parts of the Ynca system to the new polity to be instituted by the Spanish conquerors; and his numerous suggestions, from this standpoint, are wise and judicious. A feeling of sympathy for the Indians, and the evidence of a warm desire for their welfare pervade all his writings. There is another rough draft of a report by Polo de Ondegardo, a manuscript in the National Library at Madrid,[3] which contains much information respecting the administrative system of the Yncas; and here, also, he occasionally points out the way in which native legislation might usefully be imitated by the conquerors. This report of Polo de Ondegardo was translated by Clements R. Markham, C.B., and printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1873 in the volume called *Rites and Laws of the Incas*. It is believed that Polo de Ondegardo died at Potosi in about the year 1580.

The other adviser of the viceroy Toledo was a man of a very different character, a hard, relentless politician, indifferent alike to the feelings and the physical well-being of the conquered people. Judge Matienzo wrote a work in two parts on the condition of the people, the *mita*, or forced labor, the tribute, the mining laws, and on the duties of the several grades of Spanish officials. The *Gobierño de el Peru* of Matienzo is a manuscript in the British Museum.[4]

The whole body of ordinances and regulations relating to the aboriginal people and their treatment by the conquerors is fully explained and discussed by Dr. Don Juan de Solorzano, a profoundly learned jurist, and member of the Council of the Indies, in his *Politica Indiana* (Madrid, 1648). The history of *encomiendas* in Peru is well and ably discussed by Enrique Torres Saldamando in the *Revista Peruana* (vol. ii. 1880).[5]

The second Marquis of Cañete, who was viceroy of Peru in the last decade of the sixteenth century, was best known for his conduct of the Araucanian war, when, as a young man, he was governor of Chili. That famous war formed the subject of the epic poem of Alonzo de Ercilla, the warrior-poet. Born at Bermeo on the shores of the Bay of Biscay, where the house of his ancestors is still standing, Ercilla began life as a page to the prince of Spain, and volunteered to go out and serve against the Araucanians, when news arrived of an outbreak and the death of Valdivia. Born in 1533, he was only twenty-one when he set out for Chili under the command of the youthful governor Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza. Ercilla was present at seven regular battles, and suffered much from hardships during the harassing campaigns. He returned to Spain in 1562, after an absence of eight years. His *Araucana*[6] is a versified history of the war, in which he describes all the events in their order, enumerates the contending chiefs, with a few lines to denote the character or special characteristic of each, and is minutely accurate even in his geographical details. He tells us that much of the poem was composed in the country, and that by the light of the campfires at night he wrote down what had occurred during the day. Ticknor looks upon the *Araucana* as an historical rather than an epic poem;[1] and he considers the descriptive powers of Ercillo — except in relation to natural scenery — to be remarkable, the speeches he puts in the mouths of Araucanian chiefs often excellent, and his characters to be drawn with force and distinctness. Pedro de Oña, in his *Arauco Domado*,[2] praises the governor, Hurtado de Mendoza, the future Marquis of Cañete; and Lope de Vega made his Araucanian war the subject of one of his plays.

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[1] Additional Manuscripts, 17, 585.

[2] [These are dated 1561 and 1570. The originals are in the Escurial; copies are at Simancas. A copy, made for Kingsborough, became Prescott's, who records his estimate of it (*Peru*, vol. i. p. 181). It is said that Herrera made use of Ondegardo's manuscript. — ED.]

[3] Quarto on parchment, B. 135.

[4] Additional Manuscripts, 5,469.

[5] [Cf. notes to chap. on Las Casas. — ED.]

[6] [The first edition, of only fifteen cantos, was printed at Madrid in 1569. This was enlarged with a second part when issued at Antwerp in 1575; again at Madrid. in 1578; and at Lisbon, in 1581–88. A third part was printed at Madrid in 1589, and at Antwerp in 1597; and the three parts, with a general title, appeared at Madrid in 1590, — the first complete edition as Ercilla wrote it. Two parts were again issued at Antwerp in 1586; and other editions appeared at Barcelona in 1592, and at Perpignan in 1596. A fourth and a fifth part were added by Osorio after Ercilla's death, and appeared at Salamanca, 1597, and at Barcelona, 1598. There were later complete editions at Madrid, 1633, 1776, 1828; at Lyons, 1821; and at Paris, 1824 and 1840. Cf. Sabin, vol. vi. no. 22,718; Ticknor, *Spanish Literature*, ii. 465; Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, ii. 284; Sismondi, *Literature of South of Europe*, ii. 271. — ED.]

The Life of the viceroy Marquis of Cañete (Garcia) was written by Don Cristóval Suarez de Figueroa, a man of some literary fame in his day. When the marquis returned from Peru broken in health, he was treated with neglect and ingratitude; nor had he received full justice from Ercilla for his youthful exploits, — at least so thought his heirs when he died in 1599; and they applied to Suarez de Figueroa to undertake his biography, placing all the viceroy's family and official papers in the author's hands. The result was the *Hechos de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, cuarto Marques de Cañete*, which was printed in 1613.[3] It was reprinted in the *Coleccion de Historiadores de Chile*, — a work published in seven volumes at Santiago in 1864, edited by Don Diego Barros Arana. This work contains a very full account of the administration of the marquis while he was viceroy of Peru.

Pedro de Valdivia has written his own history of his conquest and settlement of Chili, in his letters to the emperor, Charles V. They are preserved in the Archives at Seville among the documents sent from Simancas, and have been published by Claudio Gaye in his *Historia de Chile* (Paris, 1846), and also in the first volume of the *Coleccion de Historiadores de Chile* (Santiago, 1864). The first of Valdivia's despatches is dated from La Serena, Sept. 4, 1545, and the second from Lima, June 15, 1548. In the third he reports fully on the state of affairs in Chili, and refers to his own previous career. It is dated from Concepcion, Oct. 15, 1550. There are two others, dated Concepcion, Sept. 25, 1551, and Santiago, Oct. 26, 1552, which are short, and not so interesting.

Some discontented soldiers brought a series of fifty-seven accusations against Valdivia, which were considered by the president Gasca at Lima in October, 1548, — the result being acquittal. The *Acta de Accusacion* was published at Santiago in 1873 by Barros Arana, together with Valdivia's defence and several other important historical documents. That accomplished Chilian historian has also edited a very interesting letter from Pedro de Valdivia to Hernando Pizarro, dated at La Serena on the 4th of September, 1545, which fell into the hands of the president Gasca, and remained among his papers; and when he was at Seville in 1859, he discovered one more unimportant letter from the Chilian conqueror to Charles V., dated at Santiago, July 9, 1549. The first book of the records of the Santiago municipality, called the *Libro Becerro*, embraces the years from 1541 to 1557. It has been published in the first volume of the *Coleccion de Historiadores de Chile*, etc. (Santiago, 1861), and contains the appointment of Valdivia as governor of Chili, the founding of Santiago, with the nomination of the first municipal officers, ordinances for mines, and other important entries.

There is thus ample original material for the opening chapter of the history of Chili. Moreover, the first connected work on the subject was written by one of the early conquerors. Gongora Marmolejo served under Valdivia, and was an eye-witness of all the stirring events of the time. His history begins at the discovery of Chili, in 1536, and is brought down to the year 1575. Written in Santiago, it is addressed to the president of the Council of the Indies; and though the style is confused, and often obscure, the narrative has the merit of impartiality, and supplies many interesting details. It also has annexed documents, including a letter from Gonzalo Pizarro to Valdivia giving an account of events in Peru, down to the death of Blasco Nuñez de Vela. The *Historia de Chile* of Gongora Marmolejo remained in manuscript in the Biblioteca de Salazar (H. 45) until it was edited by Don Pascual de Gayangos, in 1850, for the fourth volume of the *Memorial Histórico Español*. It has since been published in the *Coleccion de Historiadores de Chile.*

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[1] ["A military journal done into rhyme," as Prescott calls it, — *History of the Conquest of Peru*, ii. 108. — Ed.]

[2] [Published at Lima, 1596. Cf Ticknor, *Spanish Literature*, ii. 469; Sabin, vol. xiv. no. 57,300; Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 506. — Ed.]

[3] [This was reissued in 1616. Rich, no. 143 — £1 4*s*. — Ed.]

The story of the surprise and death of the governor, Martin Garcia de Loyola, and of the subsequent formidable rising of the Araucanians in 1598, was written in the form of a poem by Captain Fernando Alvarez de Toledo. The work has no literary merit, and is only valuable as an historical narrative. The manuscript is in the National Library at Madrid, and it was published by Don Diego Barros Arana, in the *Collection d'Ouvrages inédits ou rares sur L'Amérique* (Paris, 1861). An interesting modern account of the death of the governor Loyola, entitled *La sorpresa de Curalava,* was written by the accomplished Chilian, Miguel Luis Amunátegui, and published as one of his *Naraciones Históricas* (Santiago, 1876).[1]

The history of Chili, which follows Marmolejo in point of time, is by Cordova y Figueroa, a native of the country, and a descendant of Juan de Negrete, one of the followers of Valdivia. Cordova y Figueroa was born at Concepcion in 1692, served with credit in a war with the Araucanians, and is believed to have written the history between 1740 and 1745. Beginning with the expedition of Almagro, it comes down to the year 1717, and is the most complete history that had been written up to that date. The manuscript was in the National Library at Madrid, and a copy was made for the Chilian government, under the auspices of Don Francisco S. Astaburriaga, who was then minister to Spain. It was published in the *Coleccion de Historiadores de Chile.*

In this review of works on the conquest and first settlement of Peru and Chili, those which refer only to the history and civilization of the Yncas, or to geography and natural history, have been omitted, as they receive notice in the chapter on ancient Peru in the first volume of this History.

Clements R Markham

EDITORIAL NOTES.

A. Cieza de Leon.— It does not seem desirable to divide the bibliographical record of Cieza de Leon between the present and the first volume. His work was separated into four parts, — the *first* relating to the geography and description of Peru; the *second*, to the period of the Incas; the *third*, to the Spanish Conquest; the *fourth*, to the civil wars of the conquerors. The fate of each part has been distinct.

Part I. Prescott (*Peru*, vol. ii. p. 306) speaks of this as more properly an itinerary or geography of Peru, presenting the country in its moral and physical relations as it appeared to the eye of the conquerors; and not many of them, it is probable, were so impressed as Cieza de Leon was with the grandeur of the *cordilleras.* This, as *Parte primera de la chronica del Peru*, was published in folio at Seville, in 1553. In

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[1] [The *Descubrimiento i Conquista de Chile* of Miguel Luis Amunátegui, published at Santiago de Chile in 1862, was a work presented to the University of Chili in 1861. — Ed.]

Rich's time (1832) it was worth £5 5*s.*[1] It was reprinted the next year (1554) at Antwerp in two distinct editions. One, *La chronica del Peru*, in duodecimo, has the imprint of Nucio; the other, likewise in duodecimo, is printed in an inferior manner, and sometimes has the name of Bellero, and sometimes that of Steelsio, as publisher. This last edition has the larger title, *Parte primera de la chronica del Peru*, etc., and was the one used by Prescott, and followed by Markham in the translation, *Travels of Cieza de Leon*, published by the Hakluyt Society in 1864.[2]

In 1555 an Italian translation, *La prima parte de la cronica del . . . Peru*, appeared at Rome, made by Agostino Cravaliz, or Augustino di Gravalis.[3] A second edition — *La prima parte dell' istorie del Peru* — appeared the next year (1556) at Rome, and is found with the names of two different publishers.[4]

At Venice, in 1560, appeared the *Cronica del gran regno del Peru*. This makes a work of which the first volume is a reprint of Gravaliz' version of Cieza, and volumes ii. and iii. contain an Italian version of Gomara in continuation offered by the same publisher, Ziletti, under the title, *La seconda, terza parte delle historie dell India*.[5]

The English translation of Stevens (*The Seventeen Years' Travels of Peter de Cieza through the mighty Kingdom of Peru and the large Provinces of Cartagena and Popayan in South America, from the City of Panama on the Isthmus to the Frontiers of Chile*) was printed at London in 1709, and appeared both separately and as a part of his collection of *Voyages*. It gives only ninety-four of the one hundred and nineteen chapters.

Part II. Rich, though he had heard of this part, supposed it to have disappeared; and it is spoken of as missing by Markham in 1864, and by Harrisse in his *Bibl. Amer. Vet.* (p. 319). The manuscript of it was meanwhile in the Escurial, preserved in a bad copy made about the middle or end of the sixteenth century; but it is deficient in chapters i. and ii. and in part of chapter iii. Another manuscript copy not well done is in the Academy of History at Madrid. Lord Kingsborough had a copy, and from this Rich had a fifth copy made, which was used by Prescott; but it does not appear that any of these students suspected it to be the second part of Cieza de Leon. Prescott, supposing it to be written *by* the president of the Council of the Indies, Sarmiento, instead of *for* that officer, ascribed it to him; but Kirk, Prescott's editor (*Peru*, vol. ii. p. 308), has recognized its identity, which Dr. Manuel Gonzales de la Rosa established when he edited the Escurial manuscript in 1873. This edition, though wholly printed in London, has not been made public. Following another transcript, and correcting the spelling, etc., Márcos Jiménez de la Espada printed it at Madrid in 1880 as vol. v. of the *Biblioteca Hispano-Ultramarina*. An English translation of it was made by Mr. Markham, and published by the Hakluyt Society in 1883.

Part III. Markham reports that Espada says that this part is in existence, but inaccessible.

Part IV. Espada is cited as asserting that books i. and ii. of this part are in existence, but inaccessible.

A manuscript of book iii. is in the Royal Library at Madrid, in handwriting of the middle of the sixteenth century. It covers the period from the appointment of Blasco Nuñez as viceroy in 1543 to a period just previous to Gasca's departure from Panamá for Peru in 1547. A copy of this manuscript, belonging to Uguina, passed to Ternaux, thence to Rich, who sold it for £600 to Mr. Lenox; and it is now in the Lenox Library.

It has since been included under Espada's editing in the *Biblioteca Hispano-Ultramarina*, and was published at Madrid in 1877 as *Tercero libro de las Guerras Civiles del Peru*.[6]

Books iv. (war of Huarina) and v. (war of Xaquixaguana), and two appended commentaries on events from the founding of the *Audiencia* to the departure of the president, and on events extending to the arrival of the viceroy Mendoza, are not known to exist, though Cieza refers to them as written. These would complete the fourth part, and end the work.

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[1] Cf. Rich, no. 24; Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 176; Murphy, no. 462; Sunderland, vol. iii. no. 7,575; Sabin, vol. iv. no. 13,044.

[2] Cf. Rich, nos. 26, 27 — £1 1*s.* and £1 10*s.*; Sabin, 13,045 - 13,046; Cooke, no. 523; Carter-Brown vol. i. nos. 185, 186; Court, no. 63; Ternaux, no. 66; Brinley, no. 5,345; Leclerc, no. 1,706, — 200 francs; Quaritch, £5 and £10; F. S. Ellis (1884) £7 10*s.* The latest Spanish edition, *Crónica del Peru*, constitutes vol. xxvi. of the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, published at Madrid in 1852.

[3] Sabin, no. 13,047; Carter-Brown, vol. i. no. 198.

[4] There are copies in the Lenox and Carter-Brown (vol. i. no. 208) libraries. Cf. Sabin, nos. 13,048 - 13,049; Leclerc, no. 1,707; Tröwel, no. 19.

[5] There are copies in the Boston Public, Lenox, and Carter-Brown (vol. i. nos. 231, 249, 254) libraries. A set is worth about $20. (Sabin, nos. 13,050 - 13,052; Field, 314, 315; Rich, no. 39 — 10*s.*; Court, no. 64; Leclerc, no. 1,708; Sobolewski, 3,744; Dufossé, no. 8,978.) Some copies are dated 1564, and dates between 1560 and 1564 are on the second and third volumes (Sabin, no. 13,053). These three parts were again reprinted at Venice in 1576 (Sabin, no. 13,054; Leclerc, no. 1,709; Cooke, no. 524).

[6] Cf. Leclerc, nos. 2,503, 2,672; *Coleccion de documentos inéditos* (*España*) vol. lxviii.

What we know of Cieza is mainly derived from himself and the brief notice in Antonio's *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (Madrid, 1788). The writer of the foregoing chapter gives an account of Cieza's career, as well as it could be made out, in his translation of the *Travels;* but he supplements that story in the introduction to his version of Part II.

B. GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA. — The *Primera parte de los Commentarios reales* seems to have been printed — according to the colophon at Lisbon — in 1608, but to have been published in 1609. It has incidental notices of Spanish-American history, though concerned mainly with chronicles of the Incas.[1]

The second part, called *Historia General del Peru,* was printed at Cordova in 1616, though most copies are dated 1617. The titles of the two dates slightly vary. This volume is of larger size than that of 1609.[2]

The two parts were reprinted by Barcia at Madrid in 1722–1723.[3] There have been later editions of the Spanish at Madrid in 1800, and in 1829, in four volumes, as a part of a series; *Conquista del Nuevo Mondo,* in nine volumes, which embraced also Solis's Mexico, Garcilasso de la Vega's Florida, and the Florida of Cardenas y Cano.

Rycaut's English *Royal Commentaries of Peru* (London, 1688) was priced by Rich (no. 420) in 1832 at £1 4*s*., and is not worth more now.[4] Markham's English version of the first part was issued in two volumes by the Hakluyt Society in 1869–1871.

The French version (by J. Baudoin) of the first part was printed at Paris in 1633 as *Le Commentaire Royal,*[5] and of the second part as *Histoire des Guerres Civiles* in 1650, and again in 1658 and 1672,[6] and at Amsterdam in 1706.[7] A French version of the first part was also printed at Amsterdam in 1715,[8] and joined with the book on Florida; another French edition appeared at Amsterdam in 1737.[9] A new translation of this first part, made by Dalibard, was printed in Paris in 1744.[10] Baudoin's version of both parts was reissued in Paris in 1830.[11] There was a German translation in 1798.

An account of Garcilasso de la Vega and his ancestry is given by Markham in the introduction to his version of the *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas.* Another account is in the *Documentos inéditos* (*España*), vol. xvi.[12]

The estimate held of him by Robertson has been largely shared among the older of the modern writers, who seem to think that Garcilasso added little to what he borrowed from others, though we find some traces in him of authorities now lost. The later writers are more generous in their praise of him. Prescott quotes him more than twice as often as he cites any other of the contemporary sources. (Cf. his *Peru,* vol. i. p. 289.)

Helps says that "with the exception of Bernal Diaz and Las Casas, there is not perhaps any historical writer of that period, on the subject of the Indies, whose loss would be more felt than that of Garcilasso de la Vega."

C. MEMORANDA. — An early voyage to the coast is supposed to be indicated in an Italian tract of 1521, mentioned in the catalogue of the Biblioteca Colombina. It is not now known, except in what is supposed to be a German version.[13] The first tidings (March 15, 1533) which Europe got of Pizarro's success came from a letter which was addressed to the emperor, probably in Spanish, though we have no copy of it in that tongue; but it is preserved in Italian, *Copia delle lettere del prefetto della India, la Nuova Spagna detta,* a plaquette of two leaves, of which there is a copy in the Lenox Library. It is supposed to have been printed at Venice.[14] This version is also included in the

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[1] Rich priced it in 1832 at £1 10*s*., and Leclerc in 1878 (no. 1,740) at 100 francs. There are copies in the Carter-Brown (vol. ii. no. 96), Boston Public, and Harvard College libraries; and others were sold in the Murphy (no. 2,589) and O' Callaghan (no. 963) collections. Cf. Sunderland, vol. ii. no. 5,358; vol. v. no. 12,814; Ticknor, *Spanish Literature,* vol. iii. p. 146.

[2] There are copies in the Boston Public, Harvard College, and Carter-Brown (vol. ii. nos. 183, 197) libraries. Rich priced it in 1832 at £1 10*s*.; Leclerc (no. 1,741) in 1878 at 100 francs. Cf. Murphy, no. 2,590; Huth, vol. ii. p. 574.

[3] Leclerc, no. 1,742; Carter-Brown, vol. iii. nos. 327–329; Field, 589.

[4] Cf. Prescott's *Peru,* vol. i. p. 294; Field, 592.

[5] Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 405; Leclerc, no. 1,745.

[6] Ibid., vol. ii. nos. 700, 842; Leclerc, no. 1,744.

[7] Ibid., vol. iii. no. 82.

[8] Ibid., vol. iii. no. 205.

[9] Ibid., vol. iii. no. 561; Field, no. 591.

[10] Leclerc, no. 1,746; Carter-Brown, vol. iii. no. 768.

[11] Ibid., no. 1,747.

[12] Cf. Ticknor, *Spanish Literature,* vol. iii. p. 188.

[13] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.,* no. 102; *Additions,* no. 65.

[14] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.,* no. 193; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana,* p. 537; *Bibliotheca Heberiana,* vol. i. no. 1,961

Libro di Benedetto (Venice, 1534). A German translation was printed at Nuremberg, February, 1534, as *Newe Zeitung aus Hispanien*, of four leaves.[1] A French issue, *Nouvelles certaines des isles du Peru*, dated 1534, is in the British Museum.[2] Ticknor[3] cites Gayangos' references to a tractate of four leaves, *La Conquista del Peru*, which he found in the British Museum.[4]

It is not very clear to what city reference is made in a plaquette, *Letera de la nobil cipta, novamente ritrouvata alle Indie . . . data in Peru adi. xxv de novembre, de MDXXXIIII.* An edition of the next year (1535) is "data in Zhaual."[5] Marco Guazzo's *Historie di tutte le cose degne di memoria qual del anno MDXXIIII.*, etc., published at Venice in 1540, gives another early account.[6] It was repeated in the edition of 1545 and 1546.

The *De Peruviæ regionis, inter novi orbis provincias celeberrimæ inventione* of Levinus Apollonius of Ghent was published at Antwerp in 1565, 1566, 1567, for copies with these respective dates are found;[7] though Sabin thinks Rich and Ternaux are in error in assigning an edition to 1565. It covers events from the discovery to the time of Gasca and the death of Gonzalo Pizarro.[8] It also appeared as a third part to the German translation of Benzoni (Basle 1582).

Ternaux-Compans in his *Voyages* has preserved in a French version several early chronicles of minor importance. Such is Miguel Carello Balbóa's *Histoire du Peru* (in vol. xvii.), the work of one who went to Bogota in 1566, and finished his work at Quito in 1586. It rehearses the story of the Inca rule, not always agreeing with Garcilasso, and only touches the Spanish Conquest as it had proceeded before the murder of Atahualpa.[9] Another work is the *Histoire du Pérou* of Father Anello Oliva, a Jesuit, who was born at Naples in 1593, came to Peru as a Jesuit in 1597, and died at Lima in 1642. It was apparently written before 1631; but what Ternaux affords us is only the first of the four books which constitute the completed work.[10] Juan de Velasco's *Histoire de Quito*, a work of a later day but based on the early sources, makes volumes xviii. and xix. of Ternaux's collection.

Alonso de Ovalle's historical account of Chili was issued at Rome in 1646, in Italian, as *Historica Relatione del Regno di Cile*, and the same year at the same place in Spanish, as *Histórica Relacion del Reyne de Chile.* Six of the eight books are given in English in Churchill's *Voyages* (1732), and in Pinkerton.[11]

Among the minor documentary sources there is much of interest to be found in the *Documentos inéditos* (*España*), vols. v., xiii., xxvi., xlix., l., and li.

The Ministerio de Fomento of Peru printed at Madrid in 1881 the first volumes — edited by Jiménez de la Espada — of *Relaciones geográficas de Indias.* The editor supplied a learned introduction, and the volume contained twelve documents of the sixteenth century, which were then published for the first time;[12] and they contribute to our knowledge of the condition of the country during that period.

There are other documents covering the whole course of Peruvian history in the collection of *Documentos históricos del Peru en las epocas del coloniage despues de la conquista y de la independencia hasta a presente, colectados y arreglados por el coronel Manuel Odriozola*, the first volume of which was published at Lima about twenty-five years ago (1863).

Harrisse (*Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, pp. 320–322) enumerates many copies of manuscripts preserved in New York and Boston, some of which have since been printed. There is record of other manuscripts in New York in the *Magazine of American History*, i. 254.

The *Varias relaciones del Peru y Chile y Conquista de la isla de Santa Catalina*, 1535–

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[1] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 195; *Libri Catalogue* (reserved part), no. 32. There is a copy in the Lenox Library.

[2] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 196; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, p. 537.

[3] *Spanish Literature*, ii. 40.

[4] Cf. Sabin, vol. xiii. no. 54,945.

[5] Cf. Carter-Brown, i. nos. 111, 113; *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 191, 206; Leclerc, nos. 2,839, at 1,200 francs.

[6] *Bibl. Amer. Vet., Additions*, nos. 124, 153, 157.

[7] Leclerc, no. 1,689.

[8] Cf. Rich, no. 44 — £1 4*s.*; Carter-Brown, i. 268; Quaritch, £3 3*s.*; Sunderland, vol. iv. no. 9,515; Sabin, vol. i. no. 1,761; Huth, i. 41; Cohn (1884), no. 113, at 75 marks. The *Catalogue de M. A. Chaumette des Fossé's*, Paris, 1842, is mainly of books pertaining to Peru.

[9] Field, *Indian Bibliography*, no. 67.

[10] Leclerc, no. 1,808.

[11] Rich, no. 253 — £3 3*s.*; Sabin, vol. xiv. no. 57,971, 57,972; Carter-Brown, ii. 592; Quaritch, £6 6*s.*; Sunderland (1883), £5; Rosenthal (1884), 60 marks.

[12] Leclerc, no. 3,029.

PRESCOTT'S LIBRARY.

1658 (Madrid, 1879)[1] constitutes vol. xiii. of *Coleccion de libros raros ó curiosos*, which includes anonymous manuscripts in "Relacion del sitio del Cusco, 1537–1539," in the "Rebelion de Giron, 1553," and in some others of the seventeenth century. Vol. xvi. of the same *Coleccion* is edited by Jiménes de la Espada, and is entitled *Memorias antiguas historiales y políticas del Perú, por D. Fernando Montesinos, seguidas de las Informaciones acerca del señorío de los Incas, hechas por mandado de D. Francisco de Toledo, virey del Perú* [1570–1572]. *Madrid*, 1882. An account of the original which this edition of the work of Montesinos follows is given in the preface. The editor criticises the translation by Henri Ternaux-Compans in his Mémoires historiques sur l'ancien Pérou (forming part of his *Voyages*), Paris, 1840.[2]

Leclerc in 1878[3] offered for 2,500 francs an unprinted manuscript containing the military Lives of Pedro Alvarez de Holguin and Martin de Almendral (Almendras), consisting of depositions respecting their services by eye-witnesses, taken in pursuance of a claim by their families for the possession of titles and property, their ancestors having been among the conquerors.

The most conspicuous writers upon Peruvian history in English are Prescott, Helps, and Markham, — the first two as the historians of the Conquest, and the third as an annotator of the original sources and an elucidator of controverted points. Prescott's *Conquest of Peru* was published in 1843. He had been fortunate enough to secure copies from the manuscript stores which Muñoz had gathered, and Navarrete allowed his collections to be gleaned for the American's use. He did not fail of the sympathy and support of Ternaux and of Gayangos. The ingenious and active assistance of Obadiah Rich secured him a good share of the manuscripts of the Kingsborough Collection when that was scattered. The *Conquest of Peru* was promptly translated into Spanish, and published at Madrid in 1847–1848; and again in a version supposed to have been made by Icazbalceta. It was printed at Mexico in 1849. A French translation was introduced to the world by Amédée Pichot, and the English on the continent were soon able to read it in their own tongue under a Paris imprint. The Dutch and German people were not long without versions in their vernaculars. Since Mr. Prescott's death the revision, which the American reader was long kept from (owing to the obstructions to textual improvements imposed by the practice of stereotyping), was made by Mr. Kirk, who had been Prescott's secretary; and the new edition, with that gentleman's elucidatory and corrective notes, appeared at Philadelphia in 1874.

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[1] Leclerc, no. 2,928.

[2] *Boston Public Library Catalogue.*

[3] *Bibliotheca Americana*, no. 1,687.

As was the case with the hero of Mexico, the chapters in Helps's *Spanish Conquest* on the conqueror of Peru have, since the publication of that book, been extracted and fitted newly together under the title of *The Life of Pizarro, with some account of his Associates in the Conquest of Peru,* published in London in 1869. Pizarro is not, under Helps's brush, the abhorrent figure of some other historians. "He is always calm, polite, dignified," he says. "He was not one of the least admirable of the conquerors."

Mr. Markham, referring to a visit which he made to Prescott, says: "He it was who encouraged me to undertake my Peruvian investigations and to persevere in them. To his kindly advice and assistance I owe more than I can say, and to him is due, in no small degree, the value of anything I have since been able to do in furtherance of Peruvian research." The first fruit of Mr. Markham's study was his *Cusco and Lima* in 1856. Three years later (1859) he was sent by the British Government to superintend the collection of cinchona plants and seeds (quinine) in Peru, and to introduce them into India. In pursuit of this mission, he formed the acquaintance with the country which was made public in his *Travels in Peru and India* in 1862. In 1880 he epitomized his great knowledge in a useful little handbook on *Peru,* which was published in London in the series of *Foreign Countries and British Colonies.* His greatest aid to the historian has come, however, from the annotations given by him to numerous volumes of the Hakluyt Society, which he has edited, and in his communications to the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.*

The Peruvian story is but an incidental feature of Hubert H. Bancroft's *Central America,* where Alvarado's report of May 12, 1535, and other documents which fell into that author's hands with the Squier manuscripts afford in part the basis of his narrative, vol. ii. chap. vii. Bancroft accounts Pizarro himself the most detestable man in the Indies after Pedrárias. He collates the authorities on many disputed points, and is a valuable assistant, particularly for the relations of operations on the isthmus to those in Peru, — such as the efforts of Gonzalo Pizarro to make the isthmus the frontier of his Peruvian government, and Gasca's method of breaking through it. In his chapter on "Mines and Mining" in his *Mexico* (vol. iii.) he incidentally recapitulates the story of the wealth which was extracted from Peru.

The dignified and well-balanced story as told in Robertson's *America* (book vi.) is not without use to-day, and his judgment upon authorities (note cxxv.) is usually sound. He has of course fallen behind that sufficiency which Dr. Smyth found in him, when he gave his *Lectures on Modern History* (lecture xxi.). The latter writer reflected an opinion not yet outgrown when he says that "Pizarro was, after all, a vulgar conqueror, and is from the first detested, though he seizes upon our respect, and retains it in defiance of ourselves, from the powerful and decisive nature of his courage and of his understanding."

The latest English summarized view of the Conquest will be found in R. G. Watson's *Spanish and Portuguese South America during the Colonial Period* (London, 1884). The author lived in South America about twenty years ago, in various parts, as a diplomatic agent of the English government.

THE

AMAZON AND ELDORADO.

BY THE EDITOR.

IN 1528, in order to follow up the explorations of Ojeda and others on the coast of Venezuela the Emperor had agreed with the great German mercantile house of the Velsers to protect a colony to be sent by them to found cities and to mine on this northern coast.[1] This was the origin of the expedition led by Ambrosio de Alfinger to find a fabulous golden city, of which reports of one kind and another pervaded the Spanish settlements along the coast. It was in 1530 that Alfinger started inland. This march produced the usual story of perfidy and cruelty practised upon the natives, and of attack and misery experienced by the invaders. Alfinger died on the way, and after two years (in 1532) what was left of his followers found their way back to the coast.

Meanwhile an expedition inland had started under Diego Ordaz in 1531, by way of the Orinoco; but it had failed, its leader being made the victim of a mutiny. One of his officers, Martinez, being expelled from the force for misbehavior, wandered away until he fell into the hands of people who blindfolded him and led him a great way to a city, where the bandage was removed from his eyes. Here they led him for a day and night through its streets till they came to the palace of Inga their Emperor, with whom being handsomely entertained he stayed eight months, when, being allowed to return, he came down the Orinoco to Trinidad, and thence to Porto Rico, where, when dying, he told this tale of Manoa, as he called the city. He was the first, the story goes, to apply the name of Eldorado to the alluring kingdom in the depths of the continent. This is the pretended story as Raleigh sixty years later learned from a manuscript which Berreo the Governor of Trinidad showed to him.[2]

Again, the Germans made another attempt to penetrate the country and its mystery. George of Spires, under the imperial sanction, coming from Spain with four hundred men, started inland from Coro in 1534. He succeeded in penetrating about fifteen hundred miles, and returned with the survivors in 1538.

A lieutenant had played him false. Nicolaus Federmann[3] had been disappointed in not getting the command of the expedition, but being made second, was instructed to follow after his chief with supplies. Federmann avoided making a junction with George, and wandered at the head of about two hundred men, who were faithful to him, seeking glory on his own account, till after three years of labor he emerged in April, 1539, from the mountain passes upon the plains of Bogotá. Two years before this (in 1537) Gonzalo

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[1] Cf. Karl Klüpfel, in the *Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, no. xlvii. (1859); Karl Klunzinger, *Antheil der Deutschen an der Entdeckung von Südamerika*, Stuttgart, 1857; and K. von Klöoen's "Die Welser in Augsburg als besitzer von Venezuela," in the *Berliner Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, v. 441.

[2] Cf. Schomburgk's *Raleigh's Discovery of Guiana*, p. 17. Raleigh's enumeration of the various searches for Eldorado in this book are annotated by Schomburgk.

[3] An account of an earlier expedition by Federmann in this region, *Indianische Historia*, recounting experiences in 1529–1531, was printed

Ximenes Quesada, following up the Magdalena River, had arrived on the same plateau, and completed the conquest of New Granada. The year following (1538), Sebastian de Belalcazar, marching north from Quito, had reached the same point.[1]

Thus the three explorers from three directions came together. They joined forces and descended the Magdalena to Santa Martha, where Pedro Fernandez de Lugo, the associate of Quesada, died, while Quesada himself proceeded to Spain to obtain the government of the newly discovered region. Meanwhile Hernan Perez, a brother of Quesada, being left

El Licenciado Gonzalo Ximenes de
Quesada descubrio el nuevo Reyno
de Granada

QUESADA.[2]

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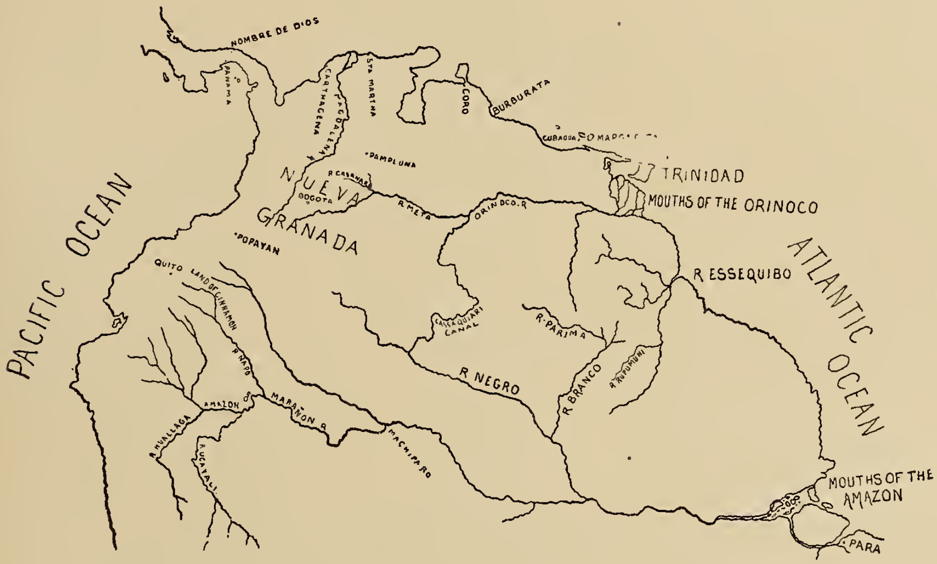
in 1557 at Hagenaw. Ternaux, in the first volume of his *Voyages*, etc. (Paris, 1837), gave a translation of it, with an introduction. His route, as marked by Klunzinger in the book already cited, is not agreed to by Dr. Moritz Weinhold, in *Über Nicolaus Federmann's Reise in Venezuela*, 1529–1531, printed in the *Dritter Jahresbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde zu Dresden*, 1866, *Anhang*, p. 93; also in 1868.

[1] Cf. Markham's *Travels of Cieza de Leon*, p. 110; and his *Narrative of Andagoya*, p. xxv.

[2] Fac-simile of engraving in Herrera, iii. 213.

in command in Bogotá, committed the usual cruel excesses upon the Chibchas, but finally left them, to follow another adventurer who had arrived in the track of Federmann, with the same stories of the golden city. So the recreant Governor joined the new-comer Montalvo de Lugo, and together they marched eastward on their golden quest. He returned to Bogotá in a year's time, wiser but not happier.

Meanwhile a new expedition was forming on the Venezuela side. Among the followers of George of Spires had been one Philip von Huten,[1] who after George's death, and when Rodrigo Bastidas had succeeded him, was made the commander of an expedition which left Coro in 1541 by vessels, and, prepared for an inland march, landed at Barburata. The next spring he got on the track of Quesada and resolved to follow it; but the expedition only journeyed in a circle, and after suffering all sorts of hardships found itself at the point of setting out. Huten, undaunted, again started with a smaller force. He encountered and made friends of the Uaupe Indians, and under their guidance proceeded against the towns of the Omaguas, where they encountered resistance; and Huten being wounded, the invaders retreated, and brought to an end another search for Eldorado. The expedition had added a new synonym, Omaguas, for the attractive lure.



SKETCH MAP, AMAZON AND ELDORADO.

Huten, on his return to Coro, found that Carbajal had seized the government. This brutal soldier now executed Huten, and held his iniquitous sway until the licentiate Juan Perez de Tolosa arrived with the imperial authority in 1546, when Carbajal was in turn put to death. Thus ended the German efforts at South American discovery on this side of the continent.

Meanwhile Gonzalo Ximenes Quesada's visit to Spain had failed in making him the Governor of New Granada, as he had hoped. Luis Alonzo de Lugo, the son of Quesada's associate, was the successful applicant for the position. The new Governor arrived in 1542, but a *residencia* interrupted his career, and Pedro de Ursua, a nephew of Armendariz, the judge who had taken the *residencia*, was sent to Bogotá to take charge. Thence his patron sent him on the old quest for the rivers flowing over golden sands. He failed to find Eldorado; but he founded the city of Pampluna in the wilds, and ruled its stately lots for two years. Then Armendariz had his downfall in turn, and Pedro de Ursua in 1549 found favor enough with those who then administered the government to get command of another expedition to Eldorado, during which he founded another city, which he had to abandon in 1552 because the natives attacked it so persistently. Next, Pedro was put in command of Santa Martha, and began to fight the Indians thereabout; but seeking a larger field, he started for Peru. His fame was sufficient to induce the authorities at Panamá to engage him to quell the Cimarrones, who infested the Isthmus. In two years Ursua accomplished this task, and then went on to Peru, where at Lima, in 1559, the new viceroy Cañete appointed him to lead a well-equipped expedition to Eldorado and the Omaguas. If the fabled city should not be reached, the quest for it would draw away from Cañete's province the prowling ruffians whom the cessation of the civil wars had left among the settlements. But it was thought the quest was more likely to be successful than any previous one had been, since Viraratu, a coast chieftain of Brazil, had with two Portuguese recently ascended the Amazon, and had confirmed to Cañete the old stories of a hidden lake and its golden city.

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[1] He is sometimes called Uten, Utre, Urra, etc.

Pedro de Ursua started in boats down the Huallaga to the Marañon, and so on to the neighborhood of Machiparo. At this point, on New Year's day, 1561, conspirators murdered Ursua, threw off allegiance to Spain, and made Fernando de Guzman their sovereign. One Lope de Aguirre was the leader of the insurrection, and it was not long before Guzman paid the penalty of his life in turn, and Aguirre became supreme. The conspirators went on to the mouth of the Negro, but from this point authorities differ as to their course. Humboldt and Southey supposed they still kept to the Amazon until they reached the sea. Acuña, Simon, Acosta, and among the moderns Markham, suppose they ascended the Negro, crossed by the Cassiquiari canal to the Orinoco, and so passed on to the ocean; or if not by this route, by some of the rivers of Guiana. Mr. Markham[1] balances the testimony. Once on the ocean, at whatever point, Aguirre steered his vessels for the north and west till they came to the island of Margarita, then colonized by the Spanish. Having seized this settlement, Aguirre led his followers across the intervening waters to Venezuela, with the aim of invading and conquering New Granada; but in due time a Spanish force led by Gutierrez de la Peña confronted the traitor and his host, and overthrew them. Many of Aguirre's men had deserted him; when killing his own daughter, that she might not survive to be stigmatized as a traitor's child, he was set upon and despatched by his conquerors.

The earliest account of the expedition of Ursua and Aguirre is a manuscript in the Royal library at Madrid written by one of the company, Francisco Vasquez, who remained with Aguirre under protest till he reached Margarita. Vasquez's story was a main dependence of Pedro Simon, in the sixth of the *Primera parte de las Noticias historiales de las Conquistas de Tierra Firme en las Indias Occidentales*, published at Cuenca in 1627. Simon, who was born in Spain in 1574, had come to Bogotá in 1604, in time to glean much from men still living. After many years of gathering notes, he began to write his book in 1623. Only one part, which included the affairs of Venezuela and the expedition of Ursua and Aguirre, was printed. Two other parts are in existence: and Colonel J. Acosta, in his *Compendio histórico del descubrimiento y colonizacion de la Nueva Granada en el siglo décimo sexto*, published at Paris in 1848, made use of them, and says they are the most valuable recital of the sixteenth century in existence which relates to these regions.[2] The account of Simon, so far as it relates to the expedition of Ursua, has been translated by William Bollaert, and properly annotated by Mr. Markham; it constitutes the volume published by the Hakluyt Society in 1861, called *The Expedition of Pedro de Ursua and Lope de Aguirre in search of Eldorado and Omagua in 1560–1561*. It has a map which marks the alternative courses of Aguirre.[3]

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[1] Introduction of his *Search for Eldorado*.

[2] Manuscript copies of these parts are in the Lenox Library.

[3] Cf. Markham's introduction to this volume; H. H. Bancroft's *Central America*, ii. 61. *The Expedition of Orsua and the Crime of Aguirre*, by

IOANDECASTELLANOSAVTORPRESBITERBENEFICIATVSCIVITATIS · TVNJANOVIREGNIGRANATENSIS. ANNO. M.D.LXXXVIII

CASTELLANOS.[1]

The main dependence of Simon, besides the manuscript of Vasquez, was a metrical chronicle by Juan de Castellanos, *Elegias de Varones ilustres de Indias*, the first part of

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Robert Southey, was published at London in 1821. This was written for Southey's *History of Brazil*, but was omitted as beyond its scope, and first published in the *Edinburgh Annual Register*, vol. iii. part 2, and then separately.

[1] A fac-simile of the portrait in his *Elegias*, p. 10.

which, containing, besides the accounts of Ursua and Aguirre, the exploits of Columbus, Ponce de Leon, Garay, and others, was printed at Madrid in 1589.[1] De Bry makes use of this versified narrative in the eighth part of his *Grand Voyages*. Castellanos' first part is reprinted in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, 1847–1850, where are also to be found the second and third parts, printed there for the first time. The text is there edited by Buenaventura Carlos Aribau. Ercilla has recorded his opinion of the faithfulness of Castellanos, but Colonel Acosta thinks him inexact. These second and third parts recount the adventures of the Germans in their search for Eldorado, and record the conquests of Cartagena by Lugo, of Popayan by Belalcazar, and of Antischia. A fourth part, which gave the conquest of New Granada, though used by Piedrahita, is no longer known.

Castellanos could well have derived his information, as he doubtless did, from men who had made part of the exploits which he celebrates ; and as regards the mad pranks of Aguirre, such is also the case with another contemporary account, preserved in the National Library at Madrid, which was written by Toribio de Ortiguera, who was at Nombre de Dios in 1561, and sent forces against Aguirre when that conspirator was on his Venezuela raid. The story written from the survivors' recitals does not materially differ from that of Vasquez. He gives also a short account of the expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro and Orellana, later to be mentioned.

Lucas Fernandez Piedrahita was a native of Bogotá, and, like Garcilasso de la Vega, had the blood of the Incas in his veins. He became a priest, and was successively Bishop of Santa Martha and of Panamá, and after having lived a life of asceticism, and been at one time a captive of the buccaneers, he died at Panamá in 1688, at the age of seventy. He depended chiefly in his *Historia General de las Conquistas del nuevo Reyno de Granada*,[2] on the *Compendio* of Ximenes de Quesada, no longer known, the *Elegias* of Castellanos, and the *Noticia* of Simon. He borrows liberally from Simon, and says but little of Aguirre till he lands in Venezuela. Aguirre's career in the *Historia de la Conquista y poblacion de Venezuela* of Oviedo y Baños is in like manner condensed from Simon, and is confined also to his final invasion of the main. The book is rare, and Markham says that in 1861 even the British Museum had no copy.[3] The general historians, De la Vega, Herrera, and Acosta, give but scant accounts of the Ursua expedition. Markham[4] points out the purely imaginative additions given to Aguirre's story in Gomberville's translation of Acuña, misleading thereby not a few later writers. Much the same incorrectness characterizes the recitals in the *Viage* of the Ulloas, in Velasco's *Historia de Quito* (1789).

The faithlessness of Orellana and his fifty followers in deserting Gonzalo Pizarro in 1540, while this leader was exploring the forests of the Cinnamon country, is told in another place. Orellana, as has been said, was sent forward in an improvised bark to secure food for Pizarro's famished followers, but was tempted to pursue the phantom of golden discovery. This impulse led him to follow the course of the river to the sea. It gave him the distinction of being the discoverer of the weary course of the great Amazon. In his intercourse with some of the river Indians he heard or professed to hear of a tribe of women warriors whom it was easy, in recognition of the classic story, to name the Amazons. At one of the native villages on the river the deserters built themselves a stancher craft than they had escaped in ; and so they sailed on in a pair of adventurous barks, fighting their way past hostile villages, and repelling attacks of canoes, or bartering with such of the Indians as were more peaceful. In one of the fights, when Orellana landed his men for the conflict, it is affirmed that women led the native horde. From a prisoner they got signs which they interpreted to mean that they were now in the region of the female warriors, and not far from all the fabled wealth of which they were in search. But the marks of the tide on the banks lured them on with the hope of nearing the sea. They soon got unmistakable signs of the great water, and then began to prepare their frail crafts for encountering its perils. They made sails of their cloaks. On the 26th of August they passed into the Atlantic. They had left the spot where the river Napo flows into the Amazon on the last day of December, 1541; and now, after a voyage of nearly eight months, they spread their sails and followed the coast northward. The vessels parted company one night, but they reached the island of Cubagua within two days of each other. Here they found a Spanish colony, and Orellana was not long in finding a passage to Spain. The story he had to tell was a thrilling one for ears eager for adventure, and a joyous one for such as listened for the tales of wealth. Orellana might be trusted to entrap both sorts of listeners.

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[1] Ticknor, *Spanish Literature*, ii. 471. There are copies in the Boston Public, Harvard College, and Lenox libraries.

[2] Printed at Amberes in 1688; Cf. Carter-Brown, vol. ii. no. 1,364. There are copies in Harvard College and Lenox libraries. Cf. H. H. Bancroft, *Central America*, ii. 62. The book is worth £5 to £10. Only the *Parte primera* was printed ; it comes down to 1563.

[3] There are copies in the Lenox and Harvard College libraries.

[4] *Search for Eldorado*, p. xliii.

The King was the best of listeners. He gave Orellana a commission to conquer these fabulous countries, and in May, 1544, Orellana sailed with four ships and four hundred men. Misfortune followed him speedily, and only two of his vessels reached the river. Up they went for a hundred leagues or so; but it was quite different making headway against the current from floating down it, as he had done before. His men died; his vessels were stranded or broken up; he himself became ill, and at last died. This ended the attempt; and such of his followers as could, made their way back to Spain; and New Andalusia, as the country was to be named, remained without a master.

Of the expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro there is no account by any one engaged in it; but we have the traditions of the story told by Garcilasso de la Vega in the second part, book third, of the *Royal Commentaries*, and this account is put into English and annotated by Mr. Markham in the *Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons*, published by the Hakluyt Society in 1859, — and to this book its editor contributes a summary of the later explorations of the valley. Orellana's desertion and his experiences are told by Herrera in his *Historia General;* and this, which Markham calls the best account possessed by us, is also translated by him in the same publication. Wallace, in his *Amazon and Rio Negro*, has of late years suggested that the woman-like apparel of the men, still to be found among the tribes of the upper Amazon, gave rise to the belief in the story of the female warriors.[1]

The form which the story of Eldorado oftener took, and which it preserved for many years, gave representation of a large inland sea, called finally Parima, and of a golden city upon it called Manoa, the reminiscences of Martinez's tale. Somehow, as Mr. Markham thinks, these details were evolved in part out of a custom prevalent on the plains of Bogotá, where a native chief is said to have gilded himself yearly, and performed some rites in a large lake. All this array of wealth was clustered, in the imagination of the conquerors of northern Peru, about the fabled empire of the Omaguas; and farther south the beckoning names were Paytiti and Enim. Whatever the names or details, the inevitable greed for gold in the mind of the Spanish invaders was quite sufficient to evolve the phantom from every impenetrable region of the New World. In 1566 Martin de Proveda followed in the track of Ursua; but sweeping north, his men dropped by the way, and a remnant only reached Bogotá. He brought back the same rumors of rich but receding provinces.

In 1568 the Spanish Government mapped out all this unknown region between two would-be governors. Pedro Malaver de Silva was to have the western part, and Diego

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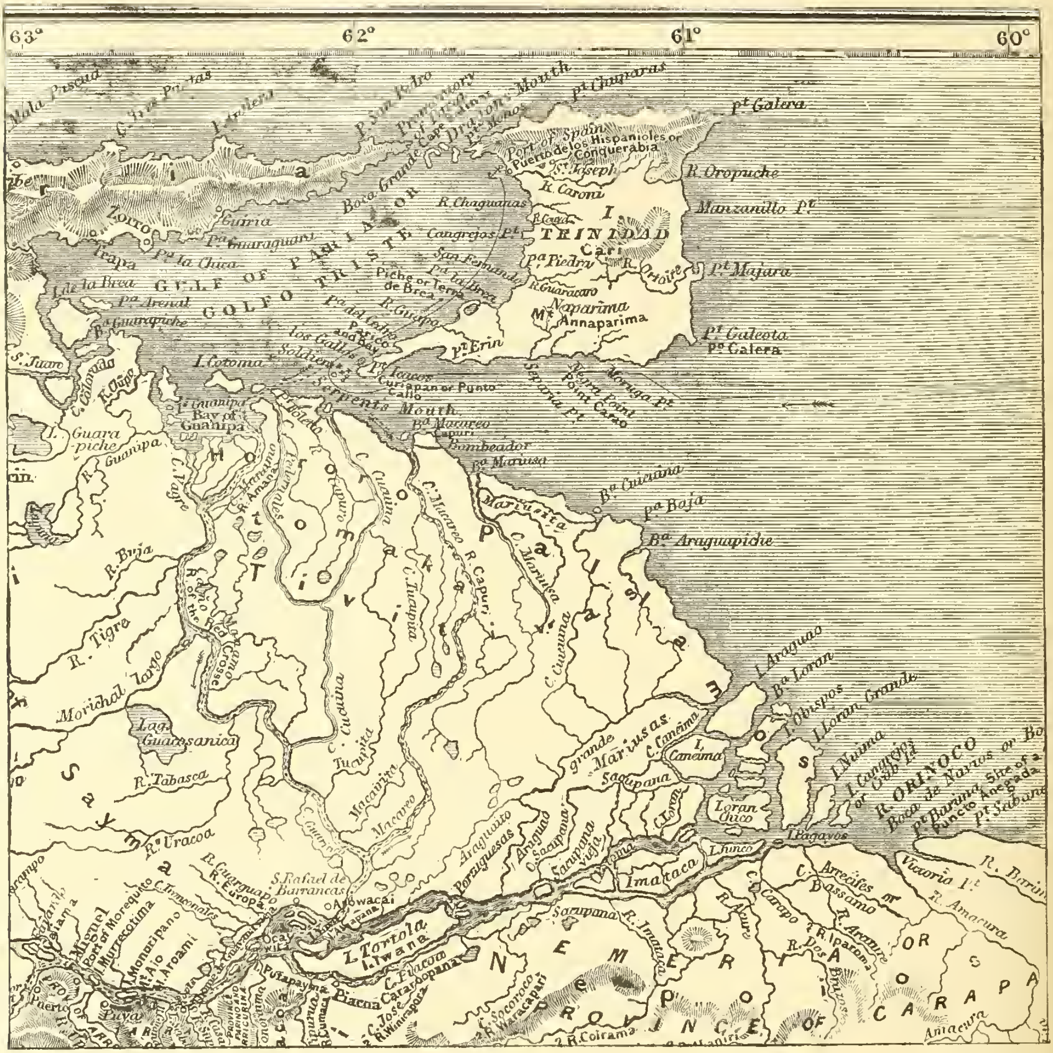
[1] Schomburgk, in his *Raleigh's Discovery of Guiana* (p. lvi), enumerates the various references to the Amazon story among the early writers on South America. Cf. Van Heuvel, *Eldorado*, chaps. vii. and viii. Acuña's account in 1641 is translated in Markham's *Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons*, sect. 71; and also p. 123, Note.



THE MOUTHS OF THE ORINOCO.[1]

Fernando de Cerpa to have the eastern as far as the mouths of the Orinoco. Both of the expeditions which these ambitious heroes led came to nothing beyond their due share of trials and aimless wandering; and one of the leaders, Silva, made a second attempt in 1574, equally abortive, as the one survivor's story proved it to be.

Markham says that the last expedition to achieve any important geographical discovery was that of Antonio de Berreo in 1582. He had received by right the adventurous impulse, through his marriage with the daughter or heiress of Gonzalo Ximenes de Quesada. He followed down the Cassanare and the Meta, and pursued the Orinoco to its mouth. The English took up the quest when Raleigh sent Jacob Whiddon in 1594 to explore the Orinoco. Berreo, who was now the Spanish governor of Trinidad, threw what obstacles in the way he could; and when Raleigh arrived with his fleet in 1595, the English leader captured the troublesome Spaniard, and was confirmed in his belief, by what Berreo told him, that he could reach the goal. This lure was the lying account of Juan Martinez, already mentioned. The fortunes of Raleigh have been told elsewhere,[1] and the expeditions which he conducted or planned, says Markham, may be said to close the long roll of searches after the fabulous Eldorado.

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[1] This is a portion of the map given by Schomburgk in his edition of *Raleigh's Discovery of Guiana*, published by the Hakluyt Society in 1848.

Nearly the whole of the northern parts of South America had now been thridded by numerous adventuring parties, but without success in this fascinating search. There still remained an unknown region in Central Guiana, where were plains periodically inundated by the overflow of the Rupununi, Essequibo, and Branco (Parima) rivers. Here must Eldorado be; and here the maps, shortly after this, placed the mysterious lake and its auriferous towers of Manoa down to a comparatively recent time. According to Humboldt[2] and Schomburgk,[3] it was after the return of Raleigh's and Keymis's expedition that Hondius was the first in his *Nieuwe Caerte van het goudreyke landt Guiana* (1599).[4] to introduce the Laguna Parima with its city Manoa in a map. He placed it between 1° 45′ and 2° north latitude, and made it larger than the Caspian Sea.

We find the lake also in the *Nieuwe Wereldt* of De Laet in 1630, and in the editions of that year in other languages. Another Dutch geographer, Jannson, also represented it. Sanson, the French geographer, puts it one degree north of the equator in his *Terre Ferme* in 1656, and is particular enough to place Manoa at the northwest corner of a squarish inland sea; but he omits it in his chart of the Amazons in 1680. We find the lake again in Heylin's *Cosmographie* of 1663, and later editions; in Blaeu's *Atlas* in 1685. Delisle omits the lake in 1703, but gives a legend in French, as Homann does in his map in Latin, "In hac regione aliqui ponunt lacum Parima urbemque Manoa del Dorado." In another of Delisle's maps a small lake appears with the legend: "Guiane proprement dite ou Dorado, dans laquelle quelques-uns mettent le lac Parime." We have it again in the map in Herrera, edition of 1728; and in 1729. Moll, the English geographer, likewise shows it. In the middle of the century (1760) the maps of Danville preserve the lake, though he had omitted it in an earlier edition; and the English edition, improved by Bolton in 1755, still continues it, as does an Italian edition (Venice) in 1779. The original Spanish of Gumilla's *El Orinoco* (2d edition, Madrid, 1745) has a map which gives the lake, and it is repeated in the French edition at Avignon in 1758, and in a later Spanish one at Barcelona in 1781. Kitchen's map, which was prepared for Robertson's *History of America*, again shows it; and it is in the centre of a great water system in the large map of La Cruz, made by order of the King of Spain in 1775, which was re-engraved in London the same year. It is also represented in the maps in the *Historia de la nueva Andalucia*, of Antonio Caulin,[5] Madrid, 1779, and in the *Saggio di Storia Americana*, Rome, 1780. Conrad Mannert's map, published at Nuremberg in 1803, gives it; as do the various editions of François Depons' *Voyage dans l'Amerique méridionale*, Paris, 1806. The lake here is given under thirty degrees north latitude, and Manoa is put at the northeast corner of it. The same plate was used for the English version "by an American gentleman," published in New York in 1806; while the translation published in London in 1807,

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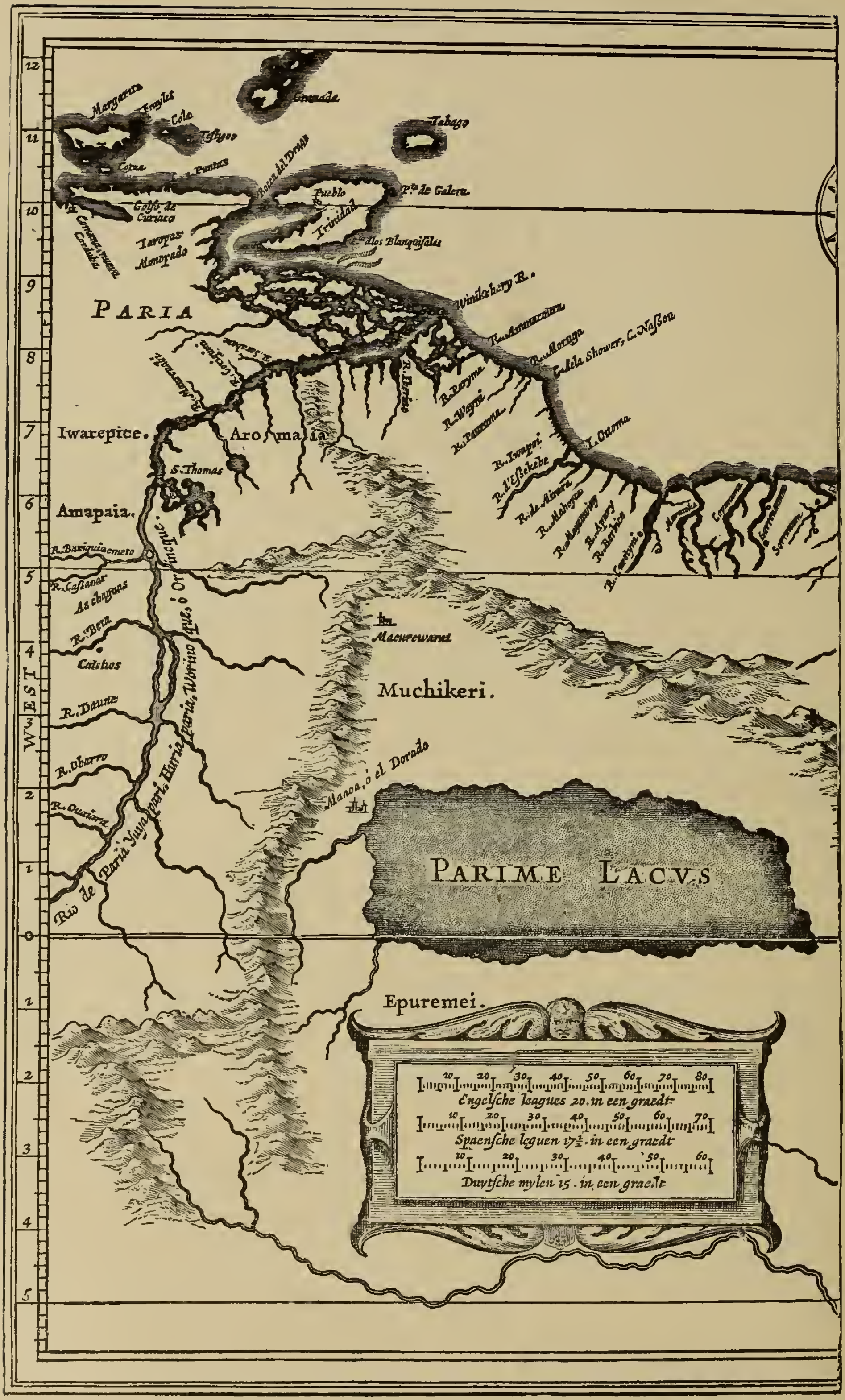
[1] Vol. III. p. 117, etc. One of the latest accounts is contained in P. G. L. Borde's *Histoire de l'ile de la Trinidad sous le gouvernement espagnol*, 1498, etc. (Paris, 1876–1883, vol. i.). Abraham Kendall, who had been on the coast with Robert Dudley, and is the maker of one of the portolanos in Dudley's *Arcano del mare*, was with Raleigh and of use to him. Kohl (Collection, no. 374) gives us from the British Museum a map which he supposes to be Raleigh's.

[2] *Personal Narrative*, chap. 17.

[3] *Raleigh's Discovery of Guiana*, published by Hakluyt Society (1848), p. li.

[4] Schomburgk says that Levinus Hulsius availed himself of this map in constructing his *Americæ pars Australis*, which accompanies the *Vera Historia* of Schmiedel, published at Nuremberg in 1599. Cf. Uricoechea, *Mapoteca Colombiana*, p. 90, no. 5.

[5] He was in the boundary expedition of Solano. Humboldt calls this map the combination of two traced by Caulin in 1756.



Margarita
Frayles
Cola
Teſtigos
Granada
Tabago
Coxa
Puntas
Bocca del Drago
Pueblo
P.ta de Galera
Golfo de Curiaco
Trinidad
los Blanquiſales
Cumana, nueva Corduba
Taropas
Monopado
PARIA
Winikahary R.
R. Ammacura
R. Moruga
Cabela Shower, C. Naſſon
R. Paryma
R. Waymi
R. Pauroma
R. Barima
R. Sarabane
R. Coryſana
R. Manawaly
Iwarepice.
Aromaia
S. Thomas
R. Iwapoi
R. d'Eſſekebe
I. Ottoma
R. de Aimara
R. Mahayca
R. Maycawiny
R. Apary
R. Berbice
R. Curetyne
Amapaia.
R. Bariquiacmeto
R. Caſtanar
As chaguas
R. Beta
Catetios
R. Daune
R. Obarro
R. Ouaiara
Rio de Paria Yuyapari, Harria, paria, Worino que, ó Orinoque.
Macurewarai
Muchikeri.
Manoa, ó el Dorado
PARIME LACVS
Epuremei.
WEST
12
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10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
Engelſche leagues 20. in een graedt
10 20 30 40 50 60 70
Spaenſche leguen 17½. in een graedt
10 20 30 40 50 60
Duytſche mylen 15. in een graedt

DE LAET, 1630.

apparently the same with a few verbal changes, has a like configuration on a map of reduced scale. One of the latest preservations of the myth is the large map published in London by Faden in 1807, purporting to be based on the studies of D'Arcy de la Rochette, where the inland sea is explained by a legend: "Golden Lake, or Lake Parime, called likewise Parana Pitinga, — that is, White Sea, — on the banks of which the discoverers of the sixteenth century did place the imaginary city of Manoa del Dorado." I have seen it in German maps as late as 1814, and the English geographer, Arrowsmith, kept it in his maps in his day.[1]

It was left for Humboldt to set the seal of disbelief firmly upon the story.[2] Schomburgk says that the inundations of extensive savannas during the tropical winter gave rise, no doubt, to the fable of the White Sea, assisted by an ignorance of the Indian language. Nevertheless, as late as 1844, Jacob A. van Heuvel, in his *Eldorado, being a Narrative of the Circumstances which gave rise to Reports in the Sixteenth Century of the Existence of a Rich and Splendid City in South America*, published in New York, clung to the idea; and he represents the lake somewhat doubtingly as in 4° north, and between 60° and 63° west, in the map accompanying his book.

Later in the seventeenth century the marvellous story took on another guise. It was remembered that after the conquest of Peru a great emigration of Inca Indians had taken place easterly beyond the mountains, and in the distant forests it was reputed they had established a new empire; and the names of Paytiti and Enim, already mentioned, were attached to these new theatres of Inca magnificence. Stories of this fabulous kingdom continued to be hatched well on into the eighteenth century, and not a few expeditions of more or less imposing strength were sent to find this kingdom. It never has been found; but, as Mr. Markham thinks, there is some reason to believe that the Inca Indians who fled with Tapac Amaru into the forests may for a considerable period have kept up their civilization somewhere in those vast plains east of the Andes. The same writer says that the belief was not without supporters when he was in Peru in 1853; and he adds that it is a pleasant reflection that this story may possibly be true.[3]

The most considerable attempt of the seventeenth century to make better known the course of the Amazon was the expedition under Texeira, sent in 1639 to see if a practicable way could be found to transport the treasure from Peru by the Amazon to the Atlantic coast. Acuña's book on this expedition, *Nuevo descubrimiento del gran Rio de las Amazons*,[4] published at Madrid in 1641, is translated in Markham's *Valley of the Amazons*, published by the Hakluyt Society. It was not till 1707, when Samuel Fritz, a Bohemian and a missionary, published his map of the Amazons at Quito, that we find something better than the vaguest delineation of the course of the great river.[5]

It is not the purpose of the present essay to continue the story of the explorations of the Amazon into more recent times; but a word may be spared for the strange and sorrowful adventures along its stream, which came in the train of the expedition that was sent out by the French Government in 1735 to measure an arc of the meridian in Peru, for comparing the result with a similar measurement in Lapland. The object was to prove or to disprove the theory of Sir Isaac Newton that the earth was flattened at the poles. The commissioners — Bouguer, La Condamine, and Godin (the last accompanied by his wife) — arrived at Quito in June, 1736. The arc was measured; but the task did not permit them to think of returning before 1743, when La Condamine resolved to return by descending the Amazon and then making his way to the French colony of Cayenne. He and his companion, a Spanish gentleman seeking some adventure, had their full content of it, but safely accomplished the journey.

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[1] This enumeration has by no means mentioned all the instances of similar acceptance of the delusion.

[2] Cf. his *Cosmos*, Eng. tr., p. 159; *Views of Nature*, p. 188. He asks: "Can the little reed-covered lake of Amuca have given rise to this myth? . . . It was besides an ancient custom of dogmatizing geographers to make all considerable rivers originate in lakes." Cf. also Humboldt's *Personal Narrative* and Southey's *History of Brazil*.

[3] Markham's *Valley of the Amazons*, p. xlv.

[4] This book is rare. It was priced by Rich in 1832 (no. 234) at £8 8*s*. The unsatisfactory French translation by De Gomberville was printed at Paris in 1682. Dufossé recently priced this edition at 150 francs. The original Spanish is said to have been suppressed by Philip IV. but such stories are attached too easily to books become rare. There was a copy in the Cooke sale (1884, no. 10). The *Carter-Brown Catalogue* (vol. ii. no. 484) shows a copy.

[5] It can be found in Stocklein's *Reise Beschreibungen*, a collection of Jesuit letters from all parts of the World. Markham's *Valley of the Amazons*, p. xxxiii.

Another of the commissioners, Godin, having tarried a few years longer in Peru, had finally proceeded to Cayenne, where he made arrangements for embarking for France. Through the favor of the Portuguese Government he had been provided with a galiot of sixteen to twenty oars on a side, to ascend the river and meet his wife, who on receiving a message from him was to leave Peru with an escort and come down the river and meet him. Illness finally prevented the husband from proceeding; but he despatched the vessel, having on board one Tristan, who was charged with a letter to send ahead. By some faithlessness in Tristan, the letter miscarried; but Madame Godin sent a trusty messenger in anticipation, who found the galiot at Loreto awaiting her arrival, and returned with the tidings. The lady now started with her father and two brothers; and they allowed a certain Frenchman who called himself a physician to accompany them, while her negro servant, who had just returned over the route, attended them, as well as three Indian women and thirty Indian men to carry burdens. They encountered the small-pox among the river Indians, when their native porters deserted them. They found two other natives, who assisted them in building a boat; but after two days upon it these Indians also deserted them. They found another native, but he was shortly drowned. Then their boat began to leak and was abandoned. On pretext of sending assistance back, the French physician, taking with him the negro, pushed on to a settlement; but he forgot his promise, and the faithful black was so impeded in attempting alone the task of rescue, that he arrived at the camp only to find unrecognizable corpses. All but the lady had succumbed. She pushed on alone through the wilderness, encountering perils that appall as we read; but in the end, falling in with two Indians, she passed on from one mission station to another, and reached the galiot.

Thus a hundred years later than Orellana, the great river still flowed with a story of fearful hazards and treachery.

CHAPTER IX.

MAGELLAN'S DISCOVERY.

BY REV. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D.

FERNANDO DA MAGALHAENS, or Magalhâes, whom the French and English call Magellan, was a Portuguese gentleman of good family. He was educated, as well as his time knew how to educate men, for the business which he followed through his life, — that of a navigator and a discoverer. He was a child when Columbus first came home successful from the West Indies; and as a boy and young man he grew up, in the Court of King John the Second of Portugal, among people all alive to the exciting novelties of new adventure. As early as 1505 he went to the East Indies, where he served the Portuguese Government several years. He was in the expedition which first discovered the Spice Islands of Banda, Amboyna, Ternate, and Tidor. Well-acquainted with the geography of the East as far as the Portuguese adventurers had gone, he returned to Portugal.

King Emmanuel was then upon the throne. Spain owes it to an unjust slight which Magellan received at the Portuguese Court, that, under her banner, this greatest of seamen sailed round the world and solved the problem of ages in reaching the east by way of the west. Magellan was in the service of the King in Morocco in a war which the Portuguese had on hand there. He received a slight wound in his knee, which made him lame for the rest of his life. Returning to Portugal, on some occasion when he was pressing a claim for an allowance customary to men of his rank, he was refused, and charged with pretending to an injury which was really cured. Enraged at this insult, he abandoned his country. He did this in the lordly style which seems in keeping with a Portuguese grandee of his time. He published a formal act of renunciation of Portugal. He went to Spain and took letters of naturalization there. In the most formal way he announced that he was a subject of the King of Spain, and should give service and life to that monarch, if he would use them.

Magellan had a companion in his exile; this was Ruy Faleiro, a gentleman of Lisbon, who had also fallen into disgrace at Court. Faleiro,[1] like

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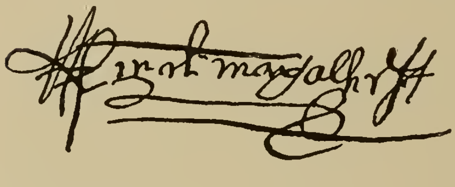
[1] On Faleiro's contributions to the art of navigation, see Humboldt's *Cosmos*, Eng. tr., ii. 672.

Magellan, was a thorough geographer; and the two had persuaded themselves that the shortest route to the Spice Islands of the East was to be found in crossing the Western Ocean. We know now, that in this conviction they were wrong. Any ordinary map of the eastern hemisphere includes the Spice Islands or Moluccas, as well as Portugal, because the distance in longitude east from Lisbon is less than that of the longitude measured west. It has been proved, also, that the continent of America extends farther south than that of Africa. This, Magellan and Faleiro did not know; but they were willing to take the risk of it. Spain has always held the Philippines, — the prize which she won as the reward of Magellan's great discovery, — under the treaty of 1494, which gave to her half the world beyond the meridian of three hundred and seventy leagues west from Ferro. She has held it because Magellan sailed west, and so struck the Philippines; but, in fact, those islands lie within the half of the world which the same treaty gave to Portugal.



AUTOGRAPH OF MAGELLAN.

By mistake or by design, the Philippines, when they were discovered, were moved on the maps twenty-five degrees east of their true position on the globe. The Spaniards made the maps. The islands were thus brought within their half of the world; and this immense error was not corrected till the voyages of Dampier.[1]

Charles V. was no fool. He recognized at once the value of such men as Magellan and Faleiro. He heard and accepted their plan for a western voyage to the spice regions. On the 22d of March, 1518, he bound himself to fit out an expedition at his own cost on their plans, under Magellan's orders, on condition that the principal part of the profits should belong to the Throne. Through years of intrigue, public and private, in which the Spanish jealousy of Sevillian merchants and others tried to break up the expedition, Charles was, for once, faithful to a promise. We must not attempt here to follow the sad history of such intrigues. On the 10th of August, 1519, the expedition sailed under Magellan. Poor Faleiro, alas! had gone crazy in the mean time. What proved even a greater misfortune was that Juan of Carthagena was put on board the "San Antonio" as a sort of Japanese spy on Magellan. He was the marplot of the expedition, as the history will show. He was called a *veedor*, or inspector.

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[1] [It will be remembered that the original Bull of 1493 fixed the meridian 100 leagues (say 400 miles) west of the Azores or Cape De Verde Islands, supposing them to lie north and south of each other; whereas the limit in force after June 7, 1494, was 370 leagues (say 1,080 miles) west of the Azores, since Portugal, complaining of the first limit, had negotiated with Spain for a new limit, the Pope assenting; and this final limit was confirmed by a convention at Tordesillas at the date above given. Cf. Popellinière, *Les trois mondes*, Paris, 1582; Baronius, *Annales* (ed. by Brovius, Rome), vol. xix.; Solorzano, *Politica Indiana*. — Ed.]

MAGELLAN.[1]

There is something pathetic in contrasting the magnificent fleet with which Magellan sailed, under the patronage of an emperor, with the poor little expedition of Columbus. With the new wealth of the Indies at command, and with the resources now of a generation of successful discovery, the Emperor directed the dockyards of Seville to meet all Magellan's wishes in the most thorough way. No man in the world, perhaps, knew better than Magellan what he needed. The expedition, therefore, sailed with as perfect a material equipment as the time knew how to furnish. It consisted of five ships, — the "Trinidad" and "San Antonio," each of

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[1] [Fac-simile of an engraving in Navarrete's *Coleccion*, vol. iv. It is also reproduced in Stanley's *First Voyage round the World by Magellan* (Hakluyt Society, 1874); in Cladera's *Investigaciones históricas ;* in the *Relacion del ultimo viage al estrecho de Magellanes de la fragata de S. M. Santa Maria de la Cabeza en los anos de* 1785 *y* 1786 (Madrid, 1788); in the *Allgemeine geographische Ephemeriden* (November, 1804), p. 269; in August Bürck's *Magellan oder die erste Reise um die erde*, Leipsic, 1844; in Rüge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 402; and in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, i. 81.

There are two portraits in De Bry, — one a full length in the corner of a map of America which accompanies the narrative of Benzoni in part vi., and of Herrera in part xii.; and the other on a map of the two hemispheres in part xi.; also repeated in Schouten's *Journal* (1618). There are similar pictures in Hulsius, parts vi. and xvi. Cf. the *Catalogue* (no. 135) of the Gallery of the New York Historical Society. — ED.]

HERNANDO DE MAGALLANES.
Cavallero Portugues. descubridor del
Estrecho de su nombre.

MAGELLAN.[1]

120 Spanish *toneles*, the "Concepcion," of 90, the "Victoria," of 85, — long famous as the one vessel which made the whole voyage, — and the "Santiago," of 75. For the convenience of the translators this Spanish word *toneles* is generally rendered by the French word *tonneaux* and the English word *tons.* But in point of fact the *tonele* of Seville was one fifth larger than the *tonelada* of the north of Spain, which nearly corresponds to our ton; and the vessels of Magellan and Columbus were, in fact, so much larger than the size which is generally assigned to them in the popular histories.[2]

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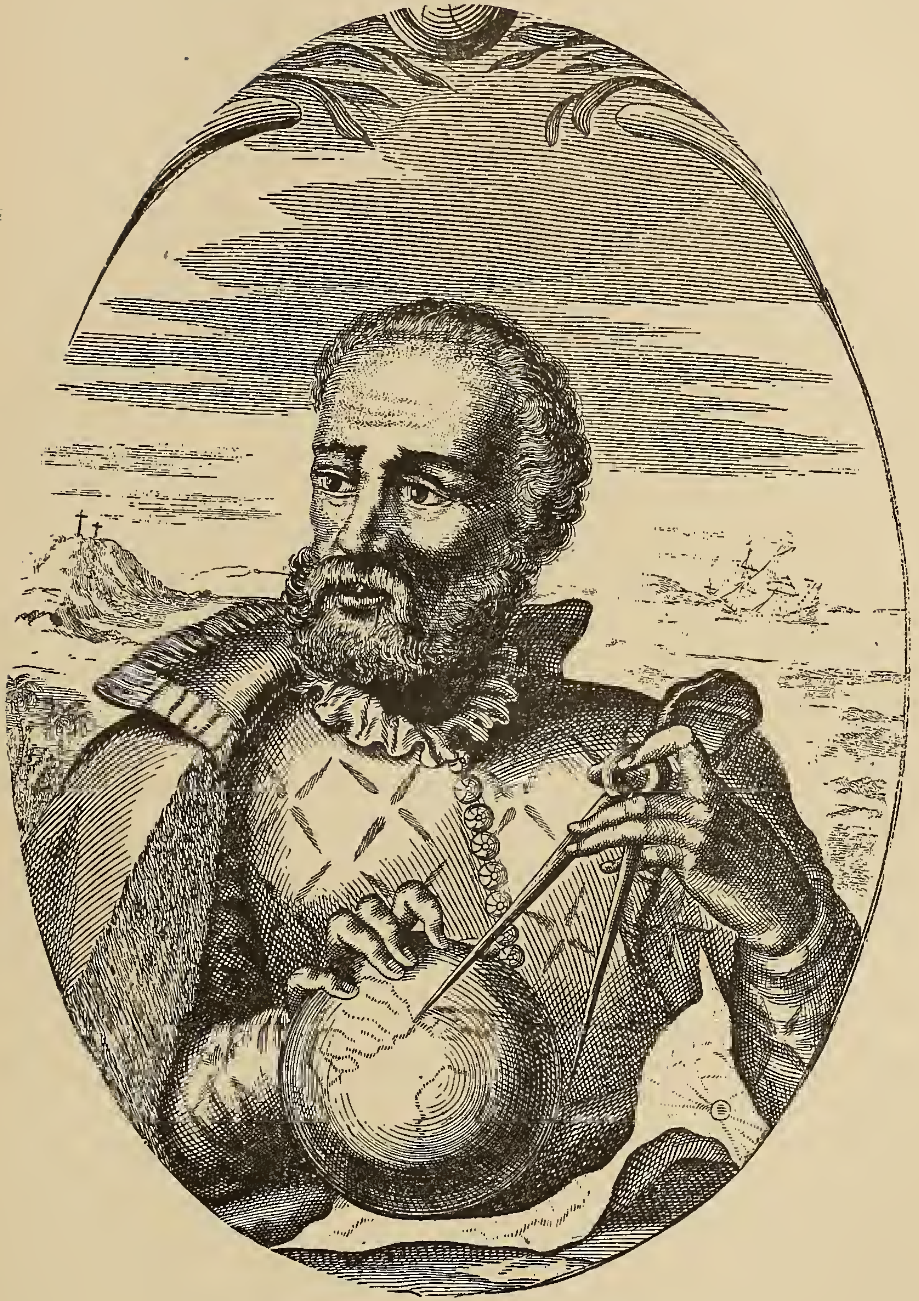
[1] Fac-simile of the engraving in Herrera, i. 293.

[2] [See note, Vol. II., p. 7. — Ed.]



MAGELLAN.[1]

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[1] Fac-simile of the engraving in Ogilby's *America* (p. 79), — the same used in Montanus's *Nieuwe Wereldt.*

On the 20th of September the fleet had cleared the River Guadalquivir, and was fairly at sea. Six days afterward it touched at Teneriffe for supplies; and here was the first quarrel between Magellan and his watchman, Juan de Carthagena. Up to this point entire secrecy had been maintained by Magellan as to the route to be pursued. Juan de Carthagena claimed the right to be informed of all things regarding it. Magellan refused, probably with considerable scorn. When off Sierra Leone, a few days after, a similar quarrel broke out; Magellan arrested Carthagena with his own hand, and put him in the stocks. Of course this was an insult the most keen, and was meant to be. The other captains begged Magellan to release the prisoner, and he did so; but still he kept him under the arrest of one of their number.

From Sierra Leone they ran across to Brazil and anchored again for supplies in the magnificent Bay of Rio de Janeiro. By their narrative, indeed, on the return of the first vessel, was this great estuary made widely known to the world. It is now known that Magellan was not the first discoverer. Pero Lopez had explored the bay five years before; and as early as 1511 a trader named John of Braga, probably a Portuguese, was established on one of its fertile islands. Indeed, it is said that the hardy seamen of Dieppe had been there as early as the beginning of the century. Its first name was the Bay of Cabo-Frio.

The meridian of Alexander's Bull had been meant to leave all the American discoveries in the possession of the King of Spain. But, unfortunately for him, Brazil runs so far out to the east that a meridian three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Azores gives Portugal a considerable part of it; and in point of fact the western boundary of Brazil has been accommodated quite nearly to the imaginary line of the Pope. To Magellan and his company it made no difference whether they were on Portuguese or Spanish soil. They found the Brazilians friendly. "Though they are not Christians, they are not idolaters, for they adore nothing. Natural instinct is their only law."

This is the phrase of Pigafetta, the young Italian gentleman to whose *naïve* book we owe our best and fullest account of the great voyage. It is clear enough that all the crews enjoyed their stay in the Bay of Santa Lucia, by which name they called our Bay of Rio de Janeiro. It was in the heart of the Brazilian summer, for they arrived on the 13th of December. They had been nearly three months at sea, and were well disposed to enjoy tropical luxuries; and here they stayed thirteen days. Pigafetta describes the Brazilian hammocks;[1] and from his description Europe has taken that word. The same may perhaps be said of the mysterious word "canoe," which appears in his narrative under the spelling "canots."[2]

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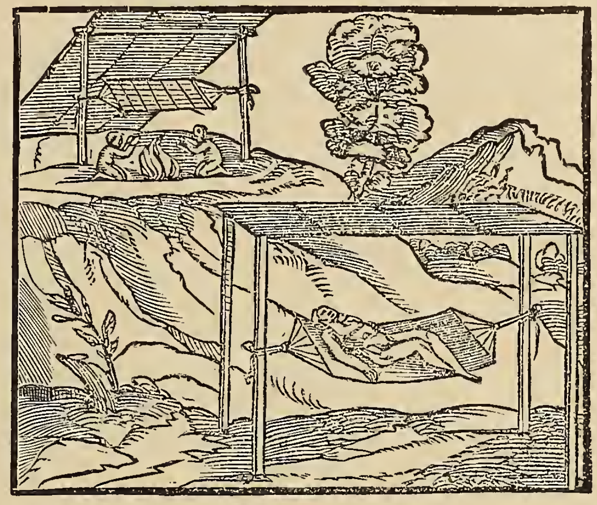
[1] But the word *hamac* is Haytian, not Brazilian. The hammock itself had been noticed by Columbus. Peter Martyr describes it, and Oviedo figures it in narrating the second voyage. [Cf. Schomburgk's *Raleigh's Discovery of Guiana*, pp. 40, 65. — ED.]

[2] [See p. 17 of Vol. II., for a contemporary drawing of a canoe. — ED.]

It was Pigafetta's first taste of the luxuries of the South American fields and forests, and he delighted in their cheapness and variety. "For a king of clubs I bought six chickens," he writes; "and yet the Brazilian thought he had made the best bargain," — as, indeed, in the condition of the fine arts at Santa Lucia, he had. A knife or a hook, however, bought no more; yet the natives had no tools of metal. Their large canoes, which would carry thirty or forty people, were painfully dug out by knives of stone from the great trees of which they were made. The Spaniards ate the pineapple for the first time. Pigafetta does not seem to have known the sugar-cane before; and he describes the sweet potato as a novelty. "It has almost the form of our turnip, and its taste resembles that of chestnuts." Here, also, he gives the name "patata," which has clung to this root, and has been transferred to the white potato also. For a ribbon, or a hawk's bell, the natives sold a "basketful." Their successors would doubtless do the same now.



INDIAN BEDS.[1]

The Spaniards found the Brazilians perfectly willing to trade. They went wholly naked, — men and women. Their houses were long cabins.[2] The people told stories, which the navigators believed, of the very great age of their old men, extending it even to one hundred and forty years. They owned that they were cannibals on occasion; but they seem to have eaten human flesh only as a symbol of triumph over conquered enemies. They painted their bodies, and wore their hair short. Pigafetta says it was woolly; but this must have been a mistake. Although he says they go naked, he describes a sort of vest made of paroquet's feathers. Almost

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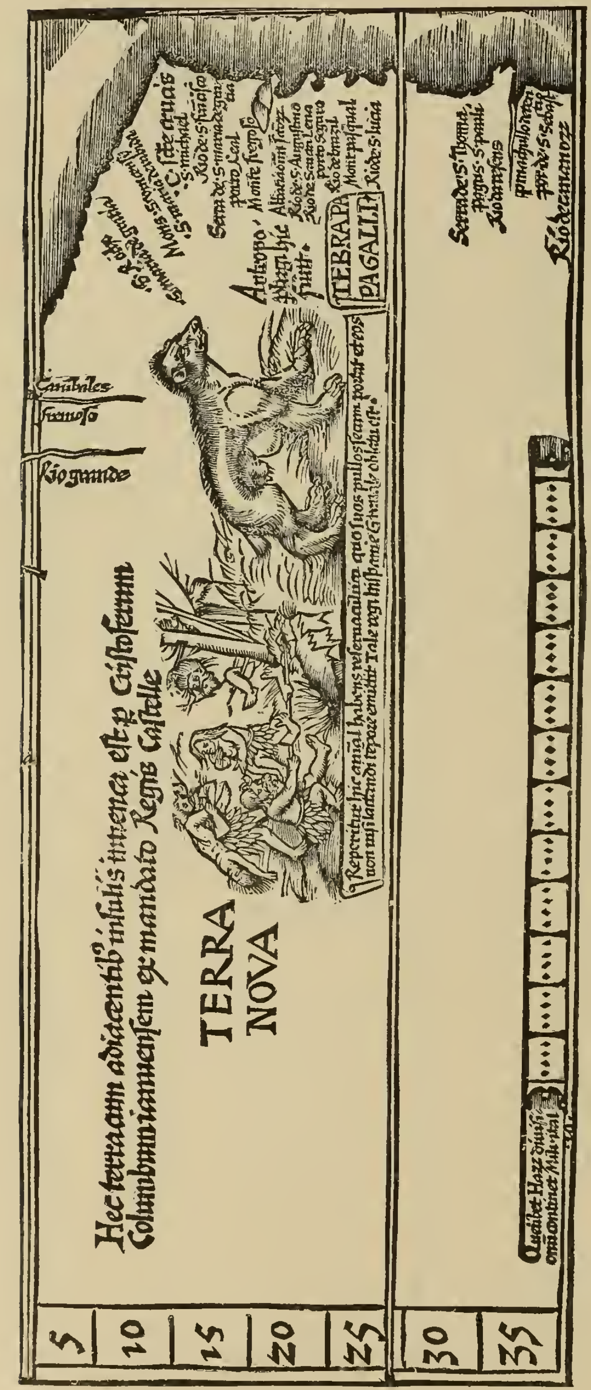
[1] [This is Benzoni's representation of the hammocks which are used by the natives of the northern shores of South America (edition of 1572, p. 56). See also the second volume, p. 11. — Ed.]

[2] Which they called *boi*, according to Pigafetta; but this name has not been traced since his time. The Brazilian name of house was *oca*. Of twelve "Brazilian" words given in Pigafetta, five found their way into European languages. But, oddly enough, three of these were not Brazilian, but were "ship-language," and borrowed from the West Indies. These are *cacich* for "king," *hamac* for "bed," *maiz* for "millet;" perhaps *canot* is to be added. But *Setebos*, the name of their god or devil, is Pigafetta's own. Shakspeare was struck by it, and gives it to Caliban's divinity.


Hec terra cum adiacentib' insulis inventa est p Cristoferum Columbum ianuensem ex mandato Regis Castelle
TERRA NOVA
TERRA PAPAGALLI
Canibales
Riogrande
5
10
15
20
25
30
35

PART OF SOUTH AMERICA IN THE PTOLEMY OF 1522.[1]

all the men had the lower lip pierced with three holes, and wore in them little cylinders of stone two inches long. They ate cassava bread, made in round white cakes from the root of the manioc.[2] The voyagers also observed the pecari[3] and those curious ducks "whose beak is like a spoon," described by later travellers.[4]

After a pleasant stay of thirteen days in this bay, Magellan took the squadron to the embouchure of the River La Plata, which had been discovered four years before by Juan Diaz de Solis, who lost his life there. The Spaniards believed the tribe of the Quérandis, before whose terrible *bolas* he had fallen, to be cannibals; and they were probably right in this supposition. Continuing the voyage southward, Magellan's fleet observed the two islands now marked as the "Penguins" and "Lions." The historian of the voyage notes the penguins and "sea-wolves" which were then observed there. Passing these islands, they opened a harbor, since known as Port Desire, where they spent the Southern winter. It is near the latitude of 50° south. Magellan supposed it to be in 49° 18′. Hardly had they arrived in this harbor, in itself sufficiently inhospitable, when the mutiny broke out which had been brewing, probably, since Magellan's first insult to John of Carthagena. The announcement made by Magellan that they were to winter here gave the signal for the revolt. On Palm Sunday, which fell on the 1st of April that year, he invited the captains and pilots to meet on his vessel to attend Mass and to dine with him. Two of the captains, Mesquita and De Coca, accepted the invitation and came with their staffs. Mendoza and Quesada did not come. Juan de Carthagena, it will be remembered, was under arrest, and he, of course, was not invited. The same night Quesada, with De Carthagena and thirty men, crossed from the "Concepçion" to the "San Antonio," and made an effort to take Mesquita prisoner. At first they succeeded; but the ship's master, Eliorraga, defended him and his so bravely that, with succor from Magellan, he retained the command. The purpose of the conspirators seems to have been simply to return to Spain without wintering in so bleak a home. The three rebels sent to Magellan to say that they would recognize him as their commander, but they were sure that the King did not propose such an undertaking as this to which he was committing them. Of course, under the guise of respect, this was to exact submission from him. Magellan bade them come on board the flagship. They refused. Magellan kept the boat which they then sent him, and despatched six men, under Espinosa, to the "Victoria" to summon Mendoza. Mendoza answered with a sneer. Espinosa at once stabbed him in the neck, and a sailor struck him down with a cutlass. Magellan then sent another boat, with fifteen men, who took possession of the "Victoria." In every case the crews seem to have taken his side against their own captains. The next day, the 3d of April, he obtained full possession of the "Santiago" and "Concepçion."

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[1] [A part of the "Tabula Terra Nova" in the *Ptolemy* of 1522, showing the acts of cannibals. Similar representations appeared on various other maps of South America. Cf. Münster's map of 1540. Vespucius, in his letter to Lorenzo de' Medici, was the first to describe the cannibalism of the Brazilians. Cf. Thevet, *Singularitez de la France antarctique*, chap. xl., on their cannibalism. — ED.]

[2] Jatropha manihot.

[3] Sus dorso cistifero (Linnæus).

[4] Anas rostro plano ad verticem dilatato (Linnæus).

On the 4th of that month he quartered the body of Mendoza and published his sentence as a traitor. On the 7th he beheaded Quesada, whose own servant, Molino, volunteered as executioner. When Drake arrived here, fifty-eight years after, he supposed he found the bones of Mendoza or Quesada under a gibbet which was still standing. Juan de Carthagena and the priest Pedro Sanchez de la Reina were convicted as partners in the mutiny, and sentenced to remain when the ships sailed. This sentence was afterwards executed. Magellan doubtless felt that these examples were sufficient, and he pardoned forty of the crew; but, as the reader will see, the spirit which prompted the mutiny was not yet extinguished.

They had lived here two months without seeing any of the natives, when one day, according to the narrative of Pigafetta, a giant appeared to them when they least expected to see any one. "He was singing and dancing on the sand, and throwing dust upon his head, almost naked. The captain sent one of our sailors on shore, with orders to make the same gestures as tokens of peace. This the man did; he was understood, and the giant permitted himself to be led to a little island where the captain had landed. I was there also, with many others. The giant expressed much astonishment at seeing us. He pointed to heaven, and undoubtedly meant to say that he thought we descended from heaven.

"This man," continues Pigafetta, "was so tall that our heads hardly came up to his belt. He was well formed; his face was broad and colored with red, excepting that his eyes were surrounded with yellow, and he had two heart-shaped spots upon his cheeks. He had but little hair, and this was whitened with a sort of powder. His dress, or rather cloak, was made of furs well sewed, — taken from an animal well known in this region, as we afterwards found. He also wore shoes of the same skin."

It seems desirable to copy this description in detail, because here begins in literature the vexed question as to the existence of giants in Patagonia. Whether there ever were any there is now doubted, though the name "Patagonian" is the synonyme of giant in every European language. While the narrative of Pigafetta is thus distinct in saying that one giant only appeared at first, another authority, with equal definiteness, says that six men appeared; and it afterwards appears that two of these, at least, were larger than the Spaniards.

The comparison of the details of this last narrative in Herrera with that of Pigafetta illustrates curiously the perplexity of all historical inquiry; for we are here distinctly told that there were six who appeared on the shore and seemed willing to come on board. A boat was sent for them, and they embarked on the flagship without fear. Once on deck, the Spaniards offered them a kettle full of biscuit, — which was enough, as they supposed, for twenty men; but, with the appetite of hungry Indians, the six devoured it all immediately. They wore mantles of furs, and carried bows and arrows. The bows were about half a fathom long; the arrows were barbed with sharp stones. All were shod with large shoes, like the giant.

On another day two Indians brought on board a tapir, and it proved that their dresses were made from the fur of this animal. Magellan gave them in exchange two red dresses, with which they were well satisfied. It is not till the next day that Herrera places the visit of the giant. That author says that the Indian expressed a wish to become a Christian, and that the Spaniards gave him the name of John. Seeing the crew throwing some mice overboard, he asked that they might be given to him to eat. For six days he took all the mice the ship could furnish, and was never afterward seen.

More than twenty days later, four Indians of the first party returned to the ships, and Magellan gave orders that two of them should be seized to carry home. The men were so large that the Spaniards could not make them prisoners without treachery. Loading the poor giants with more gifts than they could well carry, they finally asked each to accept an iron chain, fitted with manacles. The two Indians were eager enough to accept the fatal present, and were easily persuaded to have the chains fastened to their legs, that they might the more easily carry them away. They found, alas! as so many other men have found, that what they took for ornament was a cruel snare; but, thus crippled, they were overpowered. Their screams of rage were heard by their companions on shore. It was after this treachery that the natives first attacked the Spaniards. Seeing fires at night, Magellan landed a party for exploration. Seven Spaniards found the tracks of Indians and followed them ineffectually. As they returned, however, nine Indians followed, attacked them, and killed one Castilian. But for their shields, all the Spaniards would have been killed. The Spaniards closed upon them with their knives, and put them to flight, visited their camp, and feasted from the store of meat they found there. The next day Magellan sent a larger party on shore and buried the dead Castilian.

The reader is now in possession of all the statements from which we are to decide the much-disputed question whether, in the time of Magellan, Patagonia was a land of giants. He is to remember that Pigafetta, who was the friend and fellow-voyager of the giant Paul, one of the two captives, does not in other instances go out of his way to invent the marvellous, though he often does repeat marvellous stories which have been related by others. It is to be observed that none of the voyagers pretend to have seen any large number of Patagonians. The largest number seen at one time was nine; and even if these were different from the six who came to the ship, fifteen is the largest number of the native visitors to the squadron. Of these, according to one account, in which three at least of the authorities agree, two are of extraordinary height, so that the heads of the Spaniards reached only to their girdles. It is also said that the feet or shoes of all were large, "but not disproportionate to their stature." For three hundred years, on this testimony, it was perhaps generally believed that the Patagonians were very large men. The statement was positively made that they were nine feet high. But as other voyagers, especially in this century, more and more often brought home accounts in which no such giants appeared, there was an increasing distrust of the original Spanish narrative.

Especially when navigators had to do with the wretched Kemenettes and Karaikes of the Straits, who are a tribe of really insignificant stature, was indignation liberally bestowed on the old traveller's story; and when, in 1837, the original narrative of the Genoese pilot was brought to light by Navarrete, — a simple and unexaggerated story; when it proved that he made no allusion whatever to any persons of remarkable height, — the whole giant story was declared to be an invention of Pigafetta, and the gigantic size of the Patagonians was denounced as a mere traveller's fable. Such criticism probably goes too far.

The simple facts may be taken, and the hasty inference may be disregarded. Every travelling showman will testify to the fact that there occasionally appear men, even under the restrictions of civilization, who are so tall that the Spaniards, not of a large race, would only come to their girdles.[1] If Pigafetta is to be believed, two such men came to Magellan's squadron. Tall men came to Cook's squadron at Honolulu, a hundred years ago, who were quite above the average of his men.

Magellan supposed that these were typical men, that they were specimens of their race. Because he supposed so he captured them and tried to carry them to Spain. Magellan was mistaken. They were not specimens of their race; they were extraordinary exceptions to it. But the ready tribe of geographers, eager to accept marvels from the New World, at once formed the conclusion that because these two were so large, all Patagonians would prove to be so.

GIANT'S SKELETON AT PORTO DESIRE.[2]

Pigafetta drew no such inference, nor is there any evidence that the Spaniards ever did. On the other hand, six Spaniards, with their knives, closed fearlessly on nine of these men, and routed them in a hand-to-hand fight. We may fairly conclude that the delusion which modern criticism has dispelled was not intentionally called into being by the navigators, but was rather the deduction drawn from too narrow premises by credulous Europe.[3]

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[1] O'Brien, the Irish giant, was eight feet four inches high. His skeleton is in the College of Surgeons in London.

[2] [Fac-simile of a part of the cut of Porto Desire (no. 22) in Lemaire's *Speculum orientalis occidentalisque*, etc., 1599. —Ed.]

[3] [Cf. note on the alleged height of the Patagonians in Thevet's *La France antarctique*, Gaffarel's ed., p. 287. Schouten testifies to finding bones in a grave ten feet and more of stature; and Pernetty's *Voyage aux Isles Malonines* (Paris, 1770) gives the testimony of an engraving to their large stature (Field, *Indian Bibliography*, no. 1,200). There is a cut of two

The next voyagers who saw these people were Drake's party. Fletcher, writing in the *World Encompassed*, after fifty-eight years, says distinctly in his narrative of Drake's arrival at this same Port Julian: "We had no sooner landed than *two young giants* repaired to them." Again, speaking of the same interview, "he was visited by two of the inhabitants, whom Magellan named Patagous, or rather Pentagours, from their huge stature." And afterward he resumes the matter in these words: "Magellane was not altogether deceived in naming them giants, for they generally differ from the common sort of men both in stature, bigness, and strength of body, as also in the hideousness of their voice. But yet they are nothing so monstrous or giant-like as they are reported, there being some Englishmen as tall as the highest of any we could see. But peradventure the Spaniards did not think that ever any Englishman would come thither to reprove them, and thereupon might presume the more boldly to lie, — the name Pentagones, five cubits, viz. seven foot and half, describing the full height (if not somewhat more) of the highest of them."

QUONIAMBEC.[1]

This last sneer is in Fletcher's worst vein. The etymology of "Pentagones" is all his own. Magellan's people say distinctly that they named the Patagonians from their large feet, — taking the phrase "large feet" from the large shoes which they wore to protect their

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enormous Patagonians standing beside a European in Don Casimiro de Ortega's *Resumen histórico del primer viage hecho al rededor del mundo, emprendido por Hernando de Magallanes* (Madrid, 1769). Statements of their unusual height have been insisted upon even in our day by travellers. One of the most trustworthy of recent explorers (1869–1870) of Patagonia, Lieutenant G. C. Musters, says that the men average six feet, some reaching six feet four inches; while the average of the women is five feet four. — Ed.]

[1] [Fac-simile of a copper-plate engraving in the English version of Thevet's *Portraitures and Lives* appended to North's *Plutarch* (Cambridge, England) p. 86. Thevet in his text says of this "giant-like man," "I have seen him and sufficiently observed him upon the River of Janaira. He had a great body, proportionably gross, exceeding strong. His portraiture I brought from that country, with two green stones in his cheeks and one on his chin." — Ed.]

feet from cold. The language is distinct: "Their shoes go four inches above the great toe, and the space is filled with straw to keep them from the cold." These shoes, of this same form, are figured by modern artists, who have drawn for us the Tehuelches of to-day. It is quite possible that the false etymology which made "Patagonian" mean "Five-cubit man" was the real foundation for the general notion of the gigantic size of the race.

From these winter quarters Magellan despatched the "Sant Iago" to examine the coast. The vessel was unfortunately lost on the rocks, but all the crew were saved. Two sailors returned to the rest of the squadron with news of the disaster, and the commander sent back supplies. They were near a hundred miles away from him, but he kept them supplied with provisions; and they were able to rescue a part of the stores and equipage of their vessel. At the end of two months, in which they encamped upon the shore, they rejoined him. It is observed that with them the winter was so cold that for water for their daily use they were obliged to melt ice.

After taking possession of Patagonia in the name of the King of Spain, by planting a standard on a hill which they called Monte Cristo, Magellan sailed on the 24th of August from this inhospitable bay. He now carried out the cruel sentence of the Court on Juan de Carthagena and the priest Pedro Sanches. He landed them with a supply of biscuit and wine, and left them to their fate.

Two days after, following the coast, he entered the River of Santa Cruz and narrowly escaped shipwreck there. He was able to supply himself with wood, water, and fish. On the 11th of October he observed an eclipse of the sun.[1]

Still keeping on, during the 21st of October, the day which the Church consecrated to the "Eleven thousand Virgins," they discovered a strait, to which Magellan gave that name. It was the entry to the famous channel, four hundred and forty miles long, according to his estimate, which has for so many years borne his name. The depth of water near the shore, which has since been observed, attracted the attention of the Spaniards. The mountains which looked down upon it were high, and covered with snow.

The crew and the captains, even after the hard experience of the mutineers, did not hesitate to express their unwillingness to enter the blind and narrow channel before them. Magellan summoned the commanders and made to them a formal declaration, of which the substance has been preserved. He told them that their sovereign and his had sent them for this very purpose, to discover this strait and to pass through it. If they were faithless as to its issue, he declared that he had seen in the archives of the King of Portugal a map, drawn by Martin Behaim, in which the strait was indicated, and that it opened into the western ocean. The squadron should not turn back, he said; and he gave his order for the continuation

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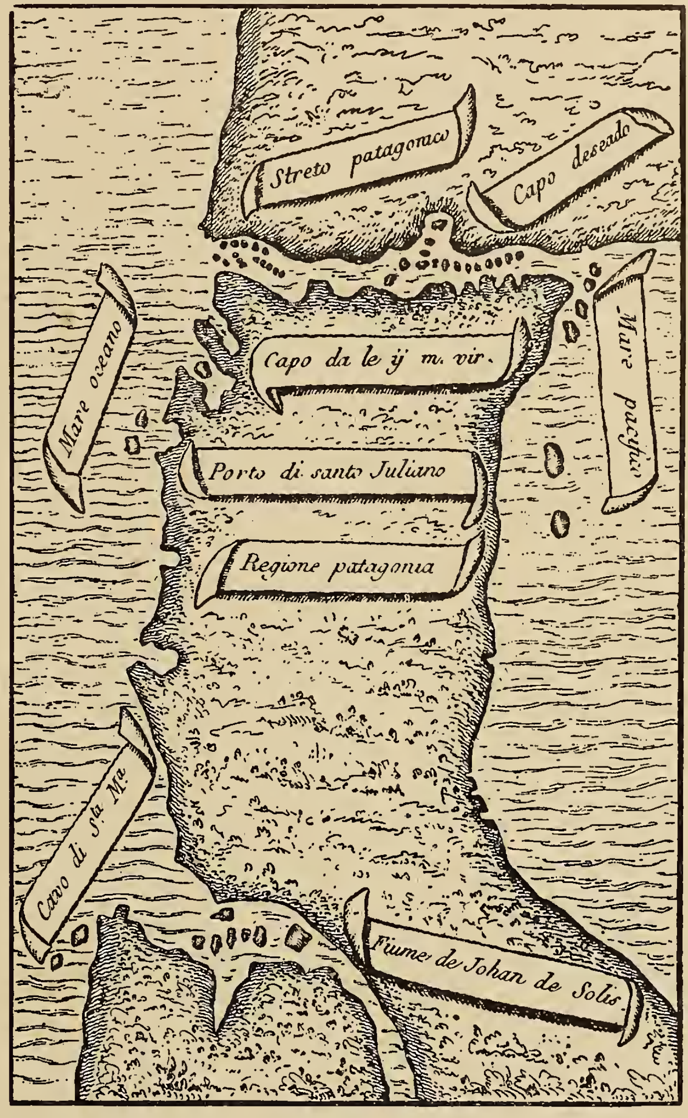
[1] Herrera gives the observation in some detail; but M. Charton says it was not visible there.



PIGAFETTA'S MAP.[1]

of the voyage in this determination. If the vessels separated, the commander of each was to keep on until he had reached the latitude of

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[1] [This fac-simile is made from the cut, p. 40 of the French edition of Amoretti's *Premier voyage autour du monde par Pigafetta*, Paris, l'an ix (1801). The reader will observe that the north is at the bottom of the map. There is a reversed sketch of it elsewhere. — ED.]

75° S. If then the strait had not been found, any commander might turn eastward; yet he was not to seek Spain, but to sail to the Moluccas, which were the objective of the voyage; and the proper sailing directions were given for reaching those islands by the route through the Indian Ocean.

The geographers have been at a loss to reconcile this statement, — that Martin Behaim had already drawn the strait upon a map or globe, — with Magellan's claim to be its discoverer. But, as the reader knows, there was no lack of straits or of continents on the various maps before Magellan's time which could be cited for any theory of any cosmographer. We know the history of navigation well enough to understand that, whatever drawings Magellan might have seen or cited, nothing can shake his reputation as the far-sighted discoverer of the channel to which, without any hesitation, the world has given his name.[1]

His firmness had so much effect that the captains went back to their ships, pretending to accede to his wishes. With the "Trinidad" and "Victoria," Magellan waited at the entrance of the channel while he despatched the "San Antonio" and "Concepçion" to complete the survey of it westward. Hardly had the squadron divided, when a terrible tempest broke upon both parts of it, lasting thirty-six hours. Magellan's ships lost their anchors, and were at the mercy of the wind in the open bay. The other vessels seem to have run before the gale. At the moment when their people thought themselves lost, they opened the first "reach" — if it may so be called — of the strait; they pushed through it till they came to the bay now known as "Bouçault Bay." Crossing this, with increasing confidence, they came into the second channel, which opens into a second bay larger than the first. After this success they returned to report their progress to their commander.

He and his officers, meanwhile, had begun to fear that their companions had been lost in the tempest. A column of smoke on shore was supposed to be a signal of the spot where they had taken refuge. But in the midst of such uncertainty their vessels reappeared, and soon fired shots from their guns in token of joy. They were as joyfully welcomed; and, as soon as they could tell their news, the re-united squadron gladly proceeded through the two channels which they had opened. When they arrived in the bay which had been the farthest discovery of the pioneer vessels, they found two channels opening from it. At the southeast is that marked "Supposé" on Bougainville's map; and to this channel Magellan directed Mesquita in the "San Antonio," and Juan Serrano in the "Concepçion."

Unfortunately the sailing-master of the "San Antonio" was Stephen Gomez, who hated Magellan with a long-cherished hatred. When Magellan first arrived in Spain, Gomez was, or thought he was, on the eve of starting on an expedition of discovery under the patronage of the Crown.

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[1] [See the section on "The Historical Chorography of South America." — Ed.]

Magellan's grand plan had broken up this lesser expedition; and instead of commanding it, Gomez had found himself placed in a subordinate post under his rival's command. He now took his chance to revenge himself as soon as he was directed to survey the new channel. Before night fell he had escaped from the surveillance of the "Concepçion." At night he caballed with the Spaniards of his own crew; they rose upon their captain Mesquita, a Portuguese, the loyal cousin of Magellan, and put him in irons. Without delay they then escaped from the squadron; and returning, through the channels they had traced, to the Atlantic, they sailed for home. Touching at the forlorn harbor where they had wintered, they picked up the two mutineers who had been left there. Indeed, it is fair to suppose that their whole plot dated back for its origin to the unsuccessful enterprise of the winter.[1]

Magellan, on his part, waited for the "San Antonio," which had been directed to return in three days. Though the channel which she was to explore passed between mountains covered with snow, we are told that the strait where Magellan awaited them lay between regions which were "the most beautiful in the world." On the southern side they had, once and again, observed fires in the night, and they gave to that land the name of "Tierra del Fuego," "the Land of Fire," which it has ever since preserved. They did not see any of the natives on either coast. The sailors caught so many fish which resembled the sardines of their home, that the name of "River of Sardines" was given to a stream which makes its outlet there. Finding that the "San Antonio" had left him, and probably suspecting her treachery, Magellan went forward through the southwestern channel with the "Victoria" and the "Trinidad."

It is at this point that we are to place a formal correspondence which has been preserved by a Portuguese historian[2] as passing between Magellan and one of his captains on the question of advancing. These letters are dated the 22d of November, 1520. Martin Mendoza, in his reply to Magellan's letter, agrees that until the 1st of January they should persevere while the days are long, but urges that the vessels should lie by in the darkness. He is as resolute in expressing the conviction that they should be out of the strait before the month of January is over, — that is, that they should turn about, if necessary, on January 1, if they had not then reached the Pacific, so as to be well in the Atlantic again by the first of February; that then they should give up the original object of the voyage and sail to Cadiz. The document seems genuine; but, as the reader will see, there was no occasion for using its counsels. Before the 1st of January they were free of the strait forever.

While his squadron loitered in hope of the "San Antonio's" return, Magellan sent forward a boat to explore the channel. On the third day she returned to him with the joyful news that they had opened the western mouth of the strait.

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[1] [For Gomez' subsequent career see Dr. Shea's chapter on "Ancient Florida," in Vol. II., and chapter i. of Vol. IV. — Ed.]

[2] Juan de Barros.

The Pacific was found! The chroniclers say that the crews wept for joy; and they may well have done so. They gave to the Cape — which made the western end of Tierra del Fuego, on this channel — the name of the "Desired Cape," "Cabo Deseado," which it still retains.

The squadron did not at once follow. Magellan put back for the other vessels, and met the "Concepçion" alone. He sent back the "Victoria" this time to search for his faithless consort. If she were not found, his orders were that a standard should be planted on high ground, at the foot of which should be buried a letter, with an account of the destination of the squadron. Two similar signals were left, — one on the shore of the first bay, and one on the Isle of Lions, in the channel. But the "Victoria," as the reader knows, did not find the "San Antonio;" she was far away. And with three vessels of his squadron only, Magellan passed out from the strait which had detained him so long, into the ocean. They fairly entered upon it on the 28th of November.

Pigafetta, in his joy at leaving this strait, which had been the scene of so much anxiety, describes its natural advantages in glowing colors. "In fine, I do not believe there is a better strait than this in the world," he says. They gave to it the name of "Strait of the Patagonians;" but the world has long since known it by the name of its discoverer. "There may be found at any half-league a good harbor," — such is the Italian historian's statement, — "with excellent water, cedar-wood, sardine-fish, and an abundance of shell-fish. There are also herbs on shore, some of which are bitter, but others are good to eat, — especially a sort of celery,[1] which grows near the springs, of which we made excellent food." Cook found celery of the same kind two centuries and a half later, as well as abundance of *Cochlearia*. So great are the advantages of such supplies for the health of crews in danger of scurvy, that he thought the passage into the Pacific by the Straits of Magellan preferable to that by Cape Horn.[2] In later days his advice has always been followed by vessels having the aid of steam.

Thus ended the only glimpse which Spaniards had of Patagonia for many years. Magellan's act of possession held, however; for the country has no attractions to make it a stake for wars or other controversy. Magellan looked his last upon it as his squadron gladly steered northward; and after leaving his Cape Victory, — for he gave that name to the southwestern point of America, — neither he nor his landed again on this continent.

The poor giants who had been so cruelly enslaved never reached Spain. One was on the "San Antonio" with Serrano, who deserted his commander in the strait. This one died before they had crossed the Atlantic. The other was on board the "Trinidad," the flagship, with Magellan and Pigafetta, the historian of the expedition. He became fond of Pigafetta; and when he saw him produce his writing tablet and paper, he knew what was expected of him, and of his own accord began to give the names of different objects in the Patagonian language.[1] One day when he saw Pigafetta kiss the cross, he told him by signs that *Setebos* would enter him and make him a coward. But when he was himself dying — of scurvy, most likely, which was decimating the crew — he asked for the cross himself, kissed it, and begged to be baptized. His captors baptized him, gave him the name of Paul, and he died.

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[1] Apium dulce.

[2] See Cook's *First Voyage*, i. 70, 74.

It would have been natural for Magellan, now that he had attained the South Sea, to sail by a direct route to the Moluccas, of which he was in search. Till a very late period the geographers have supposed that he did; and his track will be found on most of the large globes, to a period comparatively recent, laid down on a course a little west of northwest, — as, indeed, Pigafetta says they ran.

It was not observed by these globe-makers, and in fact to many of them it was not known, that, if Magellan had taken such a course, he would have run directly into the teeth of those northwest winds which blow with great regularity in that part of the Pacific, and he would have met a steady current in the same direction. In such computations, also, it was forgotten that Magellan supposed the Pacific to be much narrower than it is, and that when he left the straits he did not anticipate so long a voyage as he had. But the fortunate discovery of the log-book of one of the "pilots" now gives us the declination of the sun and the computed latitude for every day of the Pacific voyage. It appears that Magellan held well to the north, not far from the coast of South America, till he had passed, on the west, the islands of Juan Fernandez and Masafuera without seeing them, and only then struck to the northwest, and afterwards to the west.[2] He thus came out at the equator at a point which, by their mistaken computation of longitude, was 152° W. of the meridian of Ferro, 159° 46′ west of our first meridian of Greenwich.

The Pacific is now known to us as an ocean studded with islands, the inhabitants of which are well provided with food from their own land, and water.[3] It was, however, the remarkable fortune of Magellan in this voyage to sail more than ten thousand miles and see but two of these islands, both of which were barren and uninhabited. He found no bottom close to the shore. At the second of the two islands he stopped to fish for sharks,

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[1] Pigafetta has preserved the vocabulary of ninety words which in this way he made. The words, he says, are to be pronounced in the throat. A few of the words are these: Ears, *sanc;* eyes, *ather;* nose, *or;* breast, *othey;* eyelids, *sechechiel;* nostrils, *oresche;* mouth, *piam;* a chief, *hez.*

[2] This might have been inferred from Pigafetta's map of the strait, in which the western shore of Patagonia and Chili are well laid in; but that inference seems to have escaped the globe-makers.

[3] Most observers forget, however, when they look upon a map of this ocean, that the name of an island or group upon the map may cover a hundred, not to say a thousand, times as much space on the paper as the island or group takes up on the surface of the world. Dr. Charles Darwin calls attention to such forgetfulness, in the *Voyage of the Beagle.*

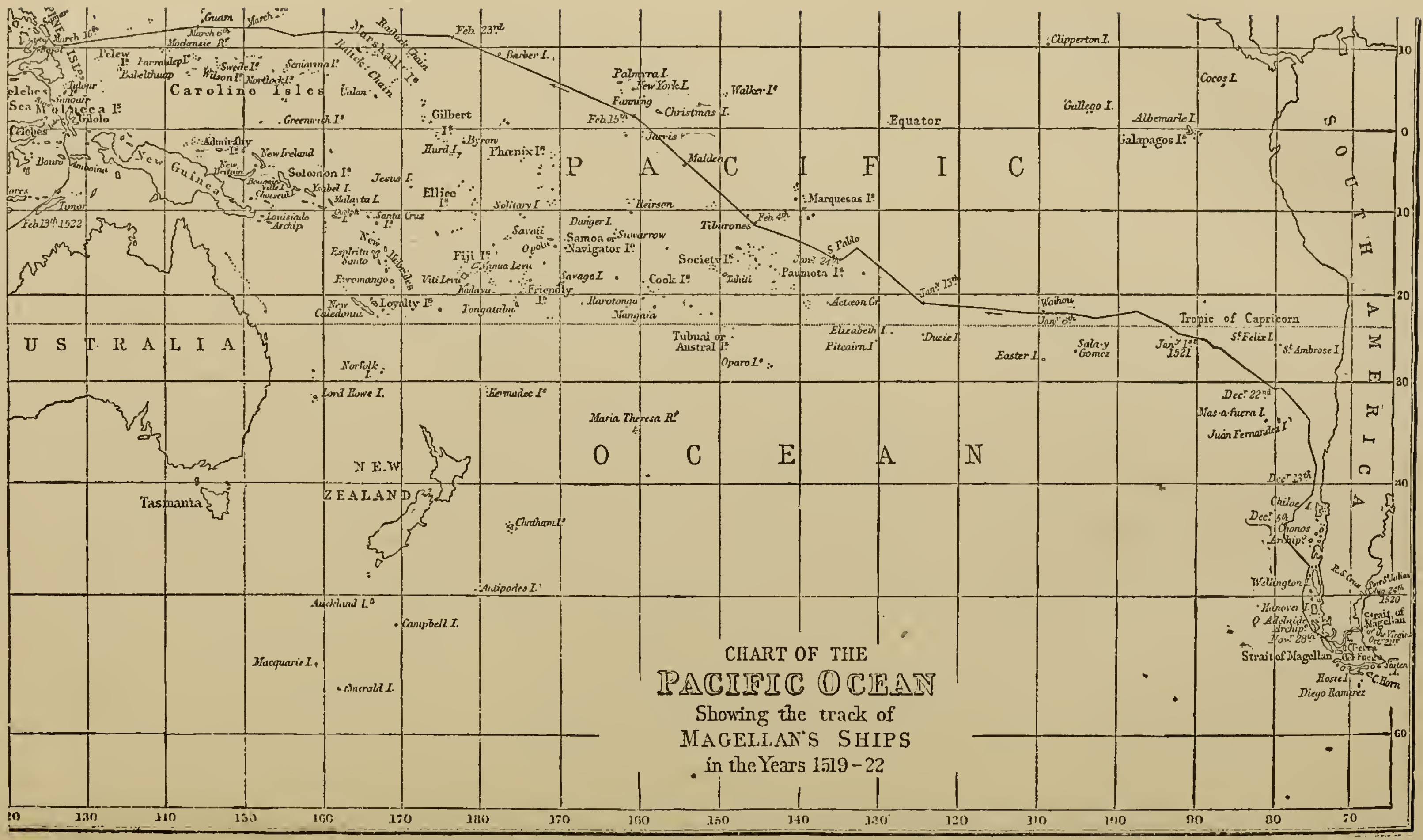


CHART OF THE

PACIFIC OCEAN

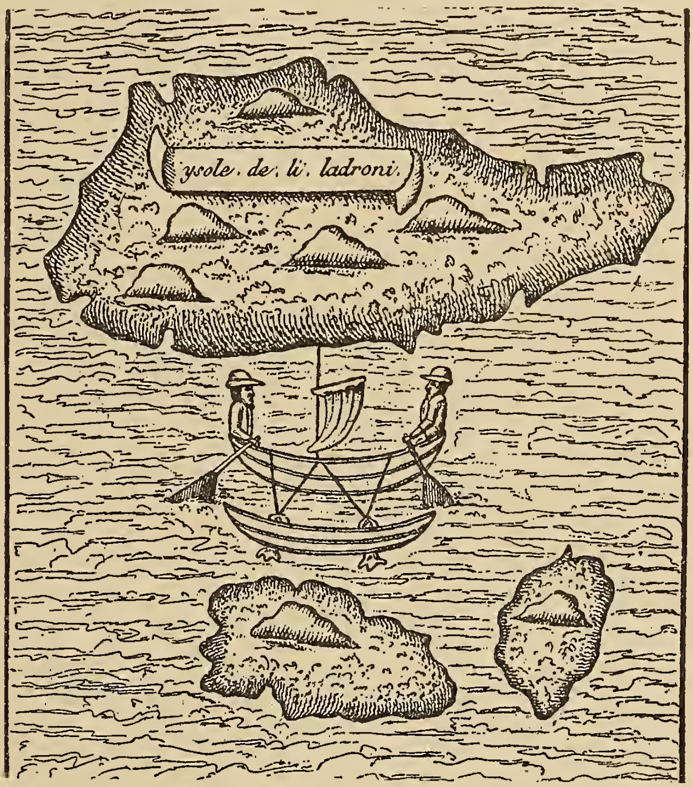
Showing the track of

MAGELLAN'S SHIPS

in the Years 1519-22

and gave it the name "Shark's Island," or "Tiburones." The crew were so impressed by their dismal welcome that they called the two "Desventuradas," the "Unfortunate Islands." These two islands, the first-born to Europe of the multitudes of the Pacific Ocean, cannot now be identified.[1]

On the 6th of March the voyagers at last saw two more small islands. Soon a number of small sails appeared, the islanders coming out to meet the ships. Their little boats had large triangular-shaped sails of matting, and they seemed to fly over the water. The Spanish seamen saw for the first time the curious catamarans of the natives of these waters.



THE LADRONES.[2]

Magellan was tempted to land at a third and larger island. This was either the one since known as Guahan, or that known as Rota; Magellan called it Ivagana. So many of the natives swarmed upon his ship, and they were so rapacious in stealing whatever they could lay their hands on, that he found himself almost at their mercy. They begged him to land, but stole the boat attached to the stern of his ship. At last Magellan did land, in a rage. He burned some of their huts, several of their boats, got back his own, and killed seven men.

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[1] The identification attempted on the map (taken from the Hakluyt Society's volume on Magellan) is one of many conjectures.

[2] [This fac-simile is made from the Paris edition of Amoretti's *Pigafetta*, p. 62, and shows the catamaran of the natives. — ED.]

The squadron, after this encounter, continued its westward course, followed by a hundred canoes. The savages now showed fish, as if they wished to trade; but the women wept and tore their hair, probably "because we had killed their husbands."

To this group the Spaniards gave the name of "Ladrones, the robbers," which it has ever since retained. After three hundred leagues more of westward sailing, the tired navigators, half starved and dying of scurvy, made the discovery of Zamal, now called Samar, the first of the group since known as the Philippines, — a name they took from Philip the Second. Magellan called them the Archipelago of St. Lazarus, because he first found how large a group it was on St. Lazarus' day, the fifth Sunday in Lent.

In these islands the navigators were, at first, most cordially received. By means of a Malayan interpreter they were able to communicate with the natives. Before six weeks were over, with rapidity which may well have seemed miraculous, they had converted the king and many of the princes and people to what they deemed Christianity. But, alas! the six weeks ended in the defeat of the Spanish men-at-arms in a battle with a rival prince, in the death of Magellan and the murder of Serrano, who had been chosen as one of those who should take his place. The surviving Spaniards withdrew as well as they could from their exasperated allies.

They were obliged to destroy one of their ships, which was leaking, and thus were left with only two. One of these, the "Trinidad," they despatched eastward to the American coast; but she failed in this voyage, and returned to the Philippines. In the other vessel, the "Victoria," Sebastian del Cano and his crew, after spending the rest of that year in the East Indies, sailed for Europe. They left the Island of Timor on the 11th of February. Though they had nothing but rice and water for their supplies, they dared not touch at the Portuguese establishment at Mozambique. After they doubled the Cape of Good Hope, on the 6th of May, they lost twenty-one men in two months. Their provisions had failed entirely when, on the 9th of July, they touched at Santa Argo, in the Cape de Verde Islands.

Even now they did not dare tell the Portuguese at that island who they were. They pretended they came from the coast of America. When they found that the day was Thursday, they were greatly astonished, for by their own journals it was Wednesday. Twice they sent their boat ashore for a load of rice, and it returned. The third time they saw that it was seized. One of the sailors had revealed their secret, and the jealous Portuguese would no longer befriend them.

The poor "Victoria," with such supplies as she had received, was obliged to run direct for Spain. On the 6th of September she entered the bay of San Lucar again. By their own computation they had sailed 14,460 leagues. Of sixty men who sailed in her from the Moluccas there were but eighteen survivors; of these almost all were sick. Of the other forty-two, some had deserted at Timor, some had been condemned to death for their crimes, and the others had died. This was all that was returned of two hundred and thirty-seven persons who had sailed three years before on this magnificent expedition.

Del Cano was received at Court with the greatest courtesy. The Emperor gave him a pension of five hundred ducats, and for armorial bearings a globe with the device —

"PRIMUS CIRCUMDEDISTI ME."

The "Victoria" was richly stored with cloves and other spices. Of these the sale was carefully managed, and the proceeds were enormous. The foresight of Magellan was completely justified, and the profits of the expedition alone immediately tempted the Emperor to fit out another. The "Victoria" afterward made two voyages to the West Indies, but never returned to Spain from the second, and her fate is not known. An ancient representation of her (from Hulsius) is the distinguishing sign on the cover of the volumes issued in our day by the Hakluyt Society.

Edward E. Hale

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

BY EDWARD E. HALE AND THE EDITOR.

PIGAFETTA, who was born in Vicenza not long after 1490, was accordingly from twenty-five to thirty years old when he accompanied Magellan.[1] He kept a diary of the voyage, a copy of which he gave to the Emperor; and later, in Italy, he wrote out a more extended account, copies of which he gave to distinguished persons. Of this ampler narrative four separate texts, in as many manuscripts, are preserved to us.

No. 1 is in French, *Navigation et descouvrement de la Indie superieure faicte par moi Antoine Pigafete, Vincentin;* on paper, in the National Library at Paris. It gives the full vocabulary of the Giants' language, which is also reprinted in Amoretti. Students engaged in the study of the geography of the East Indies should not be satisfied with the few copies given by Amoretti of the maps and representations of the islands there. In this copy, which is divided throughout into short chapters, there are many more of these maps than have been engraved. It is impossible to look at them without believing that they give some idea of the size and even the shape of the islands visited. Charton calls this paper manuscript the oldest of those in France. No one can decide such a question. The illustrations in the vellum manuscript certainly seem to be nearer the originals than those in this coarser paper one.

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[1] He died in 1534. A brother-in-law of Magellan, Duarte Barbosa, who was killed at the same time with his chief, prepared a manuscript in 1516, which was printed by Ramusio in Italian as *Sommario di tutti li regni dell' Indie orientali.* This paper, describing from such sources as were available the eastern regions, had not a little influence on Magellan. The original Portuguese was printed by the Lisbon Academy in their *Noticias Ultramarinhas*, in 1813.

No. 2 is a richly illuminated vellum document, with a text somewhat softened in the coarse parts. This may have been the copy known to have been given to Louise of Savoy by Pigafetta. This manuscript is also in the Paris library. The writing is elegant, and the maps are very prettily done in body color. They are much more elegant than the maps in the paper manuscript, which are in rough water-color by some one of no great artistic skill. The representations given by Amoretti of a few of the designs are sufficiently good for all practical purposes. But the picture of the boat with outriggers, illustrating the customs of the Ladrone Islands, is much more artistic in the vellum manuscript than it is in Amoretti's engraving.

No. 3, the most complete, was owned by M. Beaupré, at Nancy, in 1841, when Thomassy described it; was sold in the Potier sale in 1851 (no. 506), and passed into the Solar Collection, and in 1861 (Solar sale, no. 3,238) it was bought by a London dealer, and reached finally the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, who bought it at the Libri sale (no. 1,139) in 1862. It is a question with critics whether Pigafetta composed his work in French or in Italian; for there is also a manuscript (no. 4) in the later language, poorly conceived, however, and mixed with Spanish, preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. This was the manuscript published by the Abbé C. Amoretti; it is written in the character known as *cancelleresco*, on paper folios, of which the handwriting is of the time of Pigafetta; and it was once owned by the Cardinal Frederic Borroméo. Raymond Thomassy[1] gives several reasons for believing that the French text is the original, but we have not been satisfied that it was so.[2]

In the earliest edition of Pigafetta which we have, — one without date, and in French, edited by Antoine Fabre, — the text is represented as being a translation from the Italian. It is possible that, being an abridgment, it might have followed some abstract which had been made in that language, possibly an account which in 1524 Pigafetta asked permission to print,[3] of the Doge and Council of Venice. This original French edition is called *Le Voyage et Navigation faict par les Espaignolz es isles de Mollucques;* and is usually thought to have been printed in 1525. It is in Gothic type, except the last four leaves, which are in Roman, as are all the notes.[4] Harrisse cites[5] an Italian edition of Pigafetta with the letter of Maximilian, as published at Venice in 1534;[6] but there is little reason to believe such an edition to exist.

The earliest undoubted Italian edition was printed, however, in 1536, and it was professedly a translation from Fabre's French text, and there is reason to believe that Ramusio may have been instrumental in its publication.[7] It has the name neither of author nor of printer, but is supposed to have been issued at Venice. It is called *Il Viaggio fatto da gli Spagnivoli a torno a'l mondo.*[8]

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[1] *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, September, 1843.

[2] Pigafetta himself mentions a manuscript, *Uno libro scripto de tutti le cose passate de giorno in giorno nel viaggio*, written by his own hand, and presented by him to Charles the Fifth. Harrisse thinks it was written in French, and describes the manuscripts, *Bibl. Amer. Vet. Add.*, pp. xxx–xxxiii.

[3] This petition is given in Stanley's *Magellan*, and in Harrisse's *Bibl. Amer. Vet. Add.*, p. xxviii.

[4] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 134; Carter-Brown, no. 86; Brunet, iv. 650; Des Brosses, *Navigations aux terres Australes*, i. 121; Panzer, viii. 217; Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, ii. 376.

[5] On the strength of *Livres Curieux*, p. 29.

[6] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, no. 192.

[7] Ramusio included it in his *Viaggi* in 1554, with annotations.

[8] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, 215; *Bibliotheca Hebernana*, ix. 3,129; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, no. 548; Stevens, *Nuggets*, no. 2,753; Libri, 1861, no. 288; Carter-Brown, i. 118; Court, no. 372. There is also a copy in the Lenox Library. Wiley, of New York, priced a copy in 1883, at $145.

Amoretti published the Ambrosian manuscript (no. 4, above) in 1800, at Milan, under the title of *Primo viaggio intorno al globo terracqueo ossia ragguaglio della navigazione alle Indie orientali d[i] Magaglianes*, 1519–1522. *Pubblicato per la prima volta da un codice manuscritto della Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano, e corredato di note da C. Amoretti con un transunto del Trattato di navigazione dello stesso autore. Milano*, 1800.[1]

About a month after the return of Del Cano in the "Victoria," Maximilian Transylvanus (a son-in-law of Cristóbal de Haro, who had been a chief advocate of the voyage at the Spanish Court) wrote to the Cardinal Archbishop of Salzburg a brief account of the voyage, in a letter dated at Valladolid, Oct. 24, 1522;[2] and when it was printed at Cologne in January, 1523, as *De Moluccis insulis*, and in the following November and again in February, 1524, at Rome, as *De Hispanorum in orientem navigatione*, its text constituted the earliest narrative of the voyage which was given in print.[3] It was afterward printed in connection with the earliest Italian edition of Pigafetta; and the English reader will find it in the volume on Magellan published by the Hakluyt Society.

Ramusio also tells us that Peter Martyr wrote an account of Magellan's voyage, gathered from the lips of the survivors, which he sent to Rome to be printed, but that in the sack of that city by the Constable de Bourbon it disappeared. We have but one point of this Martyr narrative preserved to us, and that is the loss of one day which the "Victory" had experienced in her westering voyage, — when arriving in Seville on the 6th of September, 1522, as her crew supposed, they found the Sevillians calling it the 7th.[4]

There are two modern gatherings of the most important documentary illustrations of this famous voyage, — the one made by Navarrete, and the other published by the Hakluyt Society. The former constitutes the fourth volume of Navarrete's well-known *Coleccion;* and among the variety of its papers printed or cited largely from the public archives, illustrating the fitting out of the fleet, its voyage, and the reception of Del Cano on his return, a few of the more important may be mentioned. Such is a manuscript from the library of San Isadro el Real de Madrid, purporting to be by Magellan himself; but Navarrete does not admit this. He prints for the first time an original manuscript account in the Seville archives, usually cited as the Seville manuscript, which bears the title of *Extracto de la habilitacion*, etc. It gives an enumeration of the company which composed the force on the fleet. The Navarrete volume also contains the log-book of Francisco Albo, or Alvaro, printed, it is claimed by Stanley (who also includes it in the Hakluyt Society volume), from a copy in the British Museum, which was made from the original at Simancas. It follows the fortunes of the fleet after they sighted Cape St. Augustine. Muñoz had found in the Archives of Torre de Tombo a letter of Antonio Brito to the King of Portugal, and Navarrete gives this also.[1] A letter of Jean Sebastian del Cano to Charles V., dated Sept. 5, 1527, describes the voyage, and is also to be found here.[2]

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[1] A French version of this text was issued at Paris in 1801; and the Italian text was again printed in 1805. Pigafetta's story is given in English in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, i. 188; in German in Sprengel's *Beyträgen*, and in Kries's *Beschreibung von Magellan-Reise*, Gotha, 1801. Cf. a bibliography of the manuscript and printed editions of Pigafetta in the *Studi biografici e bibliografici*, published by the Società Geografica Italiana (2d ed., 1882), i. 262.

[2] The date in Navarrete is October 5.

[3] All three of these editions are in the Lenox Library, and the first two are in the Carter-Brown. Cf. Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, nos. 122, 123, 124. Leclerc priced the Cologne edition at 500 francs, and the Rome (1523) at 350. *Bibl. Amer. Vet.* nos. 376, 377. Dufossé (nos. 11,003, 12,348) puts the Cologne edition at 500 francs, and again (no. 14,892) at 380. The *Court Catalogue* (Paris, 1884) shows the Cologne edition (no. 220) and the Rome (1524) edition (no. 221). Brunet is in error in calling the Roman edition the earliest. A Cologne copy in the Murphy sale (1884) brought $75; *Catalogue*, no. 2.519. One in F. S. Ellis's *Catalogue* (1884), no. 188, is priced at £42. Cf. Sabin, xi. 47,038–47,042; Carter-Brown, no. 75; Graesse, iv. 451; Ternaux, no. 129. It was also inserted in Latin in the *Novus Orbis* of 1537 (p. 585), and of 1555 (p. 524), and in Johannes Bœmus's *Omnium gentium mores*, etc., Antwerp, 1542; in Italian in Ramusio (i. 347); in Spanish, in Navarrete (iv. 249, dated October 5, and not 24). The narrative in Hulsius (no. xxvi.) is taken from Ortelius and Chauveton. Cf. Panzer, vol. vi., no. 375; Stevens, *Nuggets*, no. 1,868; *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, p. 454; Ternaux, nos. 29, 30; Graesse, iv. 451, 452; *Bibliotheca Heberiana*, i. 4,451; ii. 3,687; vi. 2,331; vii. 4,123; Leclerc, no. 69; *Bibl. Amer. Vet. Add.*, no. 136.

[4] *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, p. 229, where other missing accounts are mentioned.

The Hakluyt Society volume borrows largely from the lesser sources as given in Navarrete, and among other papers it contains the brief narrative which is found in Ramusio as that of an "anonymous Portuguese." It also gives an English version of what is known as the account of the Genoese pilot, one Joan Bautista probably. This story exists in three Portuguese manuscripts: one belongs to the library of the monks of S. Bento da Sande; another is in the National Library at Paris; and from these two a text was formed which was printed in 1826 in the *Noticias Ultramarinhas* (vol. iv.) of the Lisbon Academy of History, as "Roteiro da viagem de Fernam de Magalhâes" (1519). A third manuscript is in the library of the Academy of History at Madrid. As edited by Luigi Hugues, it is printed in the fifteenth volume of the *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria.*

The narrative in the preceding text has shown that the precise statements of latitude made by the Genoese pilot have wholly destroyed the value of all speculations as to the route of Magellan from the Straits to the Ladrones which were published before this "Roteiro" became known. The track laid down on the older globes is invariably wrong, and Magellan's course was in reality that along which the currents would easily have propelled him, being that of the Antarctic stream of the Pacific, which Humboldt has explained.[3] Stanley also points out that the narrative given in Gaspar Correa's *Lendas da India* is the only authority we have for the warning given to Magellan at Teneriffe by Barbosa; and for the incident of a Portuguese ship speaking the "Victoria" as the latter was passing the Cape of Good Hope.

One Pedro Mexia had seen the fleet of Magellan sail, and had likewise witnessed the return of Del Cano. A collection of miscellanies, which he printed as early as 1526, under the title of *Silva*, and which passed through many editions, affords another contemporary reference.[4] It is hardly worth while to enumerate the whole list of more general historical treatises of the sixteenth and even seventeenth centuries,[5] which bring this famous voyage within their scope. It seems clear, however, that Oviedo had some sources which are not recognizable now, and some have contended that he had access to Magellan's own papers. Herrera in the ninth book of his eleventh Decade in the same way apparently had information the sources of which are now lost to us. The story of Magellan necessarily made part of such books as Osorius's *De Rebus Emmanuelis gestis*, published at Cologne in 1581, again in 1597, and in Dutch at Rotterdam in 1661–1663. Burton in his *Hans Stade* (p. lxxxvi) calls the *Relacion y derrotero del Viaje y descubrimiento del estrecho de la Madre de Dios, antes llamado de Magallanes por Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa*, published in 1580, an unworthy attempt to rob Magellan of his fame.

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[1] Cf. *Bibl. Amer. Vet.*, p. 229.

[2] Cf. J. A. Schmeller's *Uber einige älten handscriftliche See-karten*, Munich, 1844, which is an extract from the *Abhandlungen d. Baier. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, iv. 1. It is announced (1884) that Harrisse is preparing an annotated edition of the letter.

[3] Cf. Reclus, *Ocean*, bk. i., chap. ix. and Chart.

[4] Cf. *Bibl. Am. Vet.*, nos. 80, 81, 132, 133, 161; Carter-Brown, i. 212, 283, 336; ii. 221; Sabin, xii. p. 90; *Ticknor, Catalogue*, p. 226.

[5] Among them may be mentioned, for instance, such books as Argensola's *Conquista de las islas Malucas*, Madrid, 1609, which a hundred years later was made familiar to French and English readers by editions at Amsterdam in 1707, and by being included in Stevens's *Collection of Voyages* in 1708, while the German version appeared at Frankfort in 1711 (cf. Carter-Brown, ii. 77; iii. 92, 104, 119, 147); Gotard Arthus's *India Orientalis*, Cologne, 1608; Farya y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1666–1675. The final conquest of the Philippines was not accomplished till 1564, when by order of Philip II., Miguel Lopez de Legaspi led a fleet from Navidad in New Spain. For this and the subsequent history of the island see Antonio de Morga's *Philippine Islands* (Mexico, 1609) as translated and annotated for the Hakluyt Society by H. E. J. Stanley, 1868. Cf. Pedro Chirino's *Relacion de las islas Filipinas*, Rome, 1604 (Rich, *Catalogue of Books* (1832), no. 99; Sabin, *Dictionary*, iv. 12,836)

The modern studies of Magellan and his career have been in good hands. Navarrete when he made his most important contribution of material, accompanied it with a very careful *Noticia biográfica* of Magellan, in which he makes exact references to his sources.[1]

A critical life of Magellan was prefixed by Lord Stanley to his Hakluyt Society volume in 1874. R. H. Major in his *Prince Henry the Navigator* included an admirable critical account, which was repeated in its results in his later volume, *Discoveries of Prince Henry*.

A paper on the search of Magellan and of Gomez for a western passage was read by Buckingham Smith before the New York Historical Society, a brief report of which is in the *Historical Magazine*, x. (1866) 229; and one may compare with it the essay by Langeron in the *Revue Géographique* in 1877.

A number of more distinctive monographs have also been printed, beginning with the *Magellan, oder die Erste Reise um die Erde nach dem vorhanderen Quellen dargestellt* of August Bürck, which was published in Leipsic in 1844.[2] Dr. Kohl, who had given the subject much study, particularly in relation to the history of the straits which Magellan passed, published the results of his researches in the *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde in Berlin* in 1877, — a treatise which was immediately republished separately as *Geschichte der Entdeckungsreisen und Schiffahrten zur Magellan's Strasse.* In 1881 Dr. Franz Wieser, a professor in the University at Innspruck, examined especially the question of any anterior exploration in this direction, in his *Magalhâes-strasse und Austral Continent auf den globen des Johannes Schöner*, which was published in that year at Innspruck.[3] About the same time (1881) the Royal Academy at Lisbon printed a *Vida e Viagens de Fernão de Magalhães, com um appendice original*, which, as the work of Diego de Barros Arana, had already appeared in Spanish.

The bibliography of Magellan and his voyage is prepared with some care by Charton in his *Voyageurs*, p. 353; and scantily in St. Martin's *Histoire de la Géographie*, p. 370.

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[1] Cf. also a notice by Navarrete in his *Opúsculos*, i. 143, with (p. 203) an appendix of "Pruebas, ilustraciones y documentos."

[2] Sabin, iii. 9,208.

[3] Wieser has also drawn attention in the *Mittheilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, v. (heft iii.) to "ein Bericht des Gasparo Contarini über die Heimkehr der Victoria von der Magalhâes'schen Expedition," with ample annotation.

EDITORIAL NOTE. — A section on the "Historical Chorography of South America," tracing the cartographical history of that continent, together with a note on the "Bibliography of Brazil," is reserved for Vol. VIII.

INDEX.

[Reference is commonly made but once to a book if repeatedly mentioned in the text; but other references are made when additional information about the book is conveyed.]

AA, VANDER, his collection, 68; map of the Pacific coast, 467. *See* Vander Aa.
Abancay River, 544.
Abarca, P., *Reyes de Aragon*, 68.
Abayoa, 233.
Abert, J. W., *Report on New Mexico*, 487, 501.
Ablyn, *Nieuwe Weerelt*, 410.
Abreu de Galineo, 36.
Acadia (Larcadia), 451, 453.
Acapulco, 392, 441; view of, 394; commerce with Philippines, 454.
Acklin Island, 92.
Acla, 198, 199, 509.
Acoma, 485, 487, 504.
Aconcaqua, 524, 528.
Acosta, Col. J., *Hist. N.Granada*, 582.
Acosta, José de, in Peru, 552; used Duran's manuscript, 420; account of him, 420; *De Natura Novi Orbis*, 420; on the conversion of the Indians, 420; on the natives of Peru and Mexico, 420; *Hist. nat. y moral de las Indias*, 420; *Beschreibung der America*, 420; *New Welt*, 420; *America oder West India*, 420; *East and West Indies*, 420.
Actahachi, 248.
Actes de la Société d'Ethnologie, 50.
Acuco, 487, 490.
Acuña, bishop of Caracas, 560; *Rio de las Amazons*, 589; translated by Gomberville, 584.
Acus, 477, 480.
Adda, G. d', 47.
Adlard, Geo. *Amye Robsart*, 466.
Admiral's map, 112.
Adrian VI., 235.
Adrian, Cardinal, 307.
Æneas Sylvius, 30; his *Historia*, 31; annotated by Columbus (cut), 32.
Africa, geography of, 39; circumnavigated by the ancients, 40; sketch-map of explorations (cut), 40; map of (1490), 41; supposed to be connected with America, 127; coast of, by Ptolemy, 165; map of (1509), 172; in Pomponius Mela's map, 180.
Agathodæmon maps, 28.
Agile, 246.
Agnese, Baptista, portolano of Charles V., 222; map of the Moluccas, 440; map (1539), 445; map (1554), 448.
Agricola, Rudolphus, 182; his tract *Ad Vadianum*, 182.
Aguado, Juan, 17.
Aguilar, 463.
Aguilar, Conde de, 390.
Aguilar, Francisco de, 260.
Aguilar, Marcos de, 386.
Aguilar, Martin, his voyage, 461.
Aguirre, F. de, 528.
Aguirre, Lope de, his revolt from Ursua, 582; killed, 582; account of, 582.
Ahumada, Pedro de, 254.
Ailly, Pierre d' (Petrus de Aliacus), 28; *Ymago Mundi*, 28; notes on, by Columbus, 29; fac-simile of them, 31. *See* D'Ailly.
Alabama River, 295.
Alaman, Lúcas, translates Prescott, 427; *Historia de la República Méjicana*, ii. 428; *Historia de Méjico*, 428; *Disertaciones*, 256, 365.
Alaminos, Anton de, pilot, 201, 203, 233, 234, 236, 283.
Alarcon, Hernando, sent to support by sea Coronado's expedition, 443, 481; on the Colorado, 481; his buried message found, 486.
Alaska, first fairly mapped, 464; (Alaschka) 469.
Albertini, Francesco, *Opusculum de Romæ*, 154; *De Roma prisca*, 154.
Albertus Magnus, 28; his portrait (cut), 29; *De natura locorum*, 64; edited by Tanstetter, 173.
Albo (Alvaro), Francisco, log-book, 615.
Alcabala, 561.
Alcalde, duties of, 348.
Alcaforado, Francisco, 38.
Alcantara, Francisco Martin de, 512.
Alcantara, Martin de, 534.
Alcarraz, Diego d', 486, 491, 496.
Alcazar, *Compañía de Jesus*, 279.
Alcon, Pedro, 511.
Aldana, 239.
Aldana, Lorenzo de, 239, 540, 541, 545, 556, 569.
Alderete, J. de, 528.
Aleutian Islands, first fairly mapped, 464.
Aleque, F.- X. 399.
Alexander VI., Pope, 13; his Bull, 13, 45; bust of, 44; addressed by Columbus, 46. *See* Bull; Demarcation.
Alfinger, Ambrosio de, his expedition, 579.
Alguazil, 553.
Alibamo (Alimamu, Limamu), 250.
Allard, Carolus, his *Atlas*, 466.
Allefonsce, rough sketch-map of the Antilles, 227.
Allegania, name proposed for the United States, 178.
Allegretti, Allegri, his *Ephemerides*, 1.
Allen, J. A., *Bibliography of Cetacea*, 420.
Allgemeine geographische Ephemeriden, 140, 593.
Almagro, Diego, 196, 505; proclaimed governor of Peru, 534; his career, 506; follows Pizarro, 507; made governor of Tumbez, 512; breaks with Pizarro, 512; brings re-enforcements, 517; likeness, 518; asks for a province, 518; agreement with Pizarro, 522; goes to conquer Chili, 523; enters and claims Cusco, 525; conference with Pizarro, 526; defeated and put in chains, 527; his son Diego, 527; killed, 527, 536.
Almanacs, early, 102.
Almendral (Almendras), Martin de, 577.
Alonzo V. (Portugal), 3.
Altamaha, 246.
Altamirano, D. G., 545.
Alva, Duke of, 88.
Alvarado, Alonzo de, 534, 541; advances on Cusco, 526; defeated, 526; escapes from Cusco, 526; likeness, 544; defeated by Giron, 545.
Alvarado, Garcia de, 535.
Alvarado, Gomez de, 527.
Alvarado, Gonzalo, his manuscript on the conquest of Guatemala, 419.
Alvarado, Hernando de, 503.
Alvarado, Pedro de, 351; his portrait, 366, 398; autog., 367; with Grijalva, 203; in Mexico, 367; at the second siege, 376; receives Tapia, 380; in Guatemala, 383; accounts of his trial, 398, 419; in Peru, 520; his report to Cortés, 411; his despatches from Guatemala, 419; returns to Guatemala, 522; new grant to, 522.
Alvarez, 537, 538.
Alvaro. *See* Albo.
Alviles, Diego, 506.
Alzate, 375.
Amador de los Rios, José, edits Oviedo, 346.
Amaguayo, 233.
Amandus, *Chronica*, 417.
Amat di San Filippo, Pietro, *Biog. dei viaggiatori Italiani*, 155; *mappamondi, etc.*, 155; *Studi biog. e bibliog.*, 93.
Amat, *Dic. de los escritores Catalanes*, 45.
Amatepeque, 503.
Amati, *Ricerche*, 51.
Amazon, 519; discovered, 528; history of the, 579; (Paricura, Marañon, Orellana) 188; sketch-map, 581.
Amazons (female warriors), 584, 585. (in New Mexico) 474.
Amboyna, 591.
Amelia Island, 282.
America. La, 47.

America, in Schöner's globe (1535), 118; name on the Tross gores, 120; on the Da Vinci sketch, 126; paper on the naming of, by Justin Winsor, 153; name proposed in *Cosmog. introd.*, with fac-similes, 146, 168; earliest use of name on maps, 171, 172; should be called Columba, 174; a part of Asia, 176; the name first applied to the entire continent (1541), 178; name of, in editions of Ptolemy, 184. *See* North America, South America.
American Ethnological Society, *Transactions*, 501.
American Journal of Numismatics, 470.
American Philosophical Society's *Transactions*, 35.
American Review, 501.
Amichel, 284; named by Garay, 237.
Amigos del Pais, *Informe*, etc., 82.
Amoretti, Charles, on Maldonado, 456; publishes Pigafetta, 614.
Amuca, 589.
Amunátegui, M. L., *Descub. i conq. de Chile*, 573; *La sorpresa de Curalava*, 573.
Anahuac plateau, 358, 359.
Anaica, 246.
Analectic Magazine, 50.
Anales de Aragon, 68, 421.
Anaquito, 538.
Añasco, Juan de, 245, 246.
Ancients, their references to western lands, 25.
Ancona, *Yucatan*, 429, 558.
Ancoras, 449.
Ancuparius, Thos., 173.
Andagoya, Pascual de, 196, 199, 212, 505, 541, 564; his *Relation*, 212, 214, 564; edited by Markham, 212, 564; inspector-general, 506; his life, 564; in Biru, 506; founds Buenaventura, 536.
Andahuaylas, 519.
Andalusian bibliophiles, 66.
Anderson, *America not discovered by Columbus*, 33.
Andes, 514. *See* Cordilleras.
Andrade, J. M., 422; his library, 399; its sale, 430.
Anghiera. *See* Martyr.
Anian, early use of the name, 445; on the Asiatic coast, 445.
Anian, Gulf of, 454.
Anian Regnum, 452, 454, 459, 472.
Anian, Straits of, origin of the name, 445; first on maps, 449; mentioned, 445, 451, 453, 454, 455, 459, 461, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467; Goldson on, 456.
Anson, *Voyages*, 467.
Antarctic continent, 119, 433, 454, 457; (Terra Australis) 459.
Antichthones, 180.
Antigua, 197; abandoned, 199. *See* Santa Maria.
Antilhas, 108.
Antilles (Antiglie), 220; (Entillas), 226; first named, 38.
Antillia, 105, 115; (Antiglie), 121; (island) 36, 38.
Antischia, 584.
Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hisp. nova*, 575.
Antonio de la Ascension, 460.
Antwerp, *Bull. de la Soc. geog* , 59.
Anza, 468.
Apalche, 281.
Apalache Bay, 243, 283, 288.
Apalaches, 295.
Apianus, Petrus (Bienewitz), *Cosmog. liber*, 173, 174, 182; *Declaratio typi cosmographici*, 176, 182; account of him, 182; annotated by G. Frisius, 183; later editions, 184, 185, 186; his likeness, from Reusner, 179; another likeness, 185; bibliography of, 180, etc.; his map (1520), 122, 173, 182; fac-simile of it, 183.
Apollonius, Levinus, *De Peruviæ regionis*, 576.
Apurimac, 520.
Arabs, their marine charts, 94.
Aragon, archives of, ii.; chronicles of, 68.
Arana, Diego de, 10; *Bibliog. de obras anón.*, 66, 289.
Araucanians, 524, 548; wars of, 561, 573, poem on, by Ercilla, 571.
Araucaria, 562.
Arauco, 524.
Arbadaos, 244.
Arbolancha, Pedro de, 196, 211.
Archæological Institute of America, *Reports*, 502.
Arche, 491.
Archivo dos Açores, 40.
Archivo Mexicano, 398.
Arciniega, Sancho de, 278.
Arctic Ocean (mare septentrionale incognito), 451.
Ardoino, Ant. defence of C. de Vaca, 286; *Exámen*, 286.
Arellano, C. d', 258.
Arellano, Tristan d', 213, 482, 486, 489, 504; attacked, 495.
Arenas (Cape), 281.
Arequipa, 519, 558, 559; founded, 523.
Argensola, *Anales de Aragon*, 91; *Conq. de las islas Malucas*, 616.
Arguello, Hernando de, 213.
Arias, Gomez, 503; seeks De Soto, 253.
Aribau, B. C., 584.
Arica, 519.
Aristotle, 24; *De mundo*, 26.
Arizona, 477.
Arkansas Indians, 294.
Armas, J. L. de, *Las Cenizas de Colon*, 82.
Armendariz, 581, 582.
Armor of Columbus' time (cut), 4; of Cortés' time, 360; Spanish, 539, 544, 550.
Arms of Spanish towns and provinces, 409.
Arnim, T., *Das alte Mexico*, 362, 428.
Arrowsmith, his maps show Lake Parima, 589.
Arthus, Gothard, 420; *India orientalis*, 616.
Arx Carolina, 269.
Ascension Bay in Yucatan, 203.
Asensio, J. M., *Los restos de Colon*, 82.
Asia, in Pomponius Mela's map, 180.
Asian theory, 42. *See* America.
Aspa, Ant. de, 89.
Asseline, David, *Antiquitéz de Dieppe*, 34.
Astaburriaga, F. S., 573.
Astete, Miguel, his narrative, 566.
Astrolabe, 96; picture of, 96.
Astronomers, important on early voyages, 148.
Atabillos, Marquis of, 522.
Atacama, 559; desert, 524.
Atacames, 508.
Atahualpa, 514; portraits of, 515, 516; made prisoner, 516; offers ransom, 517, 566; murdered, 517.
Atienza, Blas de, 520; with Balbóa, 520.
Atienza, Blas de (son), *Relacion*, 520.
Atlantic Ocean, names of, 36; called "Mare del Nort," 451.
Atlantis, 37.
Atrato (river), 198, 509.
Atti della Soc. Ligure di Stòria Patria, 106, 616.
Attwood's Bay, 56.
Aubin manuscripts, 418.
Audiencia, 348; of New Spain, 387; of San Domingo, 382.
Augustinian friars, 399.
Ausland, das, 9, 66, 103.
Aute (harbor), 243.
Auto da fé in Peru, 557.
Artun, d', 28.
Avavares (Indians), 244.
Avendaño, Diego de, 343.
Avila, Alonso de, 351, 429, 520.
Avila, Pedro Arias d', 505; governor of Nicaragua, 508. *See* Pedrárias.
Avila. *See* Davila, Gil Gonzales.
Axacan, 260, 282.
Ayala, Pedro de, 518.
Ayays, 253.
Ayllon, Lucas Vasquez de, of St. Domingo, 238; on the Florida coast, 240; land of, 221; in Virginia, 241; dies, 241; authorities on, 285; map of his explorations, 285.
Ayora, 197.
Azevedo (Jesuit), 278.
Azores, 105, 115, 451; in 1541, 177; *Archivo dos Açores*, 40; rediscovered, 38.
Aztec civilization, described by Prescott, 425; doubted by Wilson, 427.
Aztec literature, 417.
Aztecs before the Conquest, as described by Sahagun, 416; driven from Mexico, 445.

BABUECA, 127.
Baccalaos, 128, 432, 434, 436; (Bacalaos) 223, 228, 446; (Bacalar) 126; (Baccallaos) 435; (Bacallaos) 435; (Bacaalear) 432; (Baccalearum regio) 177, 433; (Bacalhos) 446; (Baccalos) 451; (Baqualan) 450; map of, 435.
Bachiler, *Apuntes para la hist. de Cuba*, 230.
Backer, *La compagnie de Jésus*, 420.
Back-staff, 98, 100. *See* Cross-staff.
Bacon, Fr., *Life of Henry VII.*, 3.
Bacon, Roger, 28; *Opus Majus*, 28.
Badajos, Gonzalo de, 198.
Badajos, Congress of, 439.
Baerle, K. van, edits Herrera, 461.
Baez, 282.
Baguet, "Ces restes de Colomb," 82.
Bahamas (Banama), 217; discovered, 233; number of, 53; map, 55; slaves taken at, 236.
Bahia de Cavallos, 243.
Bahia de la Cruz (Apalache), 243, 288.
Balbóa, M. C., *Histoire du Peru*, 576.
Balbóa, Vasco Nuñez de, 193; hears of the Southern Sea, 194; discovers it, 176, 195, 211, 217, 436, 439, 505; his trial, 197; executed, 199, 212, 213; authorities on, 210; portrait, 195.
Balbuena, *El Bernardo*, 430.
Baldelli, *Milione di Marco Polo*, 156.
Baldi, *C. Colombo*, 69.
Baldwin, C. C., 457; *Prehistoric Nations*, 25.
Ballenar, 524.
Balsas, Rio, 198.
Bamba, river, 521.
Banchero, G., iv.; ed. of *Codice*, 72.
Bancroft, Geo., on Prescott, 427.
Bancroft, H. H., his manuscripts, viii; on Herrera, 67; his *Early American Chroniclers*, 207; his authorities on Mexican history, 399; criticism of Prescott, 425; his lists of books on Mexico, 430; his *Native Races*, 502; *History of Pacific States*, 502; *North Mexican States*, 502; *Central America*, 207, 502, 578; *Mexico*, 428, 429, 502; *California*, 502; *Northwest Coast*, 502; *New Mexico and Arizona*, 502.
Banda, 591.
Bandelier, A. F., on Chimalpain, 412; bibliography of Yucatan, 215, 429, 430; *Historical Introduction to Studies among the Sedentary Indians*, 477, 502; and the *Codex Chimalpopoca*, 418; *Ruins in the Valley of Pecos*, 488.
Bandini, A. M., *Vita di Vespucci*, 131, 154.
Banks, Sir Joseph, 226.
Baranda, vii.
Barbosa, Duarte, *Sommario*, 613.
Barburata, 581.
Barcelona, archives at, ii.
Barcia, Andres Gonzales, *Ensayo cronológico*, 283; *Historiadores primitivos*, 401; edits Herrera, 67; edits G. de la Vega's *Florida*, 290; edits Torquemada, 422.
Barco, Pedro del, 517.
Barentz, 460.
Barlæus, *Novus Orbis*, 67.

Barlow, S. L. M., prints Harrisse's *Notes on Columbus*, viii.; his library, 48.
Baronius, *Annales*, 592.
Barreiros, *De Ophira regione*, 154.
Barrio-Nuevo, F. de, 212, 495.
Barros, Arana Diego de, *Collection d'ouvrages inédits ou rares sur l'Amérique*, 573; *Proceso de Valdivia*, 569; *Coleccion de historiadores de Chile*, 572; book on Magellan, 617.
Barros, João de, *Asia*, 90.
Barrow, *Chronological History of Voyages*, 33, 455.
Barry, J. J., on Columbus, 69.
Bartlett, J. R., on C. de Vaca's route, 287; on early printing in Mexico, 400.
Bartolozzi, F., *Ricerche circa scoperte di Vespucci*, 162; *Relazione*, 162.
Basanier, 293, 298.
Basle, treaty of, 80.
Basos, 449.
Bassin de Sandacourt, 145, 164.
Bastidas, Rodrigo, 109, 189, 581; authorities on his voyage, 206, 207; his voyage, 22, 204.
Bauçault bay, 606.
Baudoin, J., 575.
Bautista, Joan, pilot, 616.
Bayuera, C., *Copia de la lettera per Colombo*, 62.
Bazan, Pedro de, 241.
Bazares, Guido de, 257.
Beaupré, 614.
Becerra, Diego, 198, 441.
Becher, *Landfall of Columbus*, 54.
Bede, 28.
Behaim, Martin, his career, 104; his claim to early discoveries, 34; his map of Magellan's straits, 35, 604; improves the astrolabe, 97; on the African coast, 41; portrait, 104; his globe, 25, 104; section of, 105; described, 105.
Behring on the Asiatic coast, 464; his straits, 468.
Béjar, duque de, 390.
Belen, river, 22.
Belgrano, L. T., *Ossa di Colombo*, 83.
Belknap, Dr. Jeremy, on Columbus, 68; his *American Biography*, 68.
Bellegarde, Abbé de, 341.
Bellegarde, *Histoire universelle*, 410.
Bellero, Juan, 186; his map, 227, 412.
Bellin, Nic., his map of California, 468.
Belloro, G T., on Columbus' birthplace, 84; *Notizie*, 84.
Belloy, Marquis de, *Colomb*, 69.
Benaduci, Lorenzo Boturini, 2; his manuscripts, 397, 418; *Idea de una nueva historia*, etc., 418, 429; *Catalogo*, 429.
Benalcazar, Seb., 196, 538, 580.
Beneventanus, Marcus, 121, 154.
Benincasa, Andreas, portolano, 38.
Benzoni, Girolamo, 346; *Historia del mondo nuovo*, 346, 347; its bibliography, 347; his portrait, 347; *Nuovamente ristampata*, etc., 347; on Columbus, 67; *Novæ novi orbis historiæ libri*, 297, 347; in De Bry, 347; *Der newenn Weldt*, 347; German versions, 347; Dutch versions, 347; English versions, 347.
Berardi, Juanoto, 131, 142.
Berckman, A., 184.
Berendt, C. H., 402.
Bergenroth, G. A., edits Rolls Series, i.; *Calendar of Letters*, etc., i.; finds a Columbus letter, 47; *Calendar of State Papers*, 47; on Isabella, 5.
Bergomas, *Supplementum supplementi*, 64. *See* Foresti.
Beristain, *Bibliotheca Hispano-Americano*, 429.
Berlin, Catalogue of manuscripts in the library at, 449; Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, 93; *Berliner Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, 579.
Bermuda, 224, 451, 453; (1511) 110; (1529) 221; (1544) 227; (1556) 228; first seen, 155; (Belmudo) 229; in the early maps, 225.
Bernaldez, Andrés, *Historia de los reyes católicos*, 47, 83.
Bernalillo, 488.
Bernard, A. J., *Geofroy Tory*, 181.
Berreo, Ant. de, 586.
Berrio, 236.
Berthoud, E. L., 467.
Bertrand in *Journal des Savants*, 471.
Berwick, Duke of, 88.
Betanzos, Juan de, 546.
Beteta, Father Gregory de, 255.
Bianco, Andrea, his sea-chart, 38, 94.
Bibliophile Belge, 50.
Biblioteca de los Americanistas, 398, 419.
Biblioteca Colombina, 65.
Biblioteca Cosatenense, 159.
Biblioteca histórica de la Iberia, 408, 411.
Biblioteca nacional y extranjera, 428.
Biblioteca Valenciana, iii.
Bibliotheca Thottiana, 171.
Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 579.
Bibliothèque Elzévirienne, 293.
Biedma, Luys Hernandez de, *Relacion*, 289, 290; autog., 290.
Bienewitz. *See* Apianus.
Bigotes, 487, 488, 491.
Bimini, 110, 217, 231, 283; fountain at, 232; name transferred to Mexico, 447.
Biobio river, 532.
Biondelli, 415.
Biondo, *De ventis et navigatione*, 421.
Birú, 198, 199, 505, 509; visited by Andagoya, 506. *See* Peru.
Bison, 477; the range of, 244. *See* Buffalo.
Blaeu, *Atlas*, 587; his maps of California, 467.
Blanco, Cape, 40, 280, 461; (Blamquo) 448.
Blome, *Description* (1670), 466.
Bobadilla, 20, 21, 189.
Bobadilla, Friar Fr. de, 526.
Bobadilla, Isabel del, 197.
Boca del Drago, 187.
Boca de Términos, 203.
Bocchi, Francesco, *Libri elogiorum*, 154.
Bœmus, Johannes, *Omnium gentium mores*, 615.
Boesnier, *Le Mexique conquis*, 430.
Bogotá, 581; Federmann and others at, 579.
Bohan, 531.
Boissard, *Icones*, 67; *Bibliotheca*, etc., 67, 73.
Bojador, Cape, 40.
Bollaert, Wm., 582.
Bonhomme, M., 186.
Boni, G., *Biblioteca Estense*, 107.
Bonnefoux, Baron de, *Vie de Colomb*, 69.
Bontier, 36.
Bookworm, 48.
Borde, P. G. L., *L'île de Trinidad*, 587.
Borja, J. H. de, 562.
Borroméo, Fred., Cardinal, 57, 614.
Bory de Saint-Vincent, *Les Isles Fortunées*, 36.
Bos, Van den, *Leven en Daden*, 68.
Bosschaert, 162.
Bossi, L., *Vita di Colombo*, 68.
Boston, a ship from, alleged to be met by De Fonte, 462.
Botero, *Relaciones*, 461.
Boturini. *See* Benaduci.
Bouguer, 590.
Boulenger, Louis, 120.
Bourke, J. G., on Coronado, 503.
Bourne, *Regiment of the Sea*, 98.
Bowen, his map, 468.
Braba, 495.
Bracamoras, 527.
Bradford Club publications, 290.
Braga, John of, 596.
Branco river, 587.
Brant, Seb., portrait, 59; *Narrenschiff*, 58
Brantôme, *Grands capitaines*, 298.
Brasilie, 118, 119. *See* Brazil.
Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Popul-Vuh*, 25; on Spanish cruelty, 343; his authority, 418; *Nations civilisées*, 418, 428; on the manuscript of Bernal Diaz, 428; edits Bishop Landa's *Relation*, 429; his library, 418, 430; *Codex Chimalpopoca*, 418.
Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates*, 378; *Cités du Monde*, 378.
Bravo, Melchor, 542, 545, 551.
Brazil, 228, 435, 436, 437, 446; bibliography of, 617; cut off by line of demarcation, 596; first visited, 150; in the Lenox globe, 123, 170; map of coast (1522), 598; natives of, 597; cannibals, 597; called *Terra Sanctæ Crucis*, 169, 219; (Prisilia) 121; (Bresilia) 459. *See* Prisilia, Brasilie, Bresilia.
Breckenridge, H. M., *Early Discoveries in New Mexico*, 502.
Bresil (island), 36, 451, 453.
Bresilia, 433. *See* Brazil.
Breusing, *Gerhard Kremer*, 471.
Breusing, A., *Zur Geschichte der Kartographie*, 55.
Brevoort, J. C., on Spanish-American documents, i, vii; on Muñoz, iii; *Remains of Columbus*, 82; on the arms of Columbus, 88; on the bibliography of Cortés, 411; on the bibliography of Gomara, 414; on Viscaino, 461.
Breydenbach, B. de, his *Peregrinationes*, 8, 10.
Briceño, Alonzo, 510.
Briggs, Master, his map in Purchas, 462, 466.
Brinton, D. G, 279, 282; *Aboriginal American Literature*, 419; *Floridian Peninsula*, 283.
British Museum, Spanish documents in, vii; *Index to Manuscripts*, vii; *Catalogue of Spanish Manuscripts*, vii.
Brito, Ant., 616.
Brovius, 592.
Brown, Rawdon, *Calendar of State Papers*, 1; and the Venetian archives, viii; discovery of letters respecting Vespucius, 152.
Bruzen, la Martinière, *Introduction à l'histoire*, 468.
Buache, 468; *Considérations géographiques*, 461; *Découvertes de l'Amiral de Fonte*, 463; and Kino's map, 467; on Maldonado, 455.
Buell, Bernardus, 58.
Buena Ventura, 509, 536.
Buffalo, early pictures (1542) of, 477, 488, 489; first Spanish knowledge of, 487. *See* Bison.
Buga, 509.
Buil (or Boil), 16.
Bull of demarcation, 592; the line moved, 592, 596. *See* Alexander VI.; Demarcation.
Bullart, Isaac, 73.
Bulletin de la Société d'Anvers, 82.
Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, 95.
Bürck, August, *Magellan*, 593, 617.
Buriel opposes Delisle's views on De Fonte, 463.
Burke, Edmund, *European Settlements in America*, 424.
Burney, *South Sea Voyages*, 461.
Burton, *Hans Stade*, 616.
Bustamante, Carlos Maria de, 398; edits Cavo's *Tres Siglos*, 428; publishes Chimalpain, 412.
Butler, J. D., on the naming of America, 178; on portraits of Columbus, 71.
Büttner, 221.
Byington, *Choctaw Definer*, 258
Bynneman, Henry, 414.

Caballero, Diego, 239.
Caballero, oration on Columbus, 81.
Cabeza de Vaca, 503; at Culiacan, 474; *Relacion*, 499. *See* Vaca.
Cabezudo, J. R., 90.
Cabo. *See* Cape.
Cabo, Deseado, 608.
Cabo Frio, 596. *See* Frio.
Cabot, Sebastian, compared with Columbus, 99; his records of longitude, 100; his map, 113, 227, 243; on Vespucius, 154; was he on the Florida coast, 231; apparently ignorant of Gomez' voyage, 242; testifies in the Columbus lawsuit, 242; at La Plata, 440; an Italian, 2; with his father discovers North America, 135; thought it different from Asia, 136.
Cabral discovers Brazil, 24, 156, 169, 205.
Cabrera, Bueno, his *Navegacion*, 453.
Cabrera, Cristóbal, *Manual de adultos*, 400.
Cabrillo, Juan Rodriguez, on the California coast, 444, 481.
Cabusto, 250.
Cacama, 364.
Cadamosto, 40.
Cadodaguios, 294.
Cadoret, E., *Vie de Colomb*, 65, 69.
Caicedo, 194, 209, 210.
Caicos, 233.
Cakchiquels, 383.
Calancha, Ant. de la, *Coronica*, 570.
Caldera, 524.
Calderon de la Barca, 427.
Calderon de la Barca, Juan, in Chili, 531.
Calendars, published by English Government, i.
Cali, 509.
Calicut, 42.
California, coast of, in maps 447, etc.; map by Dudley, 465; discovered by Cortés, 393; origin of name, 443; history by Clavigero, 425.
California (gulf), map of, by Cortés, 442; called Gulf of Cortés, 443; Red Sea, 443; (Mer Vermiglio) 228; map of, by Castillo, 443; by Cabot, 447; by Freire, 448; (Mar Vermeio) 449; map by Wytfliet, 458.
California (peninsula), Kino's explorations, 467; early thought to be an island, 442; then held to be a peninsula, 445; so shown on various maps, 445, etc.; omitted on others, 446; represented very broad, 228; distorted in shape, 452; by Wytfliet, 458; later reputed to be an island, 461; maps showing it as peninsula, 461; earliest insularizing of it, 461; early suspicions of its insularity, 461; in Briggs's map, 462; an island on a captured Spanish chart, 462; a peninsula in De Laet, 462; an island, 466; varied views, 467.
Caliquen, 246.
Callao, 519.
Callender, *Voyages to Terra Australis*, 162.
Caluça, 251.
Calvet de Estella, "De rebus gestis Cortesii," 397.
Calveton. *See* Chauveton.
Cam, Diego, 41; on the African coast, 35.
Camargo, Diego de, at Pánuco, 238; Muñoz, account of, 418; his History of Tlaxcala, 418; his expedition, 284; names of his followers, 415.
Camaron, Josef, 261.
Cambiasi, Count, his sale, iv.
Camercane (islands), 177.
Camers, John, edits Mela, 182; edits Solinus, 173.
Campanius on California, 466.
Campe, Friedrich, *Zum Andenken Pirkheimers*, 102.
Campeche, 201, 203.
Campi, *Historia ecclesiastica di Piacenza*, 84.
Canada, 451, 453.
Canadian Monthly, 97.
Canaries (islands), 8, 105, 177, 451; as first meridian, 95; bibliography of, 36; settled by Béthencourt, 36. *See* Fortunate Islands.
Canasagua, 247.
Cañate (town), founded, 547.
Cañate. *See* Mendoza.
Cañaveral, 277.
Cañaveral, Cape, 263, 264, 295.
Cancelada, Counts of, 569.
Cancellieri, F. G., *Diss. sopro Colombo*, viii, 65, 73, 84.
Cancer de Barbastro, Luis, and the Indians, 254; in Florida, 255; killed, 255.
Cancheto, 187.
Cancio, 233.
Candia, P. de, 510, 512, 528, 536.
Canico. *See* Cancio.
Canizares, *El Pleyto de Cortés*, 430.
Cannibals, 175, 220, 303, 329; of Brazil, 597; picture of, 19, 598.
Cannon of Cortés' time, 352; cast in Mexico, 380.
Cano, Francisco, 504.
Cano, Melchior, 315.
Canoe, Indian (cut), 17; described by Pigafetta, 596.
Canovai, S., *Elogio di Vespucci*, 155; various publications on Vespucius, 155.
Cantino, Alberto, his map, 43, 107, 231; sketch, 108; illustrates Vespucius' voyage, 156; type of, 122.
Cantipratensis, *De rerum natura*, 28.
Canto, Ernesto do, *Archivo dos Açores*, 38; *Os Corte-Reaes*, 107.
Cantù, *Storia universale*, 83.
Canzio, M., 78.
Cape. *See* Arenas, Blanco, Bojador, Canaveral, Corrientes, Good Hope, Gracias a Dios, Hatteras, Mendocino, Mesurado, Non, Passado, Race, Roman, Roxo, Rostro, St. Augustin, St. Helena, St. Roman, San Francisco, Santa Maria, Stormy, Tiburon, Trafalgar. *See also* Cabo.
Cape Breton (Berton), 451, 453.
Cape De Verde Islands, 39, 105, 115.
Cape Gracias á Dios, 353.
Cape Race (Ras), 453.
Cape St. Lucas (de Balena), 458.
Cape St. Vincent, fight at, 1, 2.
Capiapa, 559.
"Capitana," ship, 20.
Capponi. *See* Gino.
Capriolo, *Ritratti*, 72.
Caravantes, F. L. de, 565.
Caravels, 7, 48.
Carbajal, F. de, joins Gonzalo Pizarro, 537; leads Vaca de Castro's army, 536; executed, 542.
Carbajal, *Mexico*, 73.
Carballido y Zuniga. *See* Barcia.
Cardenas, 496.
Cardenas y Cano, *Florida*, 575. *See* Barcia.
Cárdenas, F. de, his *Coleccion*, vii.
Cardenas, Garcia Lopez de, 484, 488.
Cárdenas, Luis de, 397.
Carderera, V., *Retratos de Colon*, 70.
Cardona, Nicolas de, 461.
Careta, 195.
Caribana (punta), 189.
Caribbee Islands, 16.
Carillo, Luis, 198.
Carleton, J. H., *Excursion to the Ruins of Abo*, etc., 494.
Carlos (Indian chief), 279, 282.
Carlos. *See* Charles.
Carlyle, Thomas, on Prescott's letters, 427.
Carmona, Alonzo de, 290.
Caroline. *See* Fort Caroline.
Carpenter, his *Geography*, 462.
Carrion, A. de, 511.
Cartagena, 190, 191, 209, 581; view of, 192; taken by Lago, 584; plundered, 262.
Cartas de Indias, viii, 567; map in, 222.
Carthagena, Juan de, 592, 599, 604, 607.
Carthagena. *See* Cartagena.
Cartier, watched by Spanish spies, 254.
Carvajal, A. S. de, factor of Columbus, iv.
Carvajal, B. de, 57.
Carver, the traveller, 469; his *Travels* 469.
Casa de la Contratacion, 57, 348.
Casa Grande, 482, 502.
Casas, pursues Olid, 384.
Caseneuve, 1; (admiral) 86.
Casoni, *Annali di Genova*, 83, 90.
Casqui, 251.
Cass, Lewis, on Aztec civilization, 427.
Cassanare River, 586.
Cassano Serra, Duke de, 450.
Cassaquiari Canal, 581, 582.
Cassava bread, 598.
Castañeda, Gabril, on the Conquest of the Chichimecs, 419.
Castañeda, Pédro de, *Relation*, 500.
Castaño de Sosa, Gaspar, 504.
Castellani, 342; *Catalogo*, 435.
Castellanos, Juan de, his portrait, 583; *Elegias*, 78, 583.
Castilla del Oro, 88, 169, 221, 459, 505; map of, 190, 191.
Castilla Nueva, 212. *See* New Castile.
Castillo, 244; fac-simile of his map of California, 444.
Castro, Lope Garcia de, governor of Peru, 551; his life, 570.
Castro, Vaca de, his letters, 567; his life by Herrera, 567.
Cat Island, 55.
Catalan mappemonde, 38, 94.
Catalutla, 392.
Catamaran, 611.
Cataneo on Columbus, 64.
Catesby, *Carolina*, 53.
Cathay, 41, 105.
Catoche, 384; (punta) 201, 236.
Caulin, Ant., *Hist. Nueva Andalucia*, 587.
Caupolican, 548, 549.
Cavendish, 464; on Pacific coast, 456; captures Viscaino, 460.
Cavo, Andrés, *Tres siglos de México*, 428.
Caxamalca, 558.
Caxamarca, 514, 516, 519.
Cayas, 251.
Centeno, Diego, 538, 541.
Cenú, expedition to, 208; (river) 189.
Cepeda, 537, 538, 540, 541.
Cepeda and Carillo, *Ciudad de México*, 375.
Cermeñon, 453.
Ceron, George, 259.
Cerpa, Diego Fernando de, 586.
Cervantes, Ant. de, 240.
Cespedes, A. G. de, *Reg. de Navigation*, 45, 461.
Chachapoyas, 519, 528; founded, 523.
Chaco, Rio, 502.
Chac-xulub-chen, chronicle of, 419.
Chaix, Paul, *Bassin du Mississipi*, 287.
Chalco, 369.
Challcuchima, 520.
Challeux, Nicolas le (Challus), at Fort Caroline, 296; *Discours*, 296; *Histoire mémorable*, 296; *True and Perfect Description*, 296; edited by Gravier, 296; *De Gallorum Expeditione*, 297.
Champlain, his astrolabe, 97.
Champoton, 203.
Chamuscado, F. S., 504.
Chanaral, 524.
Chanca, Dr., 57; on Columbus' second voyage, 89.
Channing, Edw., "Companions of Columbus," 187.
Chapultepec, 374.
Charcas, 523, 525.
Charles III. (Spain), his care of documents, ii.

Charles V. (Spain), forms archives of Simancas, i.
Charles V. (Emperor), 88; autog., 289, 372; gives a map to Philip II., 222, 445, 446; portrait in Jovius, 371; in Herrera, 373; portrait in title of a Latin *Cortés*, 409.
Charlesfort (Port Royal), 260, 274; abandoned, 262.
Charlevoix on Columbus' birth, 83; *Isle Espagnole*, 88.
Charlotte Islands, 463.
Charton, his list of sources of Mexican history, 399; *Voyageurs*, 10, 71.
Chaumette des Fossé, *Catalogue*, 576.
Chauveton, Urbain, 297; translates Benzoni, 347.
Chavanne, Dr. J., 222.
Chaves, Diego de, 518.
Chaves, F. de, 518, 520, 527; murdered, 534.
Chaves, Hieronymus, his map, 281; description of the Atlantic coast, 292.
Chelaque, 247.
Cherokees, 247.
Chesapeake Bay visited by Spaniards, 240, 260, 282.
Chevalier, M., *Mexique ancien et moderne*, 428.
Chia, 491.
Chiaha, 247.
Chiametla, 442, 482.
Chibchas, 581.
Chicaça, 250.
Chicama, 519.
Chichilticalli, 482, 487.
Chilaga, 459.
Chilca, 558.
Childe, E. V., translates Santarem's *Vespuce*, 178.
Chili, 228, 436, 459; *Anales de la Universedad*, 56; coast, 460; "Conquest and Settlement of," by Markham, 505; its earlier history, 524; sketch-map of the Conquest, 524; wars with Araucanians, 547; Valdivia defeated, 549; Villagra, governor, 549; G. H. de Mendoza, governor, 549; Villagra, governor, 551; Quiroga, governor, 551; audiencia of, 551; Wytfliet's map, 559; Sotomayor, governor, 561; Loyola, governor, 561; sources of information, 571; *Varias relaciones del Peru y Chile*, 576. *See* Almagro, Valdivia.
Chillan, 524.
Chiloe, archipelago, 549.
Chimalhuacan, 369.
Chimalpain, *Cronica Mexicana*, 418; translates Gomara, 412; Bustamante supposes it a native text, 412; Bandelier deceived, 412.
Chimborazo, 509.
Chinan. *See* Golfo.
Chincha, 228, 519, 526, 558.
Chiquito (Colorado), 483.
Chira River, 515, 519.
Chirino, Pedro, *Islas Filipinas*, 616.
Chisca, 248, 251.
Choco Bay, 509.
Choctaco Bluff, 291.
Choix de documents géog. à la bibl. nat., 38.
Cholula, 358, 362.
Chronometer, 101.
Chuchama, 506, 507, 509.
Chucuito, 538.
Chupas, 536 battle of, 567.
Chuquinga, 519; battle at, 545.
Cia, 491.
Cianca, Andres de, 542.
Cibola, 477, 478, 480, 528; identified, 483; the district of, 483; map of, 485; expedition to, 503; seven cities, 458; various identifications of, 501, 502, 503.
Ciboletta, 501.
Cicuyé, 487, 488.
Cieza de Leon, Pedro de, 541; career, 568; fate of his manuscripts, 568; *La guerra de Quito*, 568; bibliography of, 573; *Parte primera de la chronica del Peru*, 573; various translations, 574; Parts II., III., and IV., 574; copy of manuscript in Lenox Library, 574; *Tercero libro*, 574.
Cignatao, 224.
Ciguatan, 449, 473, 474, 499.
Cimarrones, 582.
Cimber et Danjon, *Archives curieuses*, 296.
Cinnamon, Land of, 528, 581.
Cipango, 8, 24, 25, 105, 116; described by Marco Polo, 29; (Cimpangi) 128; (Zipangri) 118, 119, 121; (Zipagri) 120; (Zipancri) 123; (Zipugna) 124. *See* Japan.
Circourt, A. de, 66.
Cisneros, Diego, *Ciudad de Mexico*, 378.
Citri, Bon André de, 424.
Citri de la Guette, 289.
Civezza, Marcellino da, *Missions Franciscaines*, 3.
Civiltà cattolica, 69.
Cladera, C., *Investigaciones históricas*, 35, 78, 83, 105.
Clarke, *Progress of Maritime Discovery*, 40.
Clavigero, F. S., account of, 425; his *Messico*, 425; *California*, 425; *Hist. antigua de Méjico*, 425; *Gesch. von Mexico*, 425; *History of Mexico*, translated by Cullen, 425; portrait, 425; his list of books on Mexico, 430.
Clavus, Claudius, 28.
Clemencin on the value of ancient Spanish money, 517.
Clement, *Bibliog. curieuse*, 182.
Clement VII., portrait, 407.
Clemente, C., *Tablas*, 9.
Clerigo. *See* Las Casas.
Climatic lines, 95.
Clinton, De Witt, on the Spaniards at Onondaga, 283.
Club, Indian (cut), 16.
Cnoyen, 95.
Cobo, Bernabé, *Fundacion de Lima*, 567.
Coça, 248, 258.
Coça River, 528.
Cochiti, 491.
Cocleius, Johannes, 182.
Coco, 487.
Codex Ramirez, 375.
Codine, Jules, *Découverte de la côte d'Afrique*, 40; *La mer des Indes*, 40, 94.
Coelho, Gonzalo, his voyage, 151, 162.
Cofitachiqui, 251.
Cogolludo, D. L., *Yucathan*, 214, 429.
Coiba, 509.
Coin-Collectors' Journal, 470.
Cole, Humphrey, invented the log, 98.
Coleccion de doc. inéd. para la historia España, vii.
Coleccion de doc. inédit. (Españolas en América), edited by Pacheco, etc., vii. 498.
Coleccion de libras raros ó curiosos, 577.
Coles, Juan, 290.
Coligny, lives of, 298.
Coligua, 251.
Colin, edition of Herrera, 67; *Nieuwe Werelt*, 67.
Collao, 519, 524, 528, 558.
Colo-colo, 548.
Cologne, *Coronica van Coellen*, 59.
Colmeiro, M., *Los restos de Colon*, 82.
Colmenares, Rodrigo Enriquez, 193, 210.
Colombo. *See* Columbus; Colon.
Colombo family, genealogical table, 87; lawsuit, 88; Harrisse on, 89.
Colombo, F. G., 72.
Colombo, Luigi, *Patria del Ammireglio*, 84.
Colon. *See* Columbus, Colombo.
Colon en Quisqueya, 65, 82.
Colon, Luis, 65, 66; renounces his rights, 88.
Colon, Pedro, 65.
Colorado (river), 468, 469, 485, 486; ascended by Alarcon, 443.
Columbia proposed as name for the United States, 178.
Columbia River, 469, 470.
Columbus. *See* Colon; Colombo.
Columbus, Bartholomew, 88; on the African coast, 41; takes a map to England, 102; arrives in Hispaniola, 17; on the Honduras coast, 22; in Lisbon, 1; in England, 3; portrait, 86; memoir, 86.
Columbus, Christopher, birth, 1; date of birth, 83, 89; place of birth, 83, 89; his father, 89; of humble origin, 84, 89; genealogy of his family, 87; signification of his name, 135; his piratical career, 1; sells maps, 3; his marriage, 2, 90; his geographical theories, 3, 24; as to size of globe, 24; as to shape of globe, 99; his notes on D'Ailly, 29; on Æneas Sylvius, 32; his argument from trees drifted ashore, 35; his alleged intercourse with Spanish pilot, 33; proposes to Ferdinand and Isabella, 3; made high admiral, 5; would rescue the Holy Sepulchre, 5; his voyages (collectively), 109; map of the four voyages, 60, 61, 67; his first voyage, 8, 46, 131; his ships, 7; number of his men, 10; money raised, 91; his track (map), 9; his attempt to ascertain longitude by the needle's declination, 100; landfall, 9, 52, 92; his prayer, 9; supposed he had reached Asia, 136; usual ascription of his discovery, 183, 598; builds fort in Hayti, 10; return voyage, 11; his reception, 12; news of the discovery carried to Italy, 48; effect in Europe, 56; his second voyage, 15, 131; observes eclipse of the moon, 98; returns to Spain, 18; authorities on second voyage, 57; his third voyage, 19, 133, 142; gets information of the Pacific, 211; Roldan's revolt, 20; Bobadilla arrives, 20; put in chains, 20; returns to Spain, 20; authorities on third voyage, 58; his fourth voyage, 20, 191; loses an anchor, 59; authorities on fourth voyage, 59; his associations with places (Barcelona), 56, (Costa Rica) 21, (Cuba) 10, (Genoa) 2, 90, (Hayti) 10, (Honduras) 21, (Ireland) 2, 33, (Jamaica) 22, 201, (Palos) 90, (Pavia) 90, (Portugal) 2, 90, (Rabida) 3, 90, (Salamanca) 4, 91, (Santa Fé) 5, (Segovia) 23; dies obscurely, 23, 78, 167; house where he died, 23; burial, 78; remains removed to St. Domingo, 80; supposed reinterment at Havana, 81; his will, 65; the lawsuit of his heirs, 10, 204; his connection with Beatrix Enriquez, 4, 64; his characteristics, 23, 24; inexactness, 91; makes slaves of the natives, 303; imagined himself inspired, 24; compared with Cabot, 99; personal relations and reciprocal influence with Cabot, 136; with Toscanelli, 2, 90; with Vespucius, 131, 142, 149, 178; his companions, 187; his fame, 65; early references to, 57, 62, 64; poems and dramas on, 68; efforts to canonize him, 69; Roselly de Lorgues' efforts, 69; his name suggested for the New World, 169, 174; authorities on his career, 24; documents, i, vii, viii; his letters-patent, iii; his privileges, 86; the "admiral's map," 113; other maps connected with him, 94, 104, 113, 144; his manuscripts, 65, 89; at Genoa, iv, 77; his manuscript on Portuguese discoveries, 35; his drawing of his triumph, 12; his letters, 46, 89; first letter, early editions, 48; fac-similes of pages, 49–54; Ambrosian text, 92; other texts, 50; turned into rhyme, 51, in later shapes, 51; letters lost.

ii; photographed, iv; his Journal abridged by Las Casas, 91; his printed writings, 89; *Cartas y testamento*, 52; *Copia de la lettera*, 62; *Lettera rarissima*, 62; his Journal, 46, 89, 91; *Libro de las proficias*, 24, 89; *Epistola C. Colom* or *De insulis inventis*, 48; *Eyn Schon hübsch*, etc., 51; letters in *Cartas de Indias*, viii; his writings, edited by Torre, 46; lives and notices of, 62; (Castellanos) 584, (Dodge) iv, (Ferdinand Columbus) 64, 65, (Giustiniani) 62, (Harrisse) 88, (Irving) vi, (Navarrete) v, (Robertson) ii, (Winsor) 1; descriptions of his person, 69; likenesses, painted, engraved, and carved, — namely (Berwick-Alba) 76, (Borgoña) 76, (Capriolo) 72, 73, (Cardenas) 78, (Cogletto) 73, (Cuccaro) 72, (D'Ambras) 73, (De Bry) 73, 74, 75, (De Pas) 72, (Edwards) 78, (Florence) 72, 73, 74, (Fuchsius) 76, (Genoa) 78, (Havana) 76, 77, (Jomard) 74, 78, (Jovius) 70, (La Cosa) 71, (Lima) 78, (Madrid) 78, (Maella) 76, (Malpila) 72, (Mercuri) 73, (Montanus) 77, 79 (More) 76, (Mosaic) 73, (Opmeer) 72, (Parmigiano) 76, (Peschiera) 76, (Philoponus) 77, (New Providence) 78, (Rome) 78, (Seville) 76, 78, (Washington) 78; his coat-armor, 15, 88, 89, 105; his armor, 4; his autog., 12; his handwriting, 14; his motto, 78.
Columbus, Diego (brother of Christopher, the Admiral), 2, 16, 87, 88, 191; sent to Spain, 17; returns, 18 to Cuba, 349; his house, 88; his will, ii.
Columbus, Diego (son of the Admiral), 2, 86; a royal page, 5; lawsuit of, 144, 174; memorial on converting the Indians, 337; his remains, 80, 81.
Columbus, Ferdinand, 87, 88; career of, 65; his mother, 64; accompanies his father, 21; relations with Vespucius, 170, 174; his alleged map, 43, 206; his *Historie*, 64; discredited by Harrisse, 66, 89; defended by Stevens and D'Avezac, 66; his library, 65; his income, 65; his tomb, 65.
Columbus, Luis (grandson of the Admiral), his remains, 80, 81.
Coma, G., 58.
Comité d' Archéologie Américaine, 50.
Comogre, 505, 509.
Compass, 94; picture of, 94. *See* Magnet; Needle.
Compendio historiæ, etc., 68.
Compostella, 474, 480, 481.
Cona, 493.
Conception (Chili), 524; founded, 548.
"Concepcion" (ship), 594.
Concepcion Bay, 548.
Conches, Feuillet de, 12.
Conches, Guillaume de, his *Philosophia minor*, 28.
Conchucos settled, 527.
Conibas (island), 463.
Conibas (lake), 457.
Connasauga River, 247.
Conquista del nuevo mondo, 575; *del Peru*, 563.
Consag, his map, 468.
Contarini, Gasparo, 617.
Conti, Natale, *Universæ historiæ libri*, 154.
Conti, V., on Montferrat, 84.
Cook, Captain James, 469.
Cooley, W. D., *Maritime Discovery*, 34.
Coosa River, 248.
Coosas, 258.
Coosawattie, 247.
Copala, 504.
Copia delle lettere del prefetto della India, 575.
Copiapo, 524, 528, 559.
Coppée, Henry, "Conquest of Mexico," 375.
Coppo, his map sketched, 127; *Portolano*, 128.
Coquibacoa, 187, 189.
Coquimbo, 524, 525, 559.
Corazones, 482, 486, 496.
Cordiform projection of maps, 123.
Cordeiro, Luciano, "Les Portugais dans la découverte de l'Amérique," 33.
Cordeyro, *Historia insulana*, 33.
Cordilleras of the Andes, 514.
Cordova, Bishop, 305.
Cordova (Cordoba), Francisco Hernandez de, 200, 201, 402; voyage to the Bahamas, 236; to Yucatan, 214; dies, 237.
Cordova, Pedro de, 310.
Cordova y Figuera, Hist. of Chili, 573.
Cordova y Salinas, 570.
Cordova (town), 3.
Corner, Francesco, 152.
Coro, 579, 581.
Coronado, F. V. de, governor of New Gallicia, 474; account of, 474, 475; seeks Topira, 480; autog., 481; commands expedition to Cibola, 481; captures the town, 483; map of his explorations, 485; arrives at Quivira, 493; ill, 496; return march, 497; sources of information, 498, 499; his letters, 500; *Relacion del suceso de la jornada*, 500; *Traslado*, etc., 500; Jaramillo's account, 500; modern accounts, 501; his several expeditions, 503; his expedition connected with voyage on the Pacific coast, 443; hears of De Soto's party, 292.
Coronel, 19.
Coronelli on California, 467.
Correa, Gaspar, his account of Da Gama, 44; *Lendas da India*, 616.
Correa, Juan, 208.
Correnti, Cesare, *Lettere autografe di Colombo*, 46.
Corrientes, Cape, 233, 509.
Corsica, alleged birthplace of Columbus, 84.
Cortambert, R., *Nouvelle histoire des voyages*, 72, 83.
Cortereal, Anus, 445.
Cortereal, Gaspar, 06; at Hudson's Straits, 445; his discovery (*Regalis domus*), 122, 123.
Cortereal, João Vas Costa, voyage to Newfoundland, 33.
Cortereale (1527), 219.
Cortereaiis, 177.
Cortés, Francisco, 441.
Cortés, Hernando, chapter on, by Justin Winsor, 349; commander of expedition, 204, 349; suspected by Velasquez, 351; his cannon, 352; map of his voyage, 353; sends messengers to Montezuma, 355; founds Vera Cruz, 356; foils Velasquez, 356; sends treasure to the Emperor, 356; map of his march to Mexico, 358; sinks his ships, 359; numbers of forces in all his expeditions controverted, 359; at Cholula, 362; meets Montezuma, 362; has a flotilla on the lake, 362; receives tribute from Montezuma, 365; professes to build ships to leave the country, 365; Narvaez sent against him, 365; Cortés defeats him, 367; returns to Mexico, 368; shows Montezuma to the Mexicans, 368; endeavors to leave the city, 368; the *triste noche*, 369; at Otumba, 370; retreats to Tlascala, 370; his second letter, 371; builds brigantines, 372; establishes base at Tescuco, 372; his marches round Mexico, 374; brigantines launched, 375; attacks the city, 376; captures it, 378; casts cannon, 380; sends further treasure to Spain, 382; sends jugglers to Rome, 407; receives plenary indulgence, 407; made governor and captain-general, 382; seeks passage to Asia, 411, 439; siezes Pánuco, 382; sends an expedition to Guatemala, 383; pursues Olid, 384; goes to Honduras, 384; returns to Mexico, 386; his commission suspended, 386; goes again to Spain, 387; made Marqués del Valle de Oajaca, 388; his wife dies, 389; marries a daughter of the Conde de Aguilar, 390; returns to Mexico, 391; aids Pizarro, 526; sends expeditions on the Pacific, 393; builds vessels at Tehuantepec, 393, 441; discovers California, 393, 442; last return to Spain, 395; his descendants, 395; dies, 396; his remains, 396; sources of information on his career, 397; his letters, 337, 397, 402; *Vida de Cortés*, 397; first letter, 402; its equivalents, 402; *De rebus gestis Cortesii*, 397, 402; Peter Martyr on Cortés, 402; *Newzeit*, etc., 402; *Trois lettres*, 402; *Newe Zeittung*, 402; *Ein Auszug*, etc, 403; *Translationuss*, etc., 403; second letter, 284, 403; *Carta de relaciō*, 403; *Carta de relacion*, 403; cut of Cortés before Charles V., 403; his map of the Gulf of Mexico, 404, *Præclara*, etc., 404; fac-simile of its title and reverse, 405, 406; *La preclara narratione*, 407; *Ein schöne newe Zeytung*, 408; edited by Lorenzana, 408; life by Sands, 408; *De insulis nuper inventis*, 408: fac-simile of title, 409; in Grynæus' *Novus orbis*, 409; *Correspondance de Cortes*, 410; *Cortesi von dem newen Hispanien*, 410; *Eroberung von Mexico*, 410; *Drei Berichte*, 410; *De Contreyen*, etc., 410; *Brieven van Cortes*, 410; *Despatches* (Folsom's ed.), 410; in Willes' *History of Travayle*, 410; third letter, 410; *Carta tercera*, 410; *Tertia narratio*, 410; the "secret letter," 411; fourth letter, 284, 411; *La quarta relacion*, 411; *Este es una carta*, etc., 411; fifth letter, 411; *Carta quinta*, 411; characteristics of his letters, 411; authorities on his Honduras expedition, 411; *Ultima carta*, 411; *Escritos sueltos*, 411; bibliography by Diaz Balceta, 411; by Harrisse, 411; by Brevoort, 411; account of, in Gomara, 412; in Bernal Diaz, 414; in Sahagun, 415; his marches shown on a map in Jourdanet's *Bernal Diaz*, 415; names of his followers, 415; his career as drawn by Ixtlilxochitl, 417; by Camargo, 418; by Brasseur de Bourbourg, 418; by Ramirez, 419; by Vasquez, 419; by Torquemada, 421; by Solis, 424; by Robertson, 424; by Clavigero, 425; by Prescott, 425; by R. A. Wilson, 427; Life by A. Helps, 428; in fiction, 430; in drama, 430; his portraits, 72, 76, 424; in *Cortés valeroso*, 354; in Massachusetts Historical Society's Collection, 357; in Solis, 360; in Jovius, 381; in Herrera, 389; full-length portrait, 395; medal likeness, 396; other portraits, 389; engraving by Vertue, 424; his arms, 354: his banner, 381; his armor, 390, his autog., 381.
Cortés, Martin, 95; *Arte de navegar*, 98.
Cortina, Conde de, 416.
Cosa, Juan de la, 16, 187, 189, 208, 209, 210; vignette of Saint Christopher, 71; killed, 191; with Ojeda, 144; his voyages, 206; his chart, 135, 206. *See* La Cosa.
Cosco (Aliander, Leander), 177; his rendering of Columbus' letter, 47.
Cosmographiæ introductio, fac-similes of pages, 167, etc.; (1514) 120 *See* Waldseemüller.
Cossette, Captain, 270.

Costa Rica coast, 21; *Coleccion de doc. ined.*, ix., 398. *See* Peralta.
Costanzo, B., *Hist. Siciliana*, 67.
Cotoche, 353.
Cotolendi, *La vie de Colomb*, 66.
Cotopaxi, 509.
Council for the Indies, 310, 348. *See* Indies.
Councils, ecclesiastical, in Mexico, records of, 399.
Cuurt, Dr., his library, 163.
Cousin, of Dieppe, 34.
Coxa, 509.
Coxe, Daniel, *Carolana*, 467.
Coxe, William, *Russian Discoveries*, 463, 469.
Coyba, 198.
Coyohuacan, 375.
Cozamel, 203, 218, 224, 225, 351, 353, 384.
Cradock, F., *Wealth Discovered*, 3.
Cravaliz, Agost., 574.
Crevenna Catalogue, 171.
Crignet, epitome of Ortelius, 472.
Cristofano dell' Altissimo, 73.
Cromberger, 400.
Cromwell, Oliver, 341.
Cronabo, 187.
Crooked Island, 55, 92.
Cross-staff, 98. *See* Backstaff.
Cuaço, Alonso de, 212.
Cuba, 106, 115, 126, 128, 228, 229, 432, 435, 437, 451, (1518) 217, (1520) 218, (1527) 220, (1529) 221, (1534) 223, (1536) 225, (1541) 177; the name applied to North America, 121; thought a part of Asia, 16, 106; bibliography of, 230; (Couba) 226; circumnavigated, 214; conquest of, 214; (Fernandina) 201; explored (1508) 201; island or peninsula, 201; (Isabell, Isabella, or Ysabella) 108, 111, 114, 118, 123, 125, 170, 175, 183; earliest named, 183; (Juana) 201; early given a wrong latitude, 96; letter from (1520) 215; map of, 450; in Martyr's map, 110; (North America) 127; in Stobnicza map, 116; in Sylvanus' map, 122; Wytfliet's map, 230.
Cubagua, 134, 581, 585.
Cubanacan, 42.
Cuccaro, alleged birthplace of Columbus, 84.
Cuenca, 509; founded, 547.
Cuellar, F. de, 511.
Cuellar, Sancho, 520.
Cuitlahuac, 369.
Cuitlahuatzin, 370.
Culebras (gulf), 199.
Culhuacan, native history of, 418; *Codex Chimalpopoca*, 418; *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, 418.
Culiacan, S. Miguel de, 441, 475, 482, 485; (province) 474.
Cullen, Charles, 425.
Cumana, 558, 559.
Cunningham, William, *Cosmographical Glasse*, 67, 176.
Curalaba, 562.
Curazao (Curaçoa), 189, 190.
Curiana, 189, 207.
Curico, 524.
Cusco, 228, 514, 516, 517, 519, 558; claimed by Almagro, 525; besieged by the Indians, 524; manuscripts on, 577; becomes a Spanish town, 520; view of, 554; view of temple at, 555; plan of, by Markham, 556; by Squier, 556; palace of Ynca, 556; other plans and views, 556.
Cushing, Caleb, on the De Fonte voyage, 463; on Navarrete's *Coleccion*, v; *Reminiscences of Spain*, 84; on Vespucius, 154, 178.
Cushing, Frank H., on Zuñi, 483.
Custodi, Pietro, 46.
Cutifachiqui, 247.
Cuyoacan, 369.

DABAIBE, 198; expedition to, 211.
D'Abreu, 440.
Daelli, G., *Bibl. rara*, 46.
D'Ailly, Pierre, his map (1410), 95. *See* Ailly.
Dalibard, 575.
Dampier, the navigator, 592; *New Voyage*, 467.
Danckerts, his maps, 466.
Dandolo, M., *Oratio*, 62.
Dandolo, T., *Secoli di Dante e Colombo*, 69; *Colombo*, 69.
D'Anville and Lake Parima, 587.
D'Arcy de la Rochette, 589.
Darien, 191; different forms of the name, 191; settlement at, 204.
Darwin, Charles, *Voyage of the Beagle*, 609.
Dati, G., and Columbus' letter, 51; *Questa*, etc., 51; *La lettera*, etc., 51.
D'Aubigné, *Hist. universelle*, 298.
D'Avezac, *Aperçus sur la boussole*, 94; on Columbus' birth, 83; *Livre de F. Colomb*, 66; *Découvertes dans l'Océan Atlantique*, 39; *Expédition de Béthencourt*, 36; *Isles d'Afrique*, 36; *Isles fantastiques*, 36; *Sur la projection des cartes*, 471; *Waltze-Müller*, 164; his writings, 164; his *Voyages de Vespuce*, 164.
Dávila. *See* Pedrárias.
Dávila, F. A., 213.
Davila, Gil Gonzales, 213; *Teatro eclesiástico*, 399, 400. *See* Gil.
Davilla Padilla, *Santiago de México*, 399, 400; *Varia historia*, 400.
Da Vinci, Leonardo, sketch of mappemonde ascribed to him, 124, 125, 126, 172, 234. *See* Vinci.
Davis, W. H. H., *El Gringo*, 502; *Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, 288, 502.
D'Avity, Pierre, *Le Monde*, 462.
Daza, Luis, 257.
Deane, Charles, on Schöner, 176.
De Bry, his picture of Columbus, 73, 75; gets Lemoyne's papers, 296; his engravings for Las Casas, 342.
De Clerck, *Tooneel*, etc., 76.
De Coca, 599.
De Costa, B. F., *Columbus and the Geographers of the North*, 33.
Dee, Dr., his map, 453.
De Fonte, Bartholemé, his alleged voyage, 462; coined by Petiver, 462; faith of Delisle and Buache, 463; map, 469.
De Fuca, alleged voyage, 456; partly believed by Greenhow, 457; sources of, 457; Delisle and Buache on, 463.
De Laet. *See* Laet.
Delambre, *L'Astronomie du moyen-âge*, 94.
Delaplaine, *Repository of Lives*, etc., 139,
Del Cano, Seb., 224; commands the "Victoria," 612; at the Cape de Verde Islands, 612; surprise at the loss of a day, 612, 615; reaches San Lucas, 612; at Court, 613; his letter, 616.
Delisle, 468; on the insularity of California, 467; *Découvertes de l'amiral de Fonte*, 463; opposed by Buriel, 463; map of Louisiana, 294; route of De Soto, 294, 295; *Atlas nouveau*, 294; and Lake Parima, 587; map of the *Mer de l'ouest*, 469.
Demarcation, line of, 99, 441; in the Cantino map, 108; on map of 1527, 43. *See* Alexander VI., Bull.
Demersay, A., on the Spanish and Portuguese archives, ii.
Denis, Ferd., on Sahagun, 416.
Depons, Fr., *Voyage*, 587.
De principiis astronomie, 432.
Des Brosses, *Navigations*, 614.
Deschanel, E., *C. Colomb*, 83.
Desimoni, C., *Libro di Harrisse*, 86.
Desjardin, Ernst, *Rapport sur Harrisse*, viii.
Desmarquets, *Hist. de Dieppe*, 34.
D'Este, Hercule, 107.
De Thou, *Hist. universelle*, 297.
De Vries in the Pacific, 463.
Dewey, Dr. Orville, on the Spanish conquerors, 314.
Dexter, Arthur, 426.
Dexter, George, character and death, ix.
Deza, Diego de, 4, 91.
Diaz, Alonzo, 411.
Diaz del Castillu, Bernal, 16, 196, 201, 214, 427; with Cordova, 284; account of, 414; *Hist. verdadera*, 214, 414; his autog., 414; the original manuscript, 414, 415, 428; two early printed editions, 415; later editions in various languages, 415; English texts, 415; Jourdanet's edition, 415; letters in the *Cartas de Indias*, 415; wounded, 236.
Diaz, Juan, his *Itinerario*, 215.
Diaz, Melchior, 481, 482, 485, 486, 503; dies, 491.
Diccionario univ. de hist. y de geog., 415.
Diego de la Cruz, 256.
Diego, Juan, 399.
Diegus. *See* Homem.
Dieppe, histories of, 34.
Diether, Andrew, 410.
Dinaux, *Cardinal d'Ailly*, 29.
Dixon Entrance, 470.
Dobbs, Arthur, *Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay*, 462, 468; his map, 467.
Doctrina Christiana, 400.
Doctrina en Mexicano, 401.
Documentary sources of early Spanish-American history, i.
Documentos para la historia de Mexico, 398.
Dodge, Robert, 106; *Memorials of Columbus*, iv.
Domenichi, 67.
Dominic of the Annunciation, 257.
Dominicans, 399; in Florida, 256; in Cusco, 520; in Hispaniola, 305, 309.
Dominico, 188.
Doncel, Gines, 241.
Dondero, G. A., *L'onestá di C. Colombo*, 65.
Doppelmayr, J. G., *Hist. Nachricht*, 105.
Dorantes, 244, 287.
Doria, 68.
Dormer, *Discursos varios*, 343.
Doyle, William, *British Dominions*, 468.
Drage, Theodore S., *Northwest Passage*, 463.
Dragg, *Great Probability of a Northwest Passage*, 463.
Dragon's mouth, 586, 588.
Drake, Sir Francis, his harbor on the California coast, 453; H. H. Bancroft's view, 453; documents in Peralta, 453; finds remains of Magellan's mutineers, 599; his discovery of New Albion, 465; in the Pacific, 452; his most northern point reached in the Pacific, 455; sees giants in Patagonia, 602; on the coast of Peru, 557.
Dresden, *Verein für Erdkunde*, 40, 106, 580.
Drogeo, 472.
Drummond, *Ilha Terceira*, 38.
Dryander, J., *Cosmographiæ introd.*, 421.
Dryden, *Indian Emperor*, 430.
Dudley, Robert, *Arcano del mare*, 464, 587; his original drawings, 464; his career, 464; map of the California coast, 465; edition of *Arcano* (1661), 466.
Duflot de Mofras, *Mendoza et Navarrete*, v; *L'Orégon*, 431.
Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, 466.
Dulce, Rio, 187.
Duprat, *Elisabeth de Valois*, 297.
Duran, Diego, *Historia*, 419; his manuscript, 420.
Durazzo, J., *Elogi*, 68.

Duro, C. F., *Peñalosa*, 503; *Colon y Pinzon*, 284; *Informe*, etc., 242.
Duval, his map, 466.
Dwight, Theodore F., 469.

Earth. Columbus' idea of the form of, 133; centre of, in the terrestrial paradise, 99; a sphere, 24, 25; size of, 24, 30; shaped like a pear, 24. *See* Globe.
Echete, 288.
Echeverri, J. de, *Las Cenizas de Colon*, 81.
Ecija, 285; *Relacion*, 286.
Eclectic Magazine, 426.
Eclipse. *See* Sun.
Edinburgh Review, 50.
Edwards, B., *West Indies*, 78.
Edwards, E., *Memoirs of Libraries*, 65.
Eguiara y Eguren, *Bibliotheca Mexicana*, 429.
Ein schöne newe Zeitung, 51.
Eldorado, name first applied, 579; (South America) history of the belief in, 579.
El General San Martin, 532.
Eliorraga, 599.
Ellis, George E., on Las Casas, 299; on Prescott's use of the noctograph, 427.
Ellis, Henry, *Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, 468.
Elvas, Gentleman of, his *Relaçam*, 288; *Virginia richly valued*, 289; *Historie of Terra Florida*, 289; *Discovery and Conquest of Florida* (edited by Rye), 289.
Emory, W. H., *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance*, 501.
Enciso, M. F. de, 191, 194, 195, 197; account of, 193, 208; *Suma de geografia*, 98, 208.
Encomiendas, 337, 348, 537, 571.
Engel, Samuel, *Mémoires*, 468; *Extraits raisonés*, 468.
Enim, 585, 589.
Equator, first crossed on the American side, 187; first crossed on the Pacific side, 507.
Eratosthenes, his theory of the Atlantic, 104.
Ercilla, Alonso de, in Chili, 549; *Araucana*, 571; augmented by Osorio, 571.
Escambia River, 258.
Escobar, Maria de, 518, 547.
Escoiqui, *Mexico conquistada*, 430.
Escondido (river), 281.
Escurial, documents at, iii.
Espada, M. J. de la, edits Cieza de Leon, 574; edits *Memorias antiguas del Peru*, 577; edits *Relaciones geográficas*, 576.
Espejo, Ant. de, 497, 504.
Espinosa, *alcalde mayor*, 197.
Espinosa, *Chronica apostolica*, 399.
Espinosa, F. C., *Hist. de Mexico*, 428.
Espinosa, Gaspar de, 198, 505; in Lima, 526; his expedition, 211; a partner with Pizarro, 507; dies, 526.
Espinoza (with Magellan), 599.
Espiritu Santo, bay named by De Soto, 245; Rio de, 221, 224, 225, 229; (1520) 218; (1527) 219. *See* Mississippi.
Esquivel, Juan de, 191, 201, 214.
Essenwein, A. O., *Bilder-Atlas*, 352.
Essequibo River, 187, 581, 587.
Estancelin, *Navigateurs Normands*, 34, 39.
Estero de los Lagartos, 203.
Esteve, R., 76.
Estienne, H., 186.
Estotilant, 459, 472.
Estrada, 386.
Estrada, Alonzo d', 475.
Estrada, Pedro de, 240.
Etowa, 247.
Etudes par les pères de la Compagnie de Jésus, 69.
Europe, naming of, 167.
Eusebius, *Chronicon*, 64.
Evans, R. S., 481.
Everett, A. H., and Irving, vi.

Faber, Dr. John, 163, 173.
Fabian, 47.
Fabié, A. M., *Vida de Las Casas*, 343.
Fabre, Ant., 614.
Fabricius de Vagad, *Coronica de Aragon*, 59.
Faden, his map showing Lake Parima, 589.
Fairbanks, *Florida*, 292; *St. Augustine*, 293.
Faleiro, Ruy, 591, 592.
Falero, *La longitud en la mar*, 98.
Falkenstein, *Buchdruckerkunst*, 407.
Fancourt, C. St. J., *Yucatan*, 429.
Farfan's fleet wrecked, 256.
Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, 34, 616; *Europa Portuguesa*, 56.
Farmer, Maria, 76.
Farrer, Virginia, her map, 466.
Favolius, Hugo, map-maker, 450.
Federici, F., his collection, iv.
Federmann, Nic., *Indianische Historia*, 579; his expedition, 578.
Felipina, 257.
Ferdinand (Spain), sign-manual, 56, 85; portrait, 85; dies, 88, 310.
Ferdinand and Isabella (cut), 6.
Fergani, Al, 24.
Feria, Pedro de, 256, 257.
Fer-Isabelica, 169.
Fernandez, Alonso, *Hist. eclesiástica*, 399.
Fernandez, Alvaro, 289.
Fernández, León, *Coleccion*, 398.
Fernandez, Val., *Marco Paulo*, etc., 62.
Fernandina. *See* Cuba.
Fernando VI. (Spain), his care of documents, ii.
Ferraro, G., *Relazione*, 62, 156, 162.
Ferrebouc, 47.
Ferrelo (or Ferrer), pilot, 444.
Ferrer, Jaume, his map, 45; his *Sentencias*, 45.
Ferrer, Juan, 256.
Ferro, meridian of, 95.
Feuillet de Conches on pictures of Columbus, 70.
Finæus, Orontius, his globe, 184, 431.
Fiorentino, F. C., *Chroniche*, 62.
Fischer, Augustin, *Biblioteca Méjicana*, 430.
Fischer, Theobald, *Ueber Seekarten*, 93.
Fisher, L. P., on C. de Vaca, 288.
Flavigny, Vicomte de, 410.
Florencia, Fr. de, *Compañia de Jesus*, 399.
Florida, 228, 229, 432, 435, 436, 453; (1520) 218, (1527) 219, (1541) 177, (1542) 226, (1566) 451; abandoned by the Spanish (1561), 260; Ribault in, 260; Laudonnière in, 262; ancient, by J. G. Shea, 231; named, 233; called Cancio, 234; authorities on its history, 292; on Menendez, 292; on Ribault, 293; on Laudonnière, 294, 296; on Gourgues, 297; *La Reprinse de la Floride*, 297; as a name first confined to the peninsula, 275; Indian tribes in, 284; called Isabella, 116; Jesuits in, 282, 399; maps of (Cantino), 108, (Cortés) 404, (Da Vinci) 124, 126, (anon.) 292, (1565) 264, (1591, Lemoine) 274, (Ortelius) 472, (Wytfliet) 281, (others) 275.
Florin, Juan. *See* Verrazano.
Foglietto, *Elogia*, 84.
Folieta, U., *Clarorum Ligurum elogia*, 67.
Folsom, George, on early American discoveries, 34; *Despatches of Cortés*, 410, 411.
Fonseca, Juan Rodriguez, 57; opponent of Las Casas, 310; head of the council for the Indies, 311; opposes Columbus, 91, 311; opposes Cortés, 357, 380.
Fonseca, bay of, 200.
Fontaine, *How the World was Peopled*, 25.
Fontanarossa, Susanna, 89.
Fontaneda, Hern. de Escalante, *Memoir*, 291.
Fonte. *See* De Fonte.
Force, Peter, 337.
Foresti, J. P. (Bergomas), *Supplementum supplementi cronicarum*, 52.
Forlani. *See* Furlani.
Formaleoni, *La marine des Vénitiens*, 36.
Fornari, Baliano de, 66.
Forquevaulx, Sieur de, his papers, 297.
Forster, F., *Columbus*, 69.
Fort Caroline founded, 262; site of, 264, 270, 274; map of, 265; views of, 268, 269; attacked by Menendez, 271.
Fort Louis, 294.
Fortunate Islands, 36. *See* Canary Island.
Foscarini, *Della lett. Ven.*, 30.
Fountain of Youth (Bimini), 283.
Fousang. *See* Fusang.
Fox, G. V., *First Landing-place of Columbus*, 56.
Francesca (1527), 219.
Francino, A., his collection, 182.
Francis of Vittoria, 343.
Franciscans in Hispaniola, 305; in Mexico, 399; histories of, 399.
Franciscus, monk, *De orbis situ*, 431; his map, 431.
Francisque-Michel on Saint-Brandan, 36.
Franck, Sebastian, *Weltbuch*, 421.
Frankfort globe, 118, 122. *See* Schöner.
Frankl, poem on Columbus, 73.
Franklin, Benjamin, on the De Fonte story, 462.
Franquelin, on California, 467.
Freccia, 78.
Freherus, P., *Théâtre*, 73.
Freire, Juan, his map of the California coast, 447.
French standard, shown in view, 269.
Fresnoy, Du, *Méthode pour étudier la géog.*, 298.
Freytas, F. N. de, *Relacion*, 504; edited by J. G. Shea, 504.
Friars in Mexico, 399. See Dominicans, Franciscans, etc.
Friess, Lorenz (Frisius, Phrysius), 125, 173; his mappemonde, 174; *Carta Marina*, 126, 127, 128, 220, 421; map of Antilles, 218, 220.
Frio, Cape, 126, 151; port, 162. *See* Cabo.
Frisius, Gemma, 101; on longitude, 98; annotates Apianus, 183.
Frisius. *See* Friess.
Fritz, Samuel, map of the Amazon, 589.
Fructuoso, Gaspar, *Hist. das ilhas do Porto Santo*, 38.
Fuca. *See* De Fuca.
Fuca Straits, 470.
Fuchsius, *Metoposcopia*, 76.
Fuenleal, Bishop, 391; autog., 391.
Fuente, Alonso de la, 212.
Fuentes, F. de, 518.
Fuentes y Guzman, F. A., *Historia de Guatemala*, 398, 419, 428.
Fulgosus, B., *Collectanea*, 62.
Furlani, Paulo de (Forlani), *Carta nautica*, 439; his maps, 438, (1560) 449, (1562) 439, (1574) 450, 454; sketched, 454.
Fusang, 454, 463, 469.
Fuster, iii.

Gaffarel, Paul, his *Étude sur les rapports de l'Amérique et de l'ancien continent avant Colomb*, 25, 34; his *Découverte du Brésil par Cousin*, 34; his *Hist. du Brésil Français*, 34; *La Floride Française*, 293.
Galardi, Ferd. de, *Traité politique*, 33 65.

Galdivia Mendoza, V. de, 489.
Gali, Francisco (Gaule), 455, 462.
Galiano, 469.
Gallaeus, Philippus, *Enchiridion*, 450.
Gallardo, B., *Ensayo*, etc. 24.
Gallardo, B. J., 422.
Gallatin, Albert, on the Indian tribes, 296; on Aztec civilization, 427; *Ancient Semi-civilization of New Mexico*, 501.
Gallego, 20, 249.
Gallegos, Juan, 486, 496, 497.
Galleon, picture of a, 456.
Gallinas River, 492.
Galliot du Pré, 47.
Gallo, Ant., on Columbus, 52, 89.
Gallo (island), 508, 509, 513.
Gallucci, 420.
Galvarino, 549.
Gama, João da, 466; his land, 466; in the Pacific, 463.
Gama, Vasco da, his portrait, 42; autog., 42; his discovery, 42.
Gambara, *De nov. C. Columbi*, 67.
Gambia River, 40.
Ganges, 113, 435; in the early discoveries, 168.
Garabito, 198, 199, 213.
Garay, Francisco de, 237; his patent, 237; governor of Jamaica, 219; authorities on his voyage, 284; exploits sung by Castellanos, 584; land of, 221; names of his followers, 415; at Pánuco, 382; dies, 383, 503.
Garces, Julian, 343.
Garcia, Juan, 255.
Garcia, Nuña, de Toreno, his map, 43.
Garcia de Resende, *Choronica*, 90.
Garibay, *Isla de Santo Domingo*, 280.
Gasca, Pedro de la, likenesses, 539, 540; president of Peru, 539; enters Cusco, 542; leaves Peru, 542; his reports, 568; authorities on his career, 569; his papers, 569.
Gassarum, A. P. *Libellus*, 421.
Gastaldi, Jacopo, 433; *Notizie di Gastaldi*, 435.
Gaule. *See* Gali.
Gay, Sydney Howard, "Amerigo Vespucci," 129.
Gayangos, P. de, 47, 400; his autog., 408; edits Marmolejo, 573; *Cartas de Cortés*, 402, 408, 411; *Catalogue of Spanish manuscripts*, vii.
Gayarré, *Louisiana*, 292.
Gaye, Claudio, *Historia de Chile*, 572.
Gayon, Gonzalo, 260.
Gazetta letteraria universale, 222.
Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 44.
Gazlelu, Domingo de, 564.
Gelves, Nuño, 89.
Génard on Ortelius, 471.
Genoa, birthplace of Columbus, 84; Academy of, 65; investigate birthplace of Columbus, 84; archives of, iv; home of Columbus, 78; notarial records of, iv; papers at, 89.
George of Spires, 579.
Georgia (island), 151.
Geography, histories of, 93.
Geraldinus, Alex., 4; his *Itinerarium*, 4.
German efforts at settling South America, 581; search for Eldorado, 584.
Geslin, 50.
Ghillany, *Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Behaim*, 35.
Giants in Patagonia, 600; skeleton of, 602; seen by Drake, 602; named from their large feet, 603.
Gibbons, Edward, of Boston, 462.
Gil Gonzalez de Avila, 199, 200. *See* Davila.
Gila River, 485.
Gilbert, Sir H., map, 452.
Gilles de Gourmont, 158.
Gino Capponi, Marquis, *Osservazioni* on Vespucius, 155.
Giocondo, Giovanni, 146; the architect, 159, 163, 164.
Giocondo, Giuliano B. del, 146
Giornale Ligustico, 102.
Giovio. *See* Jovius.
Girava, *Cosmographia*, 438; its title-page, 437; descriptions of America, 186.
Giron, Francisco Hernandez, 542; enters Cusco, 545; retreats and is captured, 545; his rebellion, 577.
Giuntini, F., v.
Giustiniani (Agostino), 90; *Psalter*, 64; fac-similes of page, 63; *Annali di Genoa*, 64.
Glareanus, Henricus, 116, 176; *Geographia*, 25; its bibliography, 25.
Glas, Geo., *Conquest of the Canaries*, 36.
Globe, sphericity of, 104; picture of an ancient one, 437. *See* Earth.
Globus mundi, 171, 172.
Goatitlan, 374.
Godfrey, Thomas, his mariner's bow, 101.
Godin in Peru, 590; adventures of his wife, 590.
Godoy, his report to Cortés, 411.
Gohory, J., *La terre neuve de Peru*, 564.
Golfo Chinan, 451.
Gold coast, 40.
Golding, Arthur, translation of Mela, 186.
Goldson, William, *Passage between the Atlantic and Pacific*, 463; *Straits of Anian*, 456.
Gomara, Francisco Lopez, account of, 412; his access to documents, 412; translated by Chimalpain, 412; his *Historia general de las Indias*, 412, 563; descriptions of America, 186; on the Cortereals, 107; *Conquista de Mexico*, 412; on Peru, 412; *Cronica de la Nueva España*, 412; *Historia del Capitano Cortés*, 412; *Historia de México*, 412; *Conquista de México*, 412; *Hispania Victrix*, with fac-simile of title, 413; *Pleasant Historie*, 414; *Conquista di Messico*, 414; abridged in Eden's *Decades*, 414; in Hakluyt, 414; bibliography of, by Brevoort, 414.
Gomberville, 589.
Gomez, Estevan, 241; on the North American coast, 241; with Magellan, 606; deserts, 607.
Gomez, Francis, 241.
Gomez, Pedro, with Valdivia, 528.
Gomez, archipelago of, 224.
Gonzaga, F., *De origine religionis Franciscanæ*, 399.
Gonzales de la Rosa, Manuel, 567; edits *Cieza de Leon*, 574.
Good Hope, Cape of, 41.
Goodall, B., *Tryall of Travell*, 68.
Goodrich, *Life of so-called Christopher Columbus*, 33, 69.
Goos, Abraham, his map, 462.
Gordillo, Francisco, sails to Florida, 238; his expedition, 285.
Gorgona (island), 509, 511, 513.
Gorricio, Gaspar, iv, 26, 89.
Gossellin, *Géog. des Grecs*, 101.
Gourgues, Domenic de, his attack on Florida, 280; "the avenger of the Huguenots," 298; *La reprinse de la Floride*, 297; different manuscripts of it, 297, 298; no Spanish authorities, 297; a slaver, 297.
Goyeneche, Juan de, his life of Solis, 424.
Gracias á Dios, Cape, 21.
Graham on the hourly variation of the needle, 100.
Grajales, Mendoza, 270.
Gran Quivira, 494. *See* Quivira.
Granada, arms of, 48; captured, 50; *In laudem*, etc., 50.
Granada (island), 226, 588.
Grand (isle), fabulous, 36.
Grand Turk Island, 55.
Grant, Fort, 482.
Grantham, Lord, ii.
Grapes in Peru, 547.
Gravier, Gabriel, edits Challeux, 296; *Rech. sur les navigations Européens*, 42; *Le Canarien*, 36, 39; *Les Normands sur la route des Indes*, 25.
Gravier, N. F., *Saint-Dié*, 162.
Gravière, J. de la, *Les marins*, 7, 83.
Gray, Capt., in the "Washington," 470.
Great Circle, 25.
Great Exuma (island), 55.
Great Inaqua (island), 55.
Greco (northeast), 94.
Greenhow, *Oregon and California*, 455; on the Oregon question, 469; *Northwest Coast*, 461.
Greenland, a peninsula of Europe, 28, 111, 123, 433; relations with Iceland, 33; seen by Cortereal, 109; on early maps, 28; in the Cantino map, 109; called by various names (Grotlandia), 432; (Grutlandia) 451, 453; (Gronlandia) 434, 435; (Groenland) 472; (Groenlant) 452, 459; (Gruenlant) 115; (Gronland) 175; (Terra nova) 446, 447.
Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 495.
Gregoire, Bishop of Blois, his *Apologie*, 325.
Greiff, B., 162.
Grieninger, Johannes, 128.
Grijalva, Juan de, 349, 351, 354; his expedition, v, 203, 215, 402, 403; sails with Garay (1523), 238; *Cronica*, 399; *Itinerario*, 397; portrait, 216.
Grimaldi, 48.
Grimaldo, 93.
Grimm, Sigmund, 408.
Grimston, Edw., 421.
Groclant, 459, 472.
Grothe, H., his *Leonardo da Vinci*, 31.
Grüninger, printer, 169.
Grynæus, *Novus Orbis*, 62.
Guachoyanque, 253.
Guadalaxara, 474.
Guadalupe, 374; Our Lady of, 399; *Coleccion*, 400.
Guaguanico, 351.
Guahan, 611.
Guale, 278.
Guale (Amelia) Island, 282.
Gualterotti, R., *L'America*, 154.
Guamanga, 536, 537.
Guanahani, 52, 92, 224; (Guanahan) 221; (Ganahani) 226; (Guanao) 177; Ponce de Leon at, 233.
Guanape, 558.
Guandape, 241.
Guanima, 233.
Guanuco, 558.
Guarico, 558.
Guastecan, 472.
Guatari River (Wateree), 285.
Guatemala, 221; audiencia of, 460; *Coleccion de doc. antig.*, 398, 419; the *Proceso* against Alvarado, 419; Remesal as an authority, 419; Vasquez' *Chronica*, 419; *Historia* of Fuentes y Guzman, 419; the *Compendio* of Domingo Juavros, 419; expedition to, under Alvarado, 383; map, 384; sources of its history, 398, 419.
Guaxule, 247.
Guayaquil, 509.
Guayaquil, Gulf of, 511.
Guazzo, Marco, *Historie*, 576.
Guérin, Leon, *Navigateurs Français*, 34, 298.
Guerra, C., 109, 187, 204, 205.
Guevara, Juan de, 207.
Guibert, M. C., *Mémoires de Dieppe*, 34.
Guicciardini, *Hist. d'Italia*, 154.
Guinea coast, 39.
Gumilla, *El Orinoco*, 587.
Guss, A. L., "Early Indian History of the Susquehanna," 283.
Gutierrez, J, R., 570.
Guyas, 491.
Guzman, Alonso Enriques de, 566; his autobiography, 567.

Guzman, Diego de, expedition to Sinaloa, 503.
Guzman, Fernando de, his revolt, 582.
Guzman, Nuño Beltran de, 473; his expedition to Ciguatan, 499; distresses the vessels of Cortés, 441, 442; avoids Cortés, 442; expedition to Pánuco, 386, 503; to New Gallicia, 391, 503; invades Jalisco, 387; in Mexico, 395; account of his trial, 398.
Guzman, Pero Nuñez de, 233.
Guzman, S., *El peregrino Indiano*, 430.

Haag, *La France protestante*, 298.
Hacke, *Collection of Voyages*, 466.
Hackit, Thomas, 293; his *Florida*, 293.
Hadley's quadrant, 101.
Hagen, Von der, 179.
Hagenberg, Francis, 471.
Hain, *Repertorium*, 48.
Hakluyt, on Drake's discovery, 455; *Notable History*, 293; *Voyages*, 498.
Hale, E. E., copy of a drawing of a buffalo, 489; on Coronado's discovery, 503; procures Cortés' map of California, 442; discovers original of the name of California, 443; *His Level Best*, 443; "Magellan's discovery," 591; *Seven Spanish Cities*, 6; on Palos, 6.
Hallam, H., *Literature of Europe*, 57, 571.
Halley and the magnetic poles, 95; on terrestrial magnetism, 100.
Hammocks (cut), 11; in Brazil, 596; figured, 597.
Hansen, Léonard de, life of Santa Rosa, 560; *La bienaventurada Rosa*, 560; other versions, 560.
Hardy, Jules, *Les Dieppois en Guinée*, 39.
Harley, Edward, 226.
Haro, C. de, 615.
Haro, H. de, 519, 520.
Harrassowitz, *Rarissima Americana*, 157.
Harris, John, the fac-similist, 50.
Harris, *Collection of Voyages*, 467.
Harrisse, H., his proposed *Americ Vespuce*, 155; on Ferdinand Columbus, 66; criticised by Stevens, 66; his *D. Fernando Colon*, 66; his *Fernand Colomb*, 66; *Les Cortèreals*, 33; *Les sépultures de Colomb*, 80; *Los restos de Colon*, 83; his *Cabots*, 93; *Christophe Colomb*, 88; *Notes on Columbus*, privately printed, viii; his *Histoire de C. Colomb attribuée à son fils*, 66; *Les restes mortels de Colomb*, 83; *Colomb et la Corse*, 84; *Les Colombo*, 86; Desjardin on, viii.
Hatteras, Cape, 285.
Hauslab, Freiherr von, his globes, 171.
Havana, 226, 230, 353; plundered by the French, 262; view of, 202.
Havana (San Cristoval), 351.
Hawkins, Sir John, 262.
Hawkins, Sir Richard, captured, 561.
Haxa, 492.
Haynes, Henry W., "Early Explorations of New Mexico," 473; favors the Zuñi theory of the Seven Cities, 503.
Hayti (1529), 221; (1541) 177. *See* Hispaniola, Santo Domingo.
Hazard, Samuel, *Santo Domingo*, 71, 81, 88.
Helps, Sir Arthur, 337; *Conquerors of the New World*, 428; *Spanish Conquest of America*, 69, 204, 428; *Life of Cortés*, 428; his map of Cortés' voyage, 353; *Life of Pizarro*, 578, *Life of Columbus*, 69; *Life of Las Casas*, 343; his map of the Valley of Mexico, 369.
Hemez, 495.
Hennepin, bibliography of, 67; his maps of the Pacific coast, 466.
Henriquez, Martin, viceroy of Peru, 557.
Henry (Prince), the navigator, 2; portrait (cut), 39; autog., 39; lives of, 40.
Henshaw, H. W., 481.
Hermano, Diego, 439.
Hermano de Toledo, 454.
Hernandez, Pero, *Comentarios*, 286.
Herrera, A. de, his life of Vaca de Castro, 567; on Balbóa, 211; his picture of Columbus, 71; on Columbus, 67; account of, 67; drew largely from Las Casas, 67, 340; bibliography of, 67; his *Historia general*, i, 67, 213, 424, 563; his *Descripcion*, 67; edited by Barcia, 67; editions of, 68; in Vander Aa, Hulsius, etc., 68; translated by John Stevens, 68, 563; Robertson's opinion of it, 424; on Lake Parima, 587; and Magellan, 616; maps (1601), 460; edited by Van Baerle, 461; charges Vespucius with falsifying dates, 154; historiographer, 563.
Herries, William, 11.
Hesperides (1541), 177.
Hessels, J. H., 50.
Hevia, Diego de, 278.
Heylin, *Cosmographie*, 466, 587.
Heyn, Peeter, *Miroir du Monde*, 472; epitome of Ortelius, 472.
Hinojosa, Pedro de, 540.
Hipparchus and lunar tables, 99.
Hispaniola, 435, 437; (1541) 177; (Española) 106, 110; (Espanholla) 108; (Espagnolla) 226; (Hispaniæ insula) 122; (Isabella) 114, 126; (Spagnola) 115, 123, 128, 175, 218, 223, 228, 229, 451; (Spagnolla) 111, 116, 118, 170, 183, 450; (Spagnollo) 125: (Spagnuola) 188; (Spaniola) 217, 432; Columbus at, 13; fruits of (cut), 16; mines, 16; map of, ascribed to Columbus, 104; other early maps, 105; map (1534), 188; name, 10; native houses (cut), 11; curing of sick (cut), 11. *See* Hayti, Santo Domingo.
Hochelaga (Ochelai), 451.
Höfer, *Nouv. biog. gén.*, 83.
Hogenberg, *Civitates*, 5. *See* Braun.
Hojeda. *See* Ojeda.
Holbein, 446.
Holguin, Pedro Alvarez de, 534; life of, 577; killed, 536.
Homann, and Lake Parima, 587; his map (1719), 467
Homem, Diego, map of the Moluccas, 441; map (1540) 446; map (1558), 227, 229, 448; (1568) 449; *Atlante maritimo*, 449.
Hondius, Jodocus, his map of Gulf of California, 461; his circumpolar map, 461; *Caerte van Guiana*, 587.
Hondius-Mercator atlas (1613), 461. *See* Mercator.
Honduras, Olid's expedition to, 382; map, 384; Cortés in, 385; discovered, 191.
Höniger, Nic., translates Benzoni, 347.
Honoratus, Fray, 475.
Honter, bibliography of, 122; new maps (1561), 123; *Rudimentorum cosmographiæ libri*, 122, 176.
Hooke, R., 424.
Horn, *Ulyssea*, 34.
Hour-glass, 437.
Howarth, George, 357.
Hoz, Alonzo de, 548.
Hoz, Pedro Sanchos de, 528.
Huallaga River, 519, 581.
Huamachuco, 520.
Huamanga, 520; founded, 523.
Huanachuco, 519.
Huancabamba, 516, 519.
Huancavelica, 561.
Huanuco, 519, 520; settled, 527.
Huarina, 519, 541; war of, 574.
Huascar, 514.
Huasco, 524.
Huayna Capac, 514
Hüber, Wolfgang, 160.
Huelen-Guala, 528.
Huet, Bishop, 420.
Huguenots in Florida, 293 *et seq.*; hated by the Spanish, 262.
Hugues, Luigi, 616.
Hulsius, Levinus, his map "Americæ pars australis," 587.
Humaña, Juan de, 504.
Humboldt, Alex., his *Examen critique*, 68, 178; autog., 68; *Krit. Untersuchungen*, 68; introduction to Ghillany's *Behaim*, 68; his *Voyage aux régions équinoxiales*, 206; *Personal Narrative*, 206, 287, 375; *Essai politique*, 375; dissipated the myth of Eldorado, 589; defence of Vespucius, 178.
Hurtado, 198.
Hutchinson, *Two Years in Peru*, 516.
Huten, Philip von, his expedition, 581.
Huts in trees, native, 514.
Hylacomylus. *See* Waldseemüller.

Ibarra, B. de, 106.
Ibarra, Diego, 504.
Ibarra, F. de, 504.
Icaria, 472.
Icazbalceta, J. G., 397; autog., 397; *Apuntes para un catálogo*, etc., 417; *Coleccion de documentos*, 397, 498; *Diccionario*, 400; edits Mendieta, 422; on Lorenzana, 408; prints a secret letter of Cortés, 411; *Vida de Cortés*, 428.
Iceland (Islandia), 434; visited by Columbus, 33.
Ichuse, 257.
Ideler, J. L., 68.
Ilacomylus. *See* Waldseemüller.
Illapel, 524.
Imperial (town in Chili), 548.
Inca Titus and the crown of Peru, 325.
Inca empire, early reports of, 199
Incas. *See* Yncas.
India in Pomponius Mela's map, 180.
India Superior, 176. *See* Asia.
Indian Ocean as an inland sea, 95, 165.
Indians, other advocates of, than Las Casas, 343; described by Las Casas, 318; estimates of numbers at the time of European contact, 327; early cuts of, 159, 162; enslaved by the Spaniards, 303; sedentary, 473; pueblo, 473; the Spaniards' relations to, 299; as found by Columbus, 300; why so named, 169.
Indies, council for the, and the publication of maps, 471; their archives, i. *See* Council.
Infantado, Duque del, 89; his manuscripts, viii.
Inga, 579; *West-Indische Spieghel*, 462.
Inghirami, Fedia, 58.
Inquisition in Peru, 557; in Spain, 301, 305; history by Llorente, 325.
Inventio fortunata, 95.
Irving, Pierre, *Life of W. Irving*, vi.
Irving, Theo., *Florida and De Soto*, 290.
Irving, Washington, his *Columbus*, vi, 68; *Companions of Columbus*, vi, 204; manuscript of his account of Columbus at Barcelona, 56; on portraits of Columbus, 71; on Vespucius, 155.
Isabella (of Spain), sign-manual, 56; her will, 316, 343; dies, 23, 319; her character, 5; story of her jewels pledged, 91.
Isabella (city), 16.
Isabella. *See* Cuba.
Isleta, 489.
Isnardi, F., *Dissertazione*, 84; *Nuovi doc.*, 84; *Patria di Colombo*, 73.
Italian travellers, 93.
Italy and American discovery, 2; Geographical Society, 93.

Iturri on Muñoz, iii.
Ivagana, 611.
Ixtlilxochitl, *Historia Chichimeca*, 417; his works on New Spain, 417; *Horribles crueldades*, 417; *Noticias*, 417; *Hist. des Chichimiques*, 417; *Rois de Tezcuco*, 417; *Relaciones*, 411, 417.
Iztapalapa, 369, 374, 376, 379.
Iztapalatzinco, 369.

Jack-staff, 98, 99. *See* Back-staff, Cross-staff.
Jahresbericht der tech. Anstalten in Nürnberg, 119.
Jal, A., *Archéologie navale*, 7; *La France maritime*, 12; *De Paris à Naples*, 12.
Jalisco, 387.
Jamaica, 128, 201, (1511) 110, (1529) 221, (1534) 223, (1541) 177, (Jamaca) 226, (Jamaicha) 219, (Jamaiqua) 229, (Jamayca) 217, (Jamacqua) 218; Columbus at, 22; a granary, 191; map, 450; settled, 214.
Jamestown, its site occupied by the early Spaniards, 241.
Janequeo, 561.
Jannson, *Monde maritime*, 462; *Orbis maritimus*, 462; edits *Mercator-Hondius Atlas*, 462.
Janvier, *Atlas moderne*, 469.
Japan, 452, (Cimpaga) 438; (Giapan) 451, 454, (Iapon) 464, (Zipangri) 170; in Ortelius, 472; in Toscanelli's map, 101. *See* Cipango.
Japanese map of the Pacific coast, 460.
Jaramillo, Juan de, 258; *Relacion*, 500.
Jaume. *See* Ferrer.
Jayme, Juan, 40; his Declinatorium, 100.
Jefferson, Thomas, his picture of Columbus, 73; engraved, 74.
Jefferys's map of De Fonte's narrative, 469; *Northwest Coast*, 460; translates Muller's voyages to the northwest, 469.
Jemez, 495.
Jequetepeque, 516.
Jerez, G. de, 511.
Jeronymites, 311.
Jesso (island), 463; in the maps, 463; depicted by Hennepin, 464; (Terro Esonis), 467.
Jesuits in Florida, 282; in Mexico, 399; in Peru, 552.
Joan Baptista, Fray, 422.
Jocundus. *See* Giocondo.
John of Gaunt, 39.
Jomard on likenesses of Columbus, 70; *Monument à Colomb*, 74.
Jones, C. C., Jr., on De Soto's route, 291.
Jordan River, 240, 292; whence named 285; (Pedee) 260.
Josse, A. L., 424.
Jourdanet, Denis, edits Sahagun, 417; *La pression de l'air sur la vie de l'homme*, 375; his map of the Valley of Mexico, *heliotype*, 375; *Histoire véridique*, 415.
Journal of the Franklin Institute, 94.
Journal of the Military Service Institution, 375.
Jovius, Paulus, *Elogia*, 29, 67, 70, 71, 72; his gallery, 72; portrait, 70.
Juan Ponce, Bay of, 283
Juan y Ulloa, *El meridiano de demarcacion*, 45.
Juarros, Domingo, his *Guatemala*, 419.
Judæis. *See* Judæus.
Judæus, Cornelius de, his map, 457; *Speculum*, 457.
Jujuy, 525.
Julius II., Pope, 120.

Kaempfer, 460.
Kalbfleisch, C. H., 113, 163, 173.
Kansas City Review, 467.
Karaikes, 601.
Keating, Maurice, edits Bernal Diaz, 415.
Kemenettes, 601.
Kendall, Abraham, in Guiana, 587.
Kendrick, Capt., in the "Columbia," 470.
Kern, R. H., map by, 502.
Kerr, *Voyages*, 67, 162.
Kettell, Samuel, translates Columbus' Journal, or *Personal Narrative*, 46.
Keymis, with Raleigh, 587.
Kingsborough, his bound tracts on Mexico and Peru, 399; his text of Sahagun, 416.
Kino, Father, explorations in California, 467; his map, 467.
Kirk, J. F., 427; criticises R. A. Wilson, 427; edits Prescott's *Peru*, 578.
Kitchen's map shows Lake Parima, 587.
Klöoen, K. von, "Die Welser," 579.
Klunzinger, Karl, *Antheil der Deutschen an der Entdeckung von Südamerika*, 579.
Klüpfèl, Karl, 579.
Knight, A. G., *Columbus*, 69.
Koerius, Petrus, his maps, 464.
Kohl, Dr. J. G., on discovery in the Gulf of Mexico, 404; his collection of maps, 93; his manuscript at Worcester, 127; his studies of the cartography of the Pacific coast, 431; his manuscript memoir on this subject, 127, 431; on Magellan's Straits in *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde in Berlin*, 617; republished as *Magellan's Strasse*, 617; *Lost Maps*, 117.
Kolno. *See* Szkolny.
Koppe, K. W., 410.
Kries, *Magellan-Reise*, 615.
Kublai Khan, 42
Külb, 564.
Küsker, B., 51.

La Caille, 276.
La Condamine, 590; descends the Amazon, 590.
La Cosa, Juan de, his map, 106; account of, 106. *See* Cosa.
La Croix, *Algemeene Weereld Beschryving*, 378.
La Cruz, his map, 587.
La Harpe, *Abrégé des voyages*, 463.
La Paz, 442.
La Pérouse, 470.
La Plata, 446, 450; Magellan at, 598; called early by Solis, 605. *See* Plata.
La Roche, Jean de, 262.
La Salle, Cavelier de, his connection with Peñalosa, 504; place of his death, 294.
Labanoff, Alex., his maps, 93.
Labazares, Guido de, 256.
Laborde, J. B. *Mer du sud*, 468; *Voyage pittoresque*, 389.
Labrador, 435, 436, 450, 451; (Lavorador) 219; (Laborador) 228, 453; (terra laboratorum) 122; early visits to, 34.
Lacio, publisher, 412.
Ladrones, 438, 610; Pigafetta's map of, 611, 614.
Laet, J. de, map of Lake Parima, 587, 588.
Lafitau, *Découv. des Portugais*, 42.
Lafreri, *Geografia*, 432.
Lafuente y Alcántara, 47.
Lake, Arthur, 11.
Lamartine, *C. Colomb*, 83.
Lambert, Jehan, 157.
Lambert, T. H., on the origin of the name America, 179.
Landa, Diego de, *Relation de Yucatan*, 429.
Landon, *Galerie historique*, 73.
Langeac, *Colomb*, 68.
Langeron on Magellan, 617.
Lanjuinas, J. D., *Colomb*, 84; *Études*, 84.
Laon globe, 28.
Lapie on Maldonado, 456; in *Nouv. annales des voyages*, 463.
Larousse, *Grand dict. universel*, 68.
Las Alas, Estevan de, 278.
Las Casas, Antoine, 304.
Las Casas, Bartholomew, chapter on, by Geo. E. Ellis, 299; his birth, 303; arrives in America, 21; ordained at Hispaniola, 305; goes to Cuba, 305; goes to Spain (1515), 307; returns to Indies, 307; other visits to Spain, 308; enters a convent (1522), 313, 333; made bishop of Chiapa, 314; dies, 314; his character, 306, 330; his exaggerations, 313, 318, 324, 326, 327, 328, 332; relations to slavery, 304, 312, 325, 326; on encomiendas, 537; his colony at Cumana, 313; his memorials to the Crown, 317; his "Propositions," 321, 335; opposed by Oviedo and Sepulveda, 314, 331; his opponents, 343; charges against him, 326, 343; supported by Herrera and Torquemada, 326; reviewed by Prescott, 328; his portrait, 332; his autog., 333; authorities on his career, 331; lives of him, 343; by Fabié, 343; by Helps, 343; by H. H. Bancroft, 343; by Prescott, 343; by Llorente, 324, 340; his writings, 313, 325; bibliography of, 333; his *Obras* (Llorente's edition), 324, 340; *Œuvres*, 340; *Apologética hist.*, 340; his unpublished writings, 337; *Carta* (1520), 337; *Carta* (1545), 337; *Carta* (1554), 337; *Historia de las Indias*, vii, 89, 174, 317, 339; fac-simile of indorsement on it, 339; *Conquista dell' Indie*, 342; his use of documents, ii; on De Soto, 254; on Columbus, ii; abridges the Journal of Columbus, 46, 91; his nine tracts, 333, 335; *Brevissima relacion*, 333; fac-simile of title, 334; *Cancionero spiritual*, 333; *Lo que se signe*, etc., 335; *Entre los remedios*, 335; *Aqui se cōtienē unos*, etc., 335; fac-simile of its title, 336; *Aqui se contiene una disputa*, 335; *Este es un tratado*, 335; *Proposiciones*, 335; fac-simile of title, 338; *Principia*, 335; *Tratado*, 335; *Explicatio*, 337; reprinted as *Las obras*, 337; translations of his tracts, 341; *Tyrannies et cruautez*, 341; *The Spanish Colonie*, 341; *Tears of the Indians*, 341; *Seer cort Verhael*, 341; *Spieghel der Sp. Tirannije*, 341; *Histoire admirable des horribles insolences*, 341; *Le miroir de la tyrannie*, 341; *Histoire des Indes*, 351; *La découverte des Indes*, 341; *Relation des voyages*, 341; *Relation of the first voyages*, 342; *Newe Welt*, 342; *Narratio regionum Indicarvm*, 342; De Bry's engravings, 342; *Account of the first voyages*, 342; *Popery truly displayed*, 342; *Old England for ever*, 342; *Warhafftiger Bericht*, 342; *Umbständige warhafftige Beschreibung*, 342; *Regionum Indicarum*, 342; *Istoria*, 342; *Il supplice*, etc., 342; *La libertà pretesa*, 342.
Las Casas, Francisco de, 200.
Las Cases (Napoleon's chamberlain), 304.
Lasso de la Vega, Gabriel, his *Cortés valeroso*, 354; *Mexicana*, 354; his likeness, 355.
Latitude, errors in, 96; first use of, 95.
Latitude and longitude, earliest instance of, in Spanish maps, 224.
Laudonnière, René, builds Fort Caroline, 262; *L'histoire notable*, 293; *Notable History*, 293; Lemoyne's account, 296; *Brevis narratio*, 296; Challeux' *Discours*, 296.
Lautaro, 548; victorious, 549; killed, 549.
Lavazares, Guido de, 504.

Lavradio, Count de, 42.
Laws, early Spanish, respecting the New World, 347; of Mexico, 401. *See* New Laws.
Laycal Bay, 55.
Le Clercq, *Etablissement de la Foy*, 244.
Le Verrier, 36.
League, its length, 45.
Lebrija, Ant. de, *Prudentii Opera*, 64.
Ledesma, Pedro de, 176, 204.
Lefroy, J. H., *Memorials of Bermuda*, 110.
Legaspi, M. L. de, 616.
Leguina, Enrique de, *La Cosa*, 107.
Leguizamo, Marcio Sierra de, 556, 570.
Leigh, Sir Thomas, 464.
Leisler, Governor, 76.
Lelewel, Joachim, *Die Entdeckung der Carthager auf dem Atlantischen Ocean*, 36; his map of the Atlantic according to the ancients (cut), 37; makes an hypothetical map (1501-1503), 109; on Ortelius, 471, 472.
Lemaire, *Speculum*, 602.
Lemoyne de Morgues, Jacques, his account of Laudonnière's expedition, 296; *Brevis narratio*, 296; translated by Perkins, 296.
Lenox, James, on the Columbus letters, 47; his wood-cut map (1534), 222; fac-simile of, 223; his globe, sketch of, 123, 170; Lenox Library, 158; Spanish documents in, iii.
Leo Africanus, 163; his *Afrique*, 163.
Leon, Cieza de, treatment of natives, 556.
Leon, Jean. *See* Leo Africanus.
Lepage, H., *René et Vespuce*, 164.
Lepe, Diego de, 109, 188; his voyage, 149; authorities on his voyage, 204, 205; his map, 205.
Leroz, *Geographia de la America*, 288.
Lester, Charles Edwards, 139.
Letera de la nobil cipta, 576.
Lettres édifiantes, 467.
Leucaton, 549.
Levante (east), 94.
Leven van Columbus, 69.
Levinus Apollonius, 297.
Lexona, 408.
Leyes y ordenanças, 347.
Libri's library, 166.
Lichte der Zee-Vaert, 97.
Light of Navigation, 97.
Lightfoote, William, *Complaints of England*, 341.
Lilio, Z., *De origine*, etc., 58.
Lilius, *Orbis breviarium*, 25.
Lima, 513, 519, 558; accounts of its founding, 567; colleges at, 561; councils at, 552, 557; founded, 510, 522; called "Ciudad de los Reyes," 522.
Linati, *Costûmes de Mexique*, 362.
Lindenau, *Corresp. de Zach*, 221.
Linschoten *Itinerario*, 457; editions of, 457; Wolfe's translation, 459; copies of, 459; maps in, 457; *Navigatio*, 460; *Histoire de la navigation*, 460; *Description de l'Amérique*, 460; *Beschryvinge*, etc., 460; the Dutch editions used as sea-manuals, 460; in De Bry, 460; bibliography in Sabin, 460; his life, 460.
Lions (islands), 599.
Lippincott's Magazine, 71.
Lisbon, archives of the Torre do Tombo, ii, viii, 90; Royal Academy, their *Noticias para nações ultramarinas*, 173, 616.
Livres payés en vente publique 1,000 *francs*, 27.
Llama, 505.
Llorente, Juan Antonio, biographer and editor of Las Casas, 304, 324; history of the Inquisition, 325; his work on the Popes, 325.
Loaysa, Alonzo de, 543.
Loaysa, Garcia de, 440.
Loaysa, Geronimo, bishop, 537; archbishop of Lima dies, 557.
Lockhart, John I., *Memoirs of Diaz*, 415.
Log, invention of, 98.
Lok, Michael, his map, 454.
Lomas Colmenares, J. B. de, 504.
Lombards (guns), 7.
Long Island (Bahamas), 55.
Longfellow, H. W., on Irving, vi.
Longitude, errors in, 98; first use of, 95; more or less uncertain at sea to-day, 101; rewards of accurate methods, 100. *See* Latitude.
Lope de Sosa, 209.
Lope de Vega, on the Araucanian war, 572.
Lopes, Pero, 596.
Lopez de Haro, *Nobilario*, 88.
Lopez, Diego, 492.
Lopez, map of Mexico, 375.
Lorea, Ant. de, 560.
Lorenzana, *Cartas pastorales*, 400; edits records of ecclesiastical councils, 399; *Nueva España*, 408, 443; account of him, 408; *Historia de Méjico*, 408; his map of New Spain (*heliotype*), 359; on Viscaino, 461.
Lorgues, R. de, *Satan contre Colomb*, 69; *La croix dans les deux mondes*, 69; *Chr. Colomb*, 69; *L'ambassadeur de Dieu*, 69.
Los Rios, Pedro de, 200.
Lota, 524.
Löwenstern, I., on likenesses of Columbus, 70.
Loyola, Martin Garcia, 553; governor of Chili, 561; killed, 562; sources of information, 573.
Lucanas, 527, 544.
Lucayan Islands, map, 61; their natives carried to Hispaniola, 321.
Lucayoneque, 238.
Lud, Walter, 145, 162, 471; noticed by Henry Stevens, 162; his *Speculum*, 62, 145, 163.
Lugtenberg, his map, 464.
Lugo, F. de, 580.
Lugo, Luis Alonzo de, 800; of New Granada, 581.
Lugo, Montalvo de, 581.
Luguna, 489, 501.
Luis, missionary, 497.
Lullius, Raymond, *Arte de navegar*, 96, 98.
Luna, Gomez de, 534.
Luna y Arellano, Tristan de, 257; his expedition, 258; returned to Cuba, 259.
Lunar tables, 99
L'univers pittoresque, 296.
Luque, Hernando, 505, 507; made bishop of Tumbez, 512; died, 526.
Lyuro das obras de Garcia de Resende, 56.

MacDonald, M., *Guatemozin*, 430.
Macedo, notice of Ortelius, 471.
Machin discovers Madeira, 38.
Machiparo, 582.
Mackenzie, A. S., 53.
Macoya, 279.
Macrobius, 28.
Macuelas, Juan, 257.
Madden, Sir Frederick, 337.
Madeira discovered, 38; as first meridian, 95.
Madrid, Academy of History, publications on American history, vii; Royal Academy, *Memorias*, 70; Soc. Geog., *Boletin*, 72.
Maella, M., 76.
Maese de Campo, 271.
Maffeius, 62; *Commentariorum urbanorum libri*, 421; *Historiarum indicarum libri*, 457.
Magalhaens. *See* Magellan.
Magalhaes de Gandavo, 154.
Magasin pittoresque, 72, 296.
Magdalen (Indian women), 255.
Magdalena (Florida river), 243, 288.
Magdalena (South American river), 189, 513.
Magellan, Fernando de, career, 591; different forms of his name, 591; autog., 592; sails on his expedition, 592; portraits of, 72, 75, 76, 593, 594, 595; his fleet, 593; quarrels with Juan de Carthagena, 596, 599; at Rio de Janeiro, 596; at La Plata, 598; at Port Desire, 599; mutiny there, 599; executes Mendoza and Quesada, 599; sees a giant, 600; fights the natives, 601; takes possession of Patagonia, 604; observes eclipse of sun, 604; in the straits, 606; reaches the Pacific, 608; his track in the Pacific, 609; map of it, 610; at the Ladrones, 611; at the Philippines, 612; killed, 612; sources of information for the voyage, 613; Pigafetta's diary, 613, 614; Max. Transylvanus' letter, 615; lost account by Peter Martyr, 615; documents in Navarrete, 615; manuscript ascribed to Magellan, 615; enumeration of his companions, 615; accounts by Stanley, Major, etc., 617; bibliography of, 617; documents published by the Hakluyt Society, 616; account by Genoese pilot, 616; shows how Magellan followed the Antarctic current, 616; account in Oviedo, 616; in Herrera, 616; the *Noticia* of Navarrete, 617.
Magellan's Straits, 435, 436, 446, 450 (1534), 223; (1541) 177; treatise on its history by Kohl, 617; by Wieser, 617; named after the Eleven thousand Virgins by its discoverer, 604, 605; prefigured on Behaim's map, 604; Pigafetta's map, 605; called "Streto Patagonico," 605; voyage of the "Santa Maria de la Cabeza," 593.
Magini, J. A., edits Ptolemy, 457.
Magnet, history of the, 94; variation of, 94; lines of no variation, 95. *See* Compass, Needle.
Magnetic curves, charts of, 100.
Magnetic pole, 95.
Maida (island), 451, 453.
Maiollo, map of America (1527), 94, 219, 220.
Major, R H., *Select Letters of Columbus*, 10, 47; *Conquest of the Canaries*, 36; on date of Columbus' birth, 83; on the Da Vinci map, 124; on Vespucius, 178; *Prince Henry the Navigator*, 40, 617: *Discoveries of Prince Henry*, 617.
Mala, 519, 526.
Maldonado, 21.
Maldonado (artist), 362.
Maldonado, Diego, 503; seeks De Soto, 253.
Maldonado, Francisco, 250.
Maldonado, Lorenzo Ferrer de, his disputed voyage, 455; authorities for, 455; *Viaggio*, 456; Memoir by Lapie, 456; map, 468.
Maldonado, Pedro de, 542.
Maldonado, Roderigo, 486, 492.
Malhado Island, 244.
Malipiero, Dominico, 106.
Malloy, Charles, *Affairs maritime*, 83.
Malpica, 72.
Malte-Brun, 164; *Hist. de la géog.*, 30.
Manca, Ynca, 520; at Vilcabamba, 546; neglected, 524; heads an army, 524; defeated by Orgoñez, 526.
Mandaña, 561.
Mandeville, John de, influences Columbus, 27; *Itinerarius*, 30.
Maneiro, *De vitis Mexicanorum*, 429.
Mangi, 42, 105, 118, 438, 454, 472; mare de, 451, 453.
Mangon, 42.
Manigua, 233.
Manilla, 454.
Manioc, 598.
Manipacna River, 259
Mannert, Conrad, 587.
Manno and Promis, *Notizie di Gastaldi*, 439.
Manoa (city), 585; first in maps, 587; in later maps, 587, 588; disappeared, 589.

Manrique de Lara, Rodrigo, 551.
Manta Bay, 509.
Mantuanus, B., *Opera*, 62.
Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi, 38.
Mapocho River, 528.
Maps of the earliest Spanish and Portuguese discoveries, 93; early Spanish ones very rare, 174. *See* Cordiform.
Maracaibo, 190; Lake of, 187.
Maracayo Lake, 558.
Maragnon, Rio, 228.
Maranon (river), 188, 513, 519, 581. *See* Amazon.
Marata, 477, 480.
Marchand, Guy, or Guiot, printer, 49, 50, 51.
Marchena of Rábida, 3, 5.
Marchena, Perez de, 91.
Marchesi, 48.
Marchetti, edition of Ortelius, 472.
Marcos, Fray, 475, 476, 477, 503 ; his *Descubrimiento*, 499; report altered in Ramusio and Hakluyt, 476, 499 ; his fictions, 499 ; rejoins Coronado, 480 ; general of the Franciscans, 481.
Marcou, Jules, on the naming of America, 179; *First Discoveries of California*, 443, 467 ; on Alarcon's voyage, 443.
Mar del Sur. *See* Pacific.
Margarita (island), 18, 20, 110, 134, 187, 225, 581, 588 ; map, 61 ; seized by Aguirre, 582.
Margry, *Navigations Françaises*, 12, 39.
Mariames (Indians), 244.
Mariguana (island), 55, 56.
Mariguanu, battle of, 549.
Marin, *Commercio de' Veneziani*, viii, 90.
Marina, 355, 396.
Marini, G. B., 66.
Marinus, 24.
Marinus of Tyre, 95.
Markham, Clements R., "Pizarro, and the Conquest of Peru and Chili," 505 ; "Critical Essay," 563 ; his *Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons*, 563, 585, 589 ; his *Narrative of the Proceedings of Pedrárias Davilla*, 564 ; edits Xeres, 564 ; *Reports on the Discovery of Peru*, 566 ; edits *Life of Guzman*, 567 ; *Rites and Laws of the Incas*, 571 ; *Travels of Cieza de Leon*, 574 ; Garcilasso de la Vega's *Royal Commentaries*, 575 ; encouraged by Prescott, 578 ; his *Cusco and Lima*, 578 ; *Travels in Peru and India*, 578 ; his handbook on *Peru*, 578 ; *Search of Eldorado*, 582 ; edits Acosta, 421 ; edits Andagoya, 212.
Marmocchi, *Raccolta*, v. 342.
Marmolejo, G., 528, 551.
Marmolejo, Gongora, career, 572 ; *Hist. de Chile*, 573.
Marquesas Islands, 561.
Marquez, Diego, 212, 213.
Martens, Th., 50.
Martin, Alonso, 196.
Martin, Cristóbal, 504.
Martines, his maps, 450 ; (155-?) 450 ; (1578) 227, 229 ; his map of the Moluccas, 441.
Martinez, Father, 279.
Martinez, Henrico, *Reportorio*, 421.
Martinez, the author of the story of Manoa, 579.
Martinez receives letter from Toscanelli, 31.
Martyr, Peter, d'Anghiera, 57, 224 ; on Columbus' second voyage, 58 ; *Decades*, 57, 122, 182 ; *Epistolæ*, 57 ; estimate of, 57 ; *De nuper repertis insulis*, 402 ; *Extraict ou recueil*, 410 ; on Magellan's voyage, 615 ; his map (1511), 109. 110 ; *Legatio Babylonica*, 109 ; *Summario* (1534), 222.
Martyrs, the (islands), 233.
Massbieau, L., *Mexico*, 378.
Mata-Lanares, manuscripts of, ii.
Matagorda Bay, 244.
Matanzas, 203, 230, 276.
Mataquito, 549.
Matienzo, Juan, 552 ; his *Gobierno de el Peru*, 571.
Maule River, 524, 531, 559.
Mauro, Fra, his map, 41, 94.
Mauro, Lucio, 414.
Maury, Mytton, 106.
Mavila, 248, 291 ; battle of, 249 ; name how spelled, 291.
May (river), 295.
Maya civilization, 429.
Mayer. *See* Meyer.
Mayer, Anton, *Wiens Buchdruckergeschichte*, 184.
Mayor, Pedro de, 528.
Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico, his library, 430.
Maxixcatzin, 372.
McCulloch, *Antiquarian Researches in America*, 296.
Mead, *Construction of maps*, 470.
Mecia de Viladestes, map of the Canaries, 36.
Mecken, Israel van, 352.
Medici, Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de', 145 ; letter to, from Vespucius, 156.
Medici, princes, 131.
Medina, Pedro de, *Arte de navegar*, 7, 98, 176 ; his map, 113, 226.
Medina-Sidonia, Duke of, his manuscripts, viii.
Medina, *Libro*, 6.
Meek, Alexander, on De Soto's march, 296 ; *Romantic Passages*, 296.
Megander, 262.
Meier, H. L., 290.
Mela, Pomponius, bibliography of, 180 ; his map of the world, 180 ; his *Cosmographia*, 180 ; *De situ orbis*, 28, 181 ; *Cosmographica geographia*, 181 ; *De totius orbis descriptione*, 181 ; edited by Vadianus, 122, 182 ; issued with Solinus, 182 ; corrected by Olive and Barbaro, 183 ; translated by Golding, 186 ; his north and south theory, 26 ; on Vespucius, 154. *See* Pomponius.
Memoirs for the Curious, 462.
Memorial historico Español, 573.
Mena, Juan de, 256.
Mena, Marcos de, 256.
Mendana, Alvaro de, 552.
Mendez, Diego, 62.
Mendiburu, *Diccionario del Peru*, 570.
Mendieta, Alonzo de, 570.
Mendieta, G., *Hist. eclesiastica Indiana*, 415, 422.
Mendocino, Cape, 444, 465 ; earliest mention of, 455.
Mendoza, Andrea Hurtado (Marquis of Cañate), viceroy of Peru, 545 ; dies, 547.
Mendoza, Antonio de, 393, 474 ; his autog., 254 ; conquers the Chichimecs, 419 ; viceroy of Peru, 542.
Mendoza, Cardinal, 91.
Mendoza, Garcia Hurtado de, governor of Chili, 549 ; defeats Caupolican, 549 ; likeness, 550 ; leaves Chili, 551 ; (fourth Marquis of Cañete) 560 ; his life, 572.
Mendoza Grajales, his *Memoria*, 293.
Mendoza, Hurtado de, his voyage, 441 ; on the Pacific coast, 393.
Mendoza, Juan Gonzáles de, *Historia del Reino de China*, 504.
Mendoza, L. T. de, his *Coleccion*, vii.
Mendoza, Martin, counsels with Magellan in the Straits, 607.
Mendoza, Pedro de (in Peru), 519.
Mendoza, P. G. de, archbishop of Toledo, 4.
Mendoza, one of Magellan's captains, executed, and remains found by Drake, 599.
Mendoza (Chili), 524
Menendez de Aviles, Pedro, 260, 283 ; directed to conquer Florida, 261 ; attacks Ribault, 263 ; attacks Fort Caroline, 272 ; returns to Spain, 279 ; returns to Florida, 282 ; on the Chesapeake, 282 ; dies, 283 ; portrait, 261 ; authorities, 293, 297 ; *Cartas*, 293 ; his victims of the *Epistola supplicatoria*, 297.
Meneses, 543.
Meneses, Pablo de, 545.
Mer de l'ouest, 463, 467, 468, 469.
Meras, Solis de, 275.
Mercadillo, 527.
Mercado, Martin, 545.
Mercator, Michael, his map, 461.
Mercator, Gerard, map (1541), 177 ; (1569) 449, 452 ; and Cnoyen, 95 ; his projection, theory of, 470. *See* Hondius.
Mercator, Rumoldus, his map, 457.
Mercure de France, 560.
Mercuri, engraving of Columbus, 73.
Mérida, bishop of. *See* Landa.
Meridian, first, 95. *See* Longitude.
Mesquita, 599, 607.
Mesurado, Cape, 40.
Meta (river), 581, 586.
Metullus, *America*, 458.
Mexia, Pedro, *Silva*, 616.
Mexico (*see* Cortés), 435 ; called Temistitan, 225 ; held to be Quinsay, 432 ; human sacrifices in, 328 ; plans, descriptions, and views of the city, 450 ; plan of, before the Conquest, 364 ; descriptions of, 364 ; lake of, 358 ; its causeways, 364, 369 ; alleged plan by Montezuma, 364 ; Helps's plan, 369 ; Wilson's plan of the valley, 374 ; the lake in Cortés' day, 375 ; shrinkage of the lagunes, 375 ; map in Keating's *Bernal Diaz*, 415 ; Jourdanet's map (*heliotype*), 375, 415 ; Humboldt's map, 375 ; Lopez map, 375 ; Siguenza's map, 375 ; the waters of its lake supposed to flow into the Pacific, 375 ; inundations, 375 ; view of the city under the conquerors, 377 ; sketch in Bordone's *Libro*, 378 ; new causeways built by the Spaniards, 378 ; city rebuilt, 378 ; cathedral built, 378 ; plan from Ramusio, 379 ; other plans, 378 ; account by Salazar, 378 ; other accounts, 378 ; Temple of, 408 ; second conquest by Cortés, 376 ; list of the conquerors and their descendants, 414, 415 ; conquest of, sources of information, 397 ; the "anonymous conqueror," 397 ; records of the municipality, 398 ; records of ecclesiastical councils, 399 ; authorities on church history, 399 ; documentary sources, 397 ; *Documentos para la historia*, 498 ; native manuscripts destroyed, 417 ; bibliography of, 429 ; by Boturini, 429 ; by Clavigero, 430 ; by Ramirez, 430 ; by H. H. Bancroft, 430 ; plays and poems on the Conquest, 430 ; map of the west coast, 450 ; Geographical Society of, 93 ; its *Boletin*, 451.
Mexico, Gulf of, early maps of, 217 ; (Golfo Mexicano) 451, 459 ; map by Martines, 450 ; Cabot's map, 447 ; (mare Cathayum) 433 ; Cortés' map of, 404.
Meyer. *See* Mayer
Meyer, M. M., 102.
Meyer, Tobias, 101.
Meygenberg, 28.
Michoacan, map of, 400.
Miculasa (Indian), 250.
Miggrode, Jacques de, 341
Milan, alleged birthplace of Columbus, 84.
Millacalquin, 562.
Mines and Mining, 578 ; in Hispaniola, 16.
Mint established in Peru, 552.
Miranda de Azevedo, 440.
Miranda, Juan de, 504.
Mirandolo, Pico de, 162.
Miravalle, Counts of, 362,
Miruello, 292.
Miruelo, Diego, pilot, 236, 242.

Misissippi (river), its supposed course, 282; crossed by De Soto, 247, 251; discovered by Pineda, 237; who discovered it? 292; called "Espiritu Santo," 177, 237, 404, 447, 504; early maps of, 292; map by Wytfliet, 281; by Delisle, 294. *See* Espiritu Santo.
Mittheilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, 617.
Mixco, 383.
Mobile Bay, 295.
Mocha (island), 531; (Chili) 524.
Mogrovejo, Toribio de, bishop, 557.
Molina, A. de, 511.
Molineaux globe, 452; map, 458.
Moll, Hermann, map (1736), 468; map of the Pacific coast, 467; of California (1755), 468; Lake Parima, 587.
Moluccas, 150, 217, 440, 610; discovered, 591; reached (1511), 441; expeditions to, 440; Cortés opens trade with, 393; supposed way to, 446; sold by Spain, 441; early maps, 440, 450 (1568), 449; history of, by Argensola, 616.
Monarchus, Robertus, *Bellum Christ. Princip.*, 51.
Monasterio, 241.
Monette, J. W., *Valley of the Mississippi*, 296.
Monroy, Alonso, 528, 529; goes to Cusco, 530; dies, 532.
Monin, H., 40.
Moniz, Vasco Gill, 90.
Monserrate, documents at, iii.
Montaldo, Professor, 54.
Montanus, 192; *Nieuwe Weereld*, 466.
Montejo, Francisco de, 351; in Yucatan, 429.
Monteleone, Duke of, 395, 396.
Monteros, 516.
Montesinos, Ant. de, 240, 254, 286.
Montesinos, F., his career, 570; his *Memorias*, 570, 577; *Annales*, 570.
Montezuma, hears of Cortés, 353; picture of, in Montanus, 361; in Solis, 363; other likenesses, 76, 362, 424; meets Cortés, 362; in chains, 362; his descendants, 362; his appearance and age, 362; offers tribute to Cortés, 365; wounded on the parapet, 368; dies, 368; his tributaries, 408.
Montlezun, Baron de, 53.
Monthly Miscellany, 462.
Moon. *See* Lunar tables.
Moqui pueblos, 484, 503.
Mora, D. de, 519.
Mora, J. de, 425.
Mora, *Méjico*, 428.
Morales, 197.
Morales, Andrés de, 204.
Morales, Gaspar de, 505.
More, Sir Thomas, his *Utopia*, 176.
Morelli, Cav., *Lettera rarissima*, 62.
Moreno, his maps, 55.
Morga, *Philippine Islands*, 616.
Morgan, L. H., *House and House-Life of the American Aborigines*, 502; on the seven cities of Cibola, 502.
Morisotus, *Orbis maritimi*, 34.
Morris, J. G., 106.
Morton, Thomas, on the Asiatic extension of North America, 439.
Moscoço, Luis de, 248; succeeds De Soto, 253.
Moscoso, F., 519.
Motolinia, Toribio, 343; his life by Ramirez, 343; his autog., 343; *Historia*, 397.
Motupe, 516, 519.
Mount St. Elias, 469.
Muller, E., 66.
Muller, G. F., on voyages to the Northwest, 469.
Müller, Johannes, of Königsberg (Regiomontanus), 96, 99; his *Ephemerides*, 96; his *Tabulæ astron.*, 99.
Müller, Johannes, *Vereine Deutschlands*, 93.
Mulligan, John, 58.
Mundus novus, 157.
Mundus Novus (South America), 115, 123.
Muñoz, Juan, in Florida, 255.
Muñoz, J. B., autog. of, iii; his collection of manuscripts, vii, 569; on Columbus, 68; his *Historia* failed to record Vespucius, 153.
Munroe, Prof. C. E., 352.
Münster, Seb., his map (1532), 121, 122; *Novus orbis*, 122.
Muratori, 90; *Rerum ital. scriptores*, 48.
Murphy, B., on the tomb of Cortés, 396.
Murphy, H. C., 287; on the bibliography of the *Cosmog. Introd.*, 166.
Murdock, J. B., *Cruise of Columbus*, 54.
Murr, C. G. von, *Memorabilia*, 35, 221; *Gesch. des Ritters Behaim*, 35.
Musters, G. C., on Patagonia, 603.
Myritius, Johannes, *Opusculum geographicum*, 154, 439; map, 457.

NAHUATL manuscripts, 418.
Nancy globe, 432; sketch of, 433.
Nanipacna, 258.
Napione, *Del primo scopritore*, 84, 163; *Patria di Colombo*, 83, 84.
Napo River, 528, 588.
Napochies, 258.
Napoleon I., his havoc among the Spanish archives, i.
Napoli, Juan de, portolano, 38.
Naraciones históricas, 573.
Narvaez, Pamphilo de, in Cuba, 201; has a patent, 242; disappears, 244; his landing in Florida, 274; where did he land? 288; names of his followers, 415; sent against Cortés, 365; treats with Cortés, 366; released by Cortés, 380; authorities, 286; autog., 286; map of his discoveries, 226.
Nasca, 519, 543, 558.
Nata, 509.
Natchez (Indians), 258, 294.
Nation, The, 71.
Natives, earliest picture of, 19.
Nativita, 188.
Nautical Magazine, 82, 100.
Navarrete, E. F. de, 65; *La longitud en la mar*, 98.
Navarrete, M. F. de, account of, iv; *La historia de la nautica*, v, 98; on Alonzo de Santa Cruz, 100; on Andagoya, 212; his *Coleccion*, v; *Opúsculos*, v; *Bibl. mar. Española*, v; his documents on Magellan, 615; edits *Doc. inéditos*, vii; *Sutil y Méxicana* (atlas), 456, 561; on Maldonado, 456; his researches on Columbus, 68, 456; *Noticia* of Magellan, 617; another in his *Opúsculos*, 617; on Vespucius, 153, 178; *Viages menores*, 204.
Navarro, 516.
Navarro, Joaquin, translates Prescott, 427.
Navidad, La, 10, 16, 226.
Navigation, books of, 98.
Nebrissensis, Ant., 58.
Needle, declination of, 100; dip of, 100; variation of, as a means of ascertaining longitude, 99. *See* Magnet, Compass.
Negrete, Juan de, 573.
Negro River, 581.
Negroes in Peru, 560. *See* Slavery.
Neueröffnetes Amphitheatrum, 78.
New Andalusia, 88, 190, 191, 585; history of, 587.
New Castile (Peru), 525. *See* Castilla nueva.
New France (Nova Francia), 453.
New Gallicia, 229, 474, 504; conquered by Guzman, 391.
New Granada, 458, 581.
New Interlude, 62.
New Laws, 537; revoked, 539. *See* Laws.
New Mexico, Coronado's incursion into, 473; sources of information, 498 (*see* Coronado); early explorations of, 473; various expeditions to, 503.
New Spain, Audiencia, 460; Lorenzana's map of, 408; maps of, 358, 359; map of, in Herrera, 392; (Nueva Spanya) 450; map by Ortelius, 472.
New Toledo (Chili), 525.
New Quarterly Review, 54.
New York Historical Society, *Catalogue of Gallery*, 515.
Newe Zeitung aus Hispanien, 576.
Newfoundland in the Cantino map, 108; (Terra Cortesia) 121; early voyages to, 33; in Sylvanus' map, 122; (Terra nova) 450.
Newton, Sir Isaac, 470; his theory of a sphere flattened at the poles, 590; expeditions to verify it, 590.
Nicaragua, documents on, ix; Lake of, 200. *See* Peralta.
Nicholas of Lynn, 95.
Nicholas, Thomas, 414; translates Zarate, 568.
Nicolini, Donato, 131.
Nicoya, Diego de, 191, 198, 200.
Nicuessa, 88, 209, 210.
Nieva. *See* Zuñiga.
"Nina," ship, 8, 187.
Niño, 18, 204, 205.
Niño, Andrés, 199.
Niño, Pedro Alonso, 109, 187.
Nito, 385.
Nombre de Dios, 189, 190, 223, 228, 446, 509, 581; settled, 505; abandoned, 506.
Non, Cape, 40.
Nootka Sound, 469, 470.
Nordenskiöld, A. E., *Trois cartes*, 28; *Bröderna Zenos*, 121, 436; edits manuscript of Marco Polo, 30.
Noreña, Alonso de, 343.
North's *Plutarch*, 78.
North America, the belief in its narrowness, 466; connected with Asia, 285, 431; shown as an archipelago, 128. *See* America.
North star, 99.
Northmen, voyages to America, 33; their acquaintance with the loadstone, 94.
Norumbega, 451, 459, 472; (Anorobagra) 224; (Norumberga) 453.
Noticias históricas de la Nueva España, 421.
Nouvelles certaines des isles du Peru, 576.
Nova Galitia. *See* New Gallicia.
Novus orbis. *See* Grynæus.
Nucio, Antwerp publisher, 412.
Nueva Galicia. *See* New Gallicia.
Nuñez de Balbóa. *See* Balbóa.
Nuñez Vela, Blasco, 537.
Nuremberg Chronicle, 34.
Nuttall, *Travels into Arkansas*, 292.
Nyeto, Alvaro, 257.

Obras escogidas de filósofos, 337.
Ocampo, Baltasar d', his *Provincia de S. F. de Villcapampa*, 571.
Ocampo, Florian d', edits Zarate, 568.
Ocampo, Garcia de, 189.
Ocampo, Sebastian de, explores Cuba, 201; sails around Cuba, 214.
Ocampo, *Chronica*, 421.
Ocean Highways, 221.
Ochechiton, 258.
Ochoa, Martin de, 271, 278.
Ochuse, 257. *See* Ichuse.
Odérigo, N., has manuscripts of Columbus, iv.
Odriozola, M., *Doc. históricos del Peru*, 576.
Oettinger, *Bibl. biog.*, 66.
Ogilby, his map (1671), 466.
Ojeda, Alonso de, 16, 68, 88, 112, 144, 209, 506; his voyages, 109, 187, 208, authorities on, 204; authorities on his second voyage, 207; notice of,

by Navarrete, v; accompanied by Vespucius, 149, 153.
Olano, Lope de, 194.
Old World, map of (1490), 41.
Olibahali, 258.
Olid, Cristóbal de, 214, 351; at the second siege of Mexico, 376; in Honduras, 200, 383; his defection, 384, 411.
Oliva, Anello, *Hist. du Pérou*, 576.
Oliva, F. P. de, his account of Columbus, 66.
Oliva, Johannes, his map, 461.
Olives planted in Peru, 547.
Oliveros, 241.
Omaguas, 581; fabled empire of, 585.
Oña, Pedro de, *Arauco Domado*, 572.
Oñate, Juan de, 461, 504.
Once a Week, 66.
Ondegardo, Polo de, 545, 552; career, 571; *Relaciones*, 523, 571; his manuscripts, 571.
Ongania, his *Raccolta di mappamundi*, 107.
Onondaga, Spanish at, 283.
Oostanaula River, 247.
Opmeer, P. van, *Opus chronographicum*, 72.
Ordaz, Diego, 351; his expedition, 579.
Ordenanzas reales, 347.
Ordinationes legumque collectiones, 401.
Ordoñez de Montalvo, *Las sergas de Esplandian*, 443.
Oregon (river), 469.
Orellana, Francisco de, 188; with Gonzalo Pizarro, 528; courses the Amazon, 447, 528, 584; Herrera's account, translated by Markham, 563; goes to Spain, 585; returns and dies, 585. *See* Amazon.
Orgoñez, R., 525; defeats Alvarado, 526; defeats Manco, 526; killed, 527.
Orinoco River, 133; discovered by Columbus, 20; explored, 579; map of the mouths, 586, 588; explored by Whiddon, 586.
Orista, 282.
Orizaba, 358.
Oropesa, 525, 552, 562.
Orozco y Berra, 418; *Cartografia Mexicana*, 93, 166, 375; *Vallée de Mexico*, 375.
Orozco, Juan de, 504.
Orsenius, Ambrose, 471.
Orsenius, Ferd., 471.
Ortega, C. de, *Resumen*, 603.
Ortega, C. F., 418.
Ortelius, account of, 471; genealogy of, 471; life by Van Hulst, 471; portraits referred to, 471, 472; notice by Macedo, 471; his list of authorities, 93, 471; editions of his *Theatrum*, 471, 472; which is the original text? 471; *additamentum*, 471; French and German translations, 471; his mappemonde described, 472; map of the New World, 472; epitomes of, 472; map of new Spain, 472; of Florida, 472; of Peru, 472; last edition, by himself, 472; *Il Theatro del mondo* (1598), 439; map (1582), 186.
Ortis, Alonso, *Los tratados*, 57.
Ortiz, Diego, 553.
Ortiz de Matienzo, Juan, 238.
Ortiz of Narvaez' expedition, 245; with De Soto when he died, 252.
Osimo, d', *Colomb et Marchena*, 3.
Osorius, *De rebus Emmanuelis gestis*, 616.
Osorno, 524; founded, 549.
Ostro (south), 94.
Osuna, Duque d', 89.
Otina, 279.
Otmar, Johannes, 157.
Ortubia, Juan Peres de, 233.
Otumba, 358, 369; victory at, 370, 374.
Ovalle, *Historica relatione*, 576; *Historica relacion*, 576; English version, 576.
Ovando, Nic. de, 21, 201; deporting natives from the Lucayan Islands, 328; at Hispaniola, 23.
Overland Monthly, 288.
Oviedo y Baños, *Venezuela*, 584.
Oviedo y Herrera, *Vida de Santa Rosa*, 560.
Oviedo y Valdés, G. F. de, 197; in Peru, 563; his account of Peru, 563; his career, 209, 343; *Sumario*, 343, 345; official chronicler, 343; *Historia de las Indias*, 343, 345; critical estimation of his history, 563; published with Peter Martyr, 563; printed complete, 346; correspondent of Ramusio, 343; knew Cortés, 343; hated by Las Casas, 314, 345; bibliography of, 345; *De la natural hystoria*, 343, 345; facsimile of title, 344; his arms, 345; *Coronica*, 345; his autog., 346; *Histoire naturelle*, 346; *Libro* xx, 346; dies, 346; unprinted parts of his *Historia*, 346; life by Amador de los Rios, 346; *Histoire de Nicaragua*, 346; letter from (1543), 410 and Magellan's papers, 616.

PABLOS, JUAN, 400.
Paca, 559.
Pacaha, 251.
Pachacamac, 519; temple of, 517.
Pachama, 558.
Pacheco, J. F., *Coleccion*, vii, 498.
Pacific coast, discoveries on, 431; chronology of explorations on, 431.
Pacific Ocean, 177; heard of by Columbus, 211; discovered, 195, 608 (*see* Balbóa); various names, 439; (Mar Pacifico) 452; (Mare del Sur) 223, 227, 228, 450, 451; (Mare del Sul) 229; (Mare del Zur) 459; named in Pigafetta's map, 605; maps of (1513), 440; (1518) 217; chart of Magellan's tract, 610; trade-winds, 454.
Pacific Railroad Reports, 502.
Padilla. *See* Davilla.
Padilla, Juan de, 484, 497, 503.
Padilla, Mota, *Nueva Galicia*, 468.
Paesi novamente retrovati, 205.
Paez, Juan, 445.
Pafallaya, 250.
Pagus Hispanorum, 265.
Paillamacu, 561, 563.
Palafox y Mendoça, *Virtudes del Indio*, 343.
Palencia, Fernandez de, career, 569; *Historia del Peru*, 569; called "El Palentino," 569.
Palentino, el. *See* Palencia.
Pallastrelli, B., *La moglie di Colombo*, 85.
Palmas, Rio de, 242, 281.
Palos, 5, 6.
Palos, Juan, likeness of, 287.
Pampluna, 581.
Panamá, 228, 229, 435, 509; documents in, ix; founded, 198, 199, 212, 505 (1566), 451. *See* Peralta.
Paniagua, 569.
Pánuco, 229, 353, 382, 386; Rio, 203 (1520), 218, 225; named, 237.
Panzer, *Annalen*, 159.
Paposo, 524.
Para, 581.
Parana, 459.
Parana Patinga, 589.
Pardo, Captain, 278.
Pardo, Juan, 504.
Pares, Juan de, 507.
Parestrello at Porto Santo, 38; his family, 90. *See* Perestrello.
Pareto, Bartolomeus, sea-chart, 38.
Paria, 114, 169, 177, 218, 223, 588; (Chili) 525; discovered, 187; gulf of, 586 (map), 61; (1511) 110; name of, 231.
Paria, University of, 90.
Parias, 121, 432; (in Schöner's globe) 118.
Paricura, 188. *See* Amazon.
Parima (lake), 585; first in maps, 587; in later maps, 587, 588; disappeared, 589.
Parima (river), 581.
Paris, Société de Géographie de, their *Recueil de voyages*, 30.
Parita (gulf), 198.
Parkman, F., *Pioneers of France*, 293, 298.
Parmentier of Dieppe, 105.
Parmigiano, picture of Columbus, 76.
Parra, Iacinto de, 560; *Rosa Laureada*, 560.
Parrots, land of (Brazil), 598.
Pas, Crispin de, 72, *Effigies regum*, etc., 72.
Pasamonte, 194, 210, 211.
Pasqual, *Descubr. de la sit. de la America*, 58.
Pasqualigo, 107.
Passado, Cape, 507.
Pastene, J. B., 530; his likeness, 531.
Pasto, 509.
Pastro y Cueva, B. de, 561.
Patagonia, giants in, 600; dress of, 600. *See* Giants (*regio gigantum*), 432.
Patalis, 433.
Patinamit, 383.
Patiño, 267.
Paucartambo River, 519.
Pauli, Reinhold, 337.
Paulitschke, *Afrika-literatur*, 40.
Paullu, Ynca, 524, 553.
Pauthier, G., edits Marco Polo, 30.
Payta, 519, 546.
Paytiti, 585, 589.
Paz, M. de, 511.
Pearl coast, 20, 106, 169.
Pearl-fishery, 187.
Pearl Islands, 197, 198, 199, 505, 509.
Pecari, 598.
Pecciolen, M. N., his map, 461.
Pedrarias, Davilla, 209; *Lettere di Pietro Arias*, 567; authorities on, 211; his character, 196. *See* Avila.
Peignot, *Répertoire*, 163.
Pelantaru, 562.
Peña, Gutierrez de la, 582.
Peña, Nuñez de la, *La Gran Canaria*, 36.
Peñalosa, Diego de, his discovery of Quivira, 503, 504.
Penco, 548; bay, 531.
Penguins (islands), 599.
Pensacola, 246, 250, 257, 295; discovered, 236.
Peralta, C. de, 510.
Peralta, Joan Suarez de, *Las Yndias*, 421.
Peralta, Manuel M. de, *Costa Rica, Nicaragua y Panama*, ix, 213.
Perestrello, 2. *See* Parestrello.
Perez de el Christo, Cristóval, *Islas de Canaria*, 36.
Perez, Juan, 469.
Perkins, F. B., translates Lemoyne, 296.
Pernambuco, 228.
Pernetty, *Voyage*, 602.
Perthes, Justus, *Mittheilungen*, 471.
Peru, 433, 435, 436, 446, 450, 459 (1541), 177; "Conquest and Settlement of," by Markham, 505; first rumors of the country, 505; origin of name, 505; Ribero first uses it in maps, 505; likenesses of the viceroys, 532; under Gasca, 539; revolt under Giron, 543; Andrea Hurtado de Mendoza, viceroy, 545; Zuñiga, viceroy, 547; sun-worship in, 551; Castro, governor, 551; Toledo, viceroy, 552; relations of natives with the Council of the Indies, 556; Inquisition introduced, 557; Henriquez, viceroy, 557; F. de Torres, viceroy, 560; Mendoza (fourth marquis of Cañete), 560; described in the Dutch Apianus, 184; negroes introduced, 560; Luis de Velasco, viceroy, 561; sources of information, 563; in Gomara, 412; Xeres on, 345; gold sent to Europe, 566, 578;

effect on prices, 566; *Copey etlicher brieff*, 566; *Libro ultimo*, 566; authorities on the treatment of the Indians, 571; later histories, 576; *Documentos históricos del Peru*, 576; manuscript sources, 576; *Varias relaciones del Peru*, 576; chief modern writers on Peru in English, 577; quinine in, 578; attempt to export treasure by the Amazon, 589; Spanish cruelties in, 318, 319, 320; the Inca Titus, 325; maps of, 509; (Ribero) 505, (Ortelius) 472, (Ramusio) 228, (Wytfliet) 558; (sketch-maps of the Conquest) 509, 519; (Ruge's) 513. *See* Pizarro, Birú.
Peschel, Oscar, on Bianco's map, 94; *Die Theilung der Erde*, 45; *Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, 69, 106; on Columbus' birth, 83.
Petatlan, 475, 498; (river), 244.
Petavius, *History of the World*, 466.
Petau. *See* Petavius.
Petit Atlas maritime, 375.
Petiver, James, coins the De Fonte story, 462.
Petrarca, F., *Chronica*, 62.
Petri, Henri, prints Mela, 184.
Philesius, 159. *See* Ringmann, M.
Philip II., organizes the archives at Simancas, i; map of, 222.
Philippine Islands, 592, 610, 612; conquered by the Spaniards, 454, 616; histories of, 616.
Phillipps, Sir Thomas, 337, 427; his manuscripts, 566, 614.
Phillips, Henry, Jr., 375.
Phillips, John (Milton's nephew), 341.
Philoponus, F. H., *Nova typis*, etc., 58, 286.
Phrysius (Frisius). *See* Friess.
Phrysius, Gemma, *Cosmographia*, 156; *De principiis astronomiæ*, 176, 421.
Piache, 248.
Pichot, Amédée, edits Prescott's *Peru*, 577.
Pickett, *Invasion of Alabama by De Soto*, 291; *History of Alabama*, 291.
Piedrahita, Juan, 546.
Piedrahita, L. F., career, 584; *Historia general*, 584.
Pietschmann, R., *Guanahani-Frage*, 55.
Pigafetta, Antonio, *Trattato di navigazione*, 98; his narrative edited by Amoretti, 614, 615; by Fabre, 614; in different languages, 614; bibliography of, 615; his career, 613; his diary, 613; its illustrations, 613; different texts, 613, 614; *Uno libro*, 614; and the captive Patagonian, 609.
Pighius, 154.
Pigmies, 472.
Pinart, his library, 430.
Pineapple found in Brazil, 597.
Pineda, Alonzo Alvarez de, on the Florida coast, 237.
Pineda's expedition, 218.
Pinet, Ant. du, *Plantz, etc., de plusieurs villes*, 556.
Pingel, C., *Grönlands Hist. Mindesmaeker*, 34.
"Pinta," ship, 8.
Pinto, fort, 549.
Pinzon, M. A., espouses Columbus' theory, 3.
Pinzon, V. Y., 109, 187; authorities on his voyage, 204, 205; Varnhagen on it, 205; his voyage, 149.
Pinzon and Solis, voyage of, 153, 154.
Pinzons, 8, 10, 34; contribute money to Columbus' outfit, 5, 91.
Pirckeymerus, B., *Germaniæ explicatio*, 99; edits Ptolemy, 102; portrait, 102.
Piron, his *Cortés*, 430.
Piscator. *See* Visscher.
Pisco, 510.
Piura, 515.
Pizarro, Francisco, 193; at Panama, 505; forms a company with Almagro and Luque, 506, 567; his previous history, 506; sails on his first expedition, 507, 567; his second, 507; left on Gallo, 508; draws the line on the sand, 510; names of such as crossed, 510; goes to Gorgona, 511; cruises along the coast, 511; goes to Spain, 512; takes his brothers to Peru, 512; breaks with Almagro, 512; goes to Peru again, 514; at Tumbez, 514; at Caxamarca, 516; imprisons Atahualpa, 516; exacts ransom, 517; murders Atahualpa, 517; line of his march from Tumbez, 519; sends treasure to Spain, 519; enters Cusco, 520; founds Lima, 522; made a marquis, 522; reconciliation with Almagro, 522; dispute with Almagro over bounds, 525; conference with him, 526; gives command of his army to his brother Hernando, 527; likenesses of, 75, 76, 532, 533; his standard, 532; his body preserved, 532; in Lima, 534; killed, 534, 567; his house in Lima, 534; his house in Cusco, 556; sources of his history, 563; account of treasure sent to Spain, 566; lives of, 567; earliest tidings of his success, in the *Copia delle lettere*, etc., 575; translations of it, 576; Helps's character of him, 578; H. H. Bancroft's, 578; Robertson's, 578. *See* Peru.
Pizarro, Gonzalo (brother of Francisco), 512; seized by Almagro, 526; escapes, 526; leads his brother's infantry, 527; sent to conquer Charcas, 527; explores east from Quito, 528, 570; deserted by Orellana, 584; returns, 528; on his estates, 537; leads army against Lima, 537, 538; enters it, 538; rejects pardon from Gasca, 540; defeats Centeno, 541; surrenders and is executed, 542; sentenced, 569; letter to Valdivia, 573.
Pizarro, Gonzales (father of Francisco), 506.
Pizarro, Hernando, 512; his expedition to Pachacamac, 517, 566; goes to Spain, 520, 522; returns to Peru, 522; at Cusco, 523; captures the Inca fortress, 524; seized by Almagro, 526; released, 527; commands his brother's army, 527; attacks Orgoñez, 527; imprisoned in Spain, 527; his letter, 566.
Pizarro, Juan, 512; at Cusco, 522, 524; killed, 524.
Pizarro, Pedro, 512; his *Relaciones*, 566.
Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones ilustres*, 68, 567; his descent, 567.
Pizignani, his charts, 38, 94.
Placentia, alleged birthplace of Columbus, 84.
Planacays, 92.
Plancius, map of, 457.
Plannck, Stephanus, printer, 48.
Plata, Rio de la, 228. *See* La Plata.
Plato, *Critias* and *Timæus*, 26.
Plautius, C., 58.
Plisacus sinus, 115.
Plutarch, translated by North, 516.
Poggiale, Gaetano, 163.
Poincy, Louis de, 289.
Polar Islands, 95.
Pole Star. *See* North Star.
Poleur, Jean, translates Oviedo, 346.
Polo, Marco, *Milione*, 30; early manuscript of, 30; first printed, 30; editions, 30; his portrait (cut), 30; edited by Yule, 30; by Pauthier, 30.
Pomar, J. B., on Cholula, 422.
Pomponius Mela, 164, 168; edited by Vadianus, 173. *See* Mela.
Ponce de Leon, Juan, his voyage to Bimini, 232, 233; names Florida, 233; directed to settle it, 234; likeness of, 235; dies, 236; authorities on, 283; bay of, 224, 225; the controverted date of his discovery, 284; his exploits celebrated by Castellanos, 584; names of his followers, 415.
Ponce de Leon, Luis, in Mexico, 386.
Ponçe Vargas, his manuscript, iii.
Ponente (west), 94.
Pontanus, his *Amsterdam*, 461.
Pontonchan, 203.
Popayan, 509, 513, 581; taken by Belalcazar, 584.
Popellinière, *Les trois mondes*, 454.
Popocatepetl, 358; sulphur got from its crater, 380.
Porcacchi, map (1572), 449; sketched, 453; *L'isole*, 449; copies of, 449; editions of, 450; *Carta da navigar*, 450.
Porco, 558.
Porras, Diego, 62.
Porro. Hieronymus, his map in Ptolemy (1597), 457.
Port. *See* Porto, Puerto.
Port Desire, Magellan at, 599; view of, 602.
Port Nipe, 55.
Port Padre, 55.
Port Royal, 260; Menendez builds fort, 278.
Portfolio (Philadelphia), 410.
Porto Bello, 22, 506.
Porto Rico, 226; pillaged, 262.
Porto Santo, 2; discovered, 40.
Porto Seguro, Baron of. *See* Varnhagen.
Portolá, 453.
Portugal, king of, on title-pages, 159, 160.
Portuguese on the African coast (1489), 41; their authorities, 90; their earliest maps, 93; their possessions in the two Indies, 449; their supposed early visit to the Pacific coast, 441.
Postel, Guillaume, *Cosmog. disciplinæ compend.*, 35; *De orbis terræ concordia*, 421.
Potosi, 558.
Poussielgue, *Floride*, 298.
Powell, J. W., *Geographical and Geological Survey*, 502.
Pradello, alleged birthplace of Columbus, 84.
Preciado, 443.
Prescott, W. H., account of, 425; *Conquest of Mexico*, 425, 426, 427, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, 425; criticised by H. H. Bancroft, 425; portrait, 426; his manuscript material, vii, 397, 426, 427; on Columbus, 69; new editions by Kirk, 427; translations of, 427; life by Ticknor, 427; his letters, 427; his library, 427; his manuscripts in Harvard College Library, 427; his noctograph, 426, 427; other manuscripts, 427; eulogy on, by George Bancroft, 427; view of his library, 577; *Conquest of Peru*, 577; translations, 577; new edition by Kirk, 578; reads Solis, 424; alleged leniency to the Spaniards, 313, 328.
Prévost, Robert, 298.
Prieto, A. L., *Los restos de Colon*, 81, 82; *Informe sobre los restos*, 82.
Prime, W. C., 126.
Prince, L. B., *New Mexico*, 503.
Prince, Thomas, on the De Fonte story, 462.
Prince Albert Land, 95.
Pringle, Dr., 462.
Printing, early, in Mexico, 400, 401
Prisilia, 114. *See* Brazil.
Promauca Indians, 525.
Promis, Vincenzo, *Memoriale di Diego Colombo*, 224.
Prosopographia, 389.
Proveda, M. de, 585.
Provisiones, cedulas, etc. (1563), 347 (1596) 348.
Prynne, Arthur, abridges Bernal Diaz, 415.

Ptolemy, Claudius, editions and maps of, 26; (1475) 27; (1478) 27, 120; (1482) 28, 95; (1486) 28, 33, 95; (1490) 28, 120; (1507) 120; (1508) 62, 95, 109, 120, 121, 154, 155, 220; (1511) 62, 95, 109, 122, 123, 169, 184; (1512, Stobnicza) 64, 116, 117, 121, 174; (1513) 64, 95, 109, 111, 112, 113, 162, 171, 173, 220; (1520) 112; (1522) 112, 125, 126, 148, 173, 175, 184, 598; (1525) 102, 112, 126; (1535) 95, 112, 127, 176; (1540) 446; (1541) 127, 184, 446; (1542) 446; (1545) 446; (1548) 226, 234, 434, 449; (1552) 184, 234, 446; (1555) 446; (1561) 436, 449, 471; (1562) 437; (1564) 437; (1574) 437; (1597) 457, 472; (1598) 457; (1599) 457; map of the world according to, 165; his theory of east and west extension 26, 95; portraits (cuts), 26, 27; Angelo's Latin version of, 26, 27; early editions, 27; spread of his views, 27; maps by Agathodæmon, 28; manuscripts of, 28; bibliography of, 93, 438; recognizes latitude and longitude, 95; errors of longitude, 101.
Pucara, 519, 545.
Pueblo Indians, 473. *See* Moqui; Sedentary; Zuñi.
Puelles, Pedro de, 528, 538.
Puente, Alonso de la, 213.
Puerco, Rio, 488.
Puerto Bello, 509. *See* Porto.
Puerto Deseado, 203. *See* Port Desert.
Puerto Viejo, 509.
Puga, Vasco de, his edition of laws, 348; *Provisiones*, 401.
Puget Sound, 470.
Puna, 509; island, 514.
Puñonrostro, 213.

QUADRANT. *See* Hadley.
Quadus, map (1600), 460.
Quaquima, 483.
Quauhtemotzin, 371; captured, 378.
Queh, F. G., on the Cakchiquels, 419.
Quemado, 509.
Querandis, 598.
Querechos, 492.
Quesada, Gonzalo Ximenes, conquers New Granada, 580; his portrait, 580; goes to Spain, 580; his *Compendio*, 584; his daughter marries Berreo, 586.
Quexos, Pedro de, 238, 240.
Quiché, 383.
Quicksilver in Peru, 552.
Quiguate, 251.
Quilacara, 532.
Quillota, 524.
Quintana, Manuel José, on Balbóa, 210; *Vidas*, 210, 343, 567; *Obras*, 343.
Quintanilla, 5.
Quintero, 524.
Quinto, 89.
Quipana, 251.
Quir, F. de, his map, 461.
Quirex, 485, 491.
Quiriquina, 524; island, 549.
Quiro, Alvaro de, 507.
Quiroga, Rodrigo de, governor of Chili, 528, 551.
Quiros, 282.
Quisau, 454.
Quispicanchi, 511.
Quito, 509, 513; audiencia, 460; histories, 576, 584.
Quivedo, Bishop, 197.
Quivira, 451, 459, 465, 472, 491; (1556) 228; (1599) 504; (1662) 504; (Quivir) 454; (city) 445; site transferred to the coast, 445; map of, 485. *See* Gran Quivira.
Quizquiz, 251.
Quoniambec, giant, picture of, 603.

RÁBIDA, 3, 5; Columbus at, 90, 91.
Race, Cape (Rasu), 432.
Rado, J. de, 519, 525; plots against Pizarro, 534; dies, 535
Raemdonck. *See* Van Raemdonck.
Rafts, Indian, 508.
Raleigh, Sir Walter, his account of searches for Eldorado, 579; at Trinidad, 587; sends out Whiddon, 586; map of the Orinoco, 587.
Ramirez, Antonio, 315.
Ramirez, José Fernando, edits the *Procesos de residencia*, 398; his library, 398, 399; *Bibliotheca Mexicana*, 430; collates Sahagun, 416; edits Duran, 419; his life of Motolinia, 343, 397; notes on Prescott, 427.
Ramirez, Juan, 241.
Ramirez, Pedro, translates Bethencourt's narrative, 36.
Ramusio, G. B. *Navigationi*, 498, 499; on Columbus, 67, 83; his preface to Leo Africanus, 163; his map (1556), 227, 448; fac-simile, 228; knew Oviedo, 343; and the publication of Pigafetta, 614.
Ranjel, Rodrigo, on De Soto, 291.
Ranke, Leopold von, 337.
Rappahannock, Spaniards on, 282, 283.
Raynal, G. T., *Les Européens dans les deux Indes*, 40.
Rayon, I. L., *Archivo Mexicano*, 398.
Reclus, *Ocean*, 616.
Recueil de traites, 178.
Regiomontanus. *See* Müller, Johannes, of Königsberg.
Registro Yucateco, 429.
Regnault, 47.
Reina, P. S. de la, 599.
Reinosa, Alonso de, 551.
Reisch, Gregor, *Margarita philosophica*, 95, 113; his map, 114.
Relaciones geográficas de Indias, 576.
Rem, Lucas, *Tagebuch*, 45, 162.
Remesal, Ant. de, *S. Vincent de Chyapa*, 91, 343, 399, 419; on Guatemala, 419.
Rémon, Alonso, 414.
Renchini, 58.
René, Duke, 106, 113, 146, 162, 164; dies, 169.
Renteria, Pedro de la, 308.
Repartimientos, 309, 537.
Residencia, 14, 398.
Reusner, Nic., his *Icones*, 26, 27, 59, 70, 102.
Revelli, S., 78.
Revista de Lima, 569.
Revista Peruana, 567.
Revue archéologique, 70.
Revue contemporaine, 70, 411.
Revue de géographie, 25, 40, 378.
Revue de Paris, 68.
Revue des questions historiques, 66, 178.
Revue géographique, 617.
Revue orientale et Américaine, 50.
Revue politique et littéraire, 34.
Revue rétrospective, 298.
Rey, F. del, *Cortez en Tabasco*, 430.
Reynoso, Captain, 279.
Rheinisches Archiv, 51.
Ribadeneyras, *Biblioteca*, 411.
Ribault, at Port Royal, 260; at Fort Caroline, 262; attacked by Menendez' fleet, 263; wrecked, 273; surrenders, 276; authorities on his expedition in Florida, 293; *Histoire de l'expédition*, 293; *True and Last Discoveries*, 293; *Whole and True Discovery*, 293 flayed (?), 297.
Ribeiro, J. P., *Hist. do real archivo*, ii.
Ribera, A., 511.
Ribera, Nic. de, 507, 510.
Ribero, his map, 43, 206, 221, 233, 505; its influence, 225; records Gomez' discoveries, 242.
Riccardi Palace (Florence), maps in, 438.
Rich, Obadiah, 577; helps Irving, vi.
Richel, Dionisio, *Compendio*, 400.
Richelet, Pierre, *La Floride*, 290.
Richeri, G. B., his collection, iv
Richter, J. P., *Da Vinci*, 124.
Riggs, George W., 287.
Rimac River, 522, 547.
Rincon, A. del, 72.
Ringmann, Mathias, 146, 163, 164; at work on Ptolemy, 171; dies, 171. *See* Philesius.
Rio de Janeiro, visited by Magellan. 596; Pero Lopez at, 596.
Rio de Palmas, 242, 281.
Rios, Pedro de los, 508.
Riquelme, 516.
Rithaymer, *De orbis terrarum*, 421.
Ritter, Karl, on Bernal Diaz, 415.
Rivarolo, F. di, iv.
Robertson, Dr. William, his use of documents, ii; on Columbus, ii; *History of America*, 68, 424; on Peru, 578; on Vespucius, 148, 154.
Rocca Saporiti, 58.
Roce, Denys, 158.
Rochefort, César de, *Hist. naturelle des Iles Antilles*, 289; *Caribby Islands*, 289.
Rodrigo, B., 528.
Rodriguez, Juan, 204.
Rodriguez de Villa Fuerte, Francisco, 511.
Rogel, Father, 279, 282.
Roillo Island, 38.
Rojas, Gabriel de, likeness of, 523.
Roldan, his revolt, 20; drowned, 21.
Rolls Chronicles (British Government), i.
Roman, Cape, 260.
Rome (Georgia), 247.
Rondon, Antonio, 528
Roque Cocchia, Bishop, *Los restos de Colon*, 82.
Roquette, De la, 53, 107.
Rosaccio, 457.
Rosaspina, 73.
Rosny, *Lettre de Colomb*, 49, 50.
Ross, Thomassina, 206.
Rossi, *Del discacciamento di Colombo*, 58.
Rostro hermoso (cape), 188.
Rota, 611.
Rotz, his map of the Antilles, 226.
Rouen, globe at, 34; Indians at, 64
Roure, P. du, *La conquête du Mexique*, 430.
Roux de Rochelle, *Ferd. Cortez*, 430.
Roxo, Cape, 237.
Rudders introduced, 98.
Ruge, Sophus, *Das Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, 45, 69, 106; *Weltanschauung des Columbus*, 69; his map of Cortés' march, 358; his map of Guatemala, etc., 384; his map of Pizarro's discoveries, 512.
Ruiz, Bartolomé, 507, 510, 511; made grand pilot, 512.
Ruiz, Fray Fr., 504.
Rum Cay, 55.
Rupumuni (river), 581, 587.
Ruscelli, *Carta marina*, 435; his maps (1544), 432; (1561) 449; his text of Ptolemy, 457
Russian Academy's map of the northwest coast, 469.
Ruy de Pina, *Dom João II.*, 90.
Ruysch and the magnetic pole, 95; his map, 156; its connection with Vespucius, 220; Varnhagen's view of it, 155.
Ruyter, *See-Helden*, 77.
Rycaut, *Royal Commentaries*, 575.
Rye, W. B., edits the Knight of Elvas, 289; Biedma, 290.

SAAVEDRA, Ceron, 441.
Saavedra, Juan, 525.
Sabellicus, M. A., *In rapsod. hist.*, 59.
Sabin, *Works of Las Casas*, 333.
Sabio, 408.
Sacchini, *Hist. Societatis Jesu*, 282.
Sacchuma, 250.
Sacoahuana, 519.
Sacsahuaman (Inca fortress), 521.
Sacsahuana, 520, 541.
Saeghman, his *Voyages*, 347.

Saegman Collection, 460.
Saggio di storia Americana, 587.
Sagras, Ramon de la, *Hist. de Cuba*, 230.
Sagres, school at, 40.
Sahagun, F. B., account of him, 415; his manuscript lost and discovered, 415, 416; studies the Aztec, 415; *Evangelarium*, etc., 415; his manuscripts, 415; *Sermones*, 415; his portrait, 415; *Hist. general de las cosas de Nueva España*, 416; *Conquista de Mexico*, 416; his autog., 416; the text in Kingsborough, 416; different texts, 416; *La aparicion de N. S. de Guadelupe*, 416; contrasted with Bernal Diaz, 416; article on, by Ferd. Denis, 416; *Hist. générale des choses*, etc., 417.
Sails, reefing, 98.
Saint. *See* San, Sanct, Santa, Santo.
St. Augustin, Cape, 188; early names of, 205.
St. Augustine, 228, 295; burned by Drake, 283; founded by Menendez, 263, 264, 265; view of, 266.
Saint-Dié, account of, 162; its press, 162; its scholars, 162; its press broken up, 171.
St. Elias. *See* Mount
St. Francis, Kingdom of, 480.
St. Helena (cape), 221.
St. Helena (river), 225, 292.
St. Iago (Mexico, west coast), 449.
St. John the Baptist (San Juan Bautista) River, 239, 240.
St. John's River (Florida), 262, 265; Spanish forts at, 280.
St. Julian, port of, 605.
St. Lawrence (gulf), 107, 123.
St. Lazarus Archipelago (northwest coast), 463; (Philippines), 612. *See* San Lazarus.
St. Lucia, 226.
Saint-Martin, Vivien de, *Hist. de la géog.*, 30, 617.
St. Matthew (island), 36.
Saint-Méry, M. de, on Santo Domingo, 80.
St. Michael's (Azores) and the first meridian, 95.
St. Roman, Cape, 221.
St. Thomas (island), 227, 447, 449, 450, 451.
Saint-Victor, Geoffroy de, his *Microcosmos*, 28.
Sainteté de Colomb, 69.
Salamanca, council at, 4; its university faculty on the making slaves of the Indians, 337; junto at, 91.
Salazar, Dominic de, 257.
Salazar, F. C., his account of Mexico, 378.
Salazar, Joseph de, *Crísis*, etc., 283.
Salazar de Mendoza, P., *Monarquia de España*, 68.
Salazar y Olarte, Ignacio, *La conquista de México*, 422.
Salazar, usurper in Mexico, 386.
Salcedo, names of his followers, 415.
Saldomando, E. T., 571.
Salinas, 519, 527.
Salinas, Marquis of. *See* Velasco.
Salinerio, *Annot. ad Tacitum*, 83.
Salmon, *America*, 468.
Salte, Martin, 213.
Saltonstall, W., translates the Hondius-Mercator atlas, 462.
Salvá, vii.
Salvador, 468.
Samana (Bahamas), 55, 56, 92.
Samano, Julian de, 254, 256.
Samar, 612.
San. *See* Sanct, Santa, Santo, St.
"San Antonio," 593.
San Brandan Island, 36.
San Diego (California), 444.
San Esteban del Puerto founded by Cortés, 238.
San Felipe (Chili), 524.
San Francisco, the older bay so called, 453.
San Francisco, Cape (Peru), 509.
San Gallan (Pisco), 510.
San José, Rio, 501.
San Juan de Ulloa, 203, 352, 353.
San Juan River, 21, 212, 509, 513; (Peru) 507.
San Lazaro Arcbipelago, 459. *See* St. Lazarus.
San Lorenzo (Peru), 509; (Nootka) 469.
San Lucar, 142, 144, 200; (gulf) 198.
San Martin, Thomas de, 542.
San Mateo (bay), 509, 513, 514; (fort) 279, 282.
San Miguel, 519; founded, 515; (California) 444; (gulf) 190, 196, 509; settled (Jamestown), 241; (Sinaloa) 244.
San Saba Mountains, 244.
San Salvador Island, 53.
San Sebastian, 191.
San Vicente, Juan de, 265.
Sana, 519.
Sanchez (Sanxis), Gabriel (Raphael), 47, 48.
Sanchez, Gonzalo, 257.
Sancho, Pedro, 566.
Sanct Viçente (gulf), 199.
Sanctæ Crucis Terra (South America), 115. *See* Santæ Crucis.
Sand clocks, 101.
Sandia Mountains, 488.
Sandoval, Gonzalo de, 351; at Villa Rica, 366; with Cortés, 367; his raids, 372; convoys brigantines, 373; at second siege of Mexico, 376; confers with Tapia, 380; in Honduras, 385; goes to Spain, 387; autog., 387; portrait, 388; dies, 388.
Sanguinetti, 84.
Sanguinetti, A., *Origine de F. Colombo*, 65; *Canonizazione di Colombo*, 69; *Vita di Colombo*, 69.
Sanson, Guillaume, 463.
Sanson, Nic., 466; died, 463; his maps show Lake Parima, 587.
Santa. *See* San, Santo, St.
Santa, 511.
Santa founded, 547.
Santa Argo, 612.
Santa Clara Island, 511.
Santa Cruz, A. de, his variation chart, 100.
Santa Cruz Bay (California), 442.
Santa Elena (Port Royal), 259.
Santa Lucia, Bay of. *See* Rio de Janeiro.
Santa Maria (Chili), 524.
Santa Maria del Antigua del Darien, 193.
Santa Maria de la Consolacion (cape), 188.
"Santa Maria," ship, 8.
Santa Marta, 189; (mountain) 169.
Santa Martha, 580, 581.
Santa Rosa (bay), 257; (island) 243.
Santa Rosa (of Lima), 560; sources of her history, 560.
Santæ Crucis (cape), 598. *See* Sanctæ Crucis.
Santangel, Luis de, 5, 46, 91.
Santarem, Viscount, 178; his accusations of Vespucius, 155, 178; *Hist. de la cartographie*, 28, 93; *Recherches sur Vespuce*, 178; translated by Childe, 178; his works on Vespucius, 178.
Santiago (Chili), 524, 529; *Libro Becerro*, 572.
Santiago River (Peru), 509.
"Santiago de Palos," ship, 20.
Santillan, Hernando de, 542, 545.
Santo. *See* San, Santa, Saint.
Santo Domingo, archives of, iv; Cathedral at, 79, 81; founded, 20; Hazard's book on, 71. *See* Hispaniola, Hayti.
Santo Tomas, Domingo de, 542.
Sanuto, 95.
Sanuto, Livio, *Geografia distinta*, 439.
Sanuto, Marino, his map, 36, 94; his *Diarii*, 108.
Saona, 188.
Saragossa, treaty of, 441.
Saravia, 509.
Sargent, Henry, 357.
Sarmiento de Gamboa, Pedro, *Relacion*, 616.
Sarmiento, Bishop, 275.
Sarmiento's voyage to Magellan's Straits, 557.
Saturiba, 279, 280.
Sauce, Mateo de, 258.
Savage, James, on the De Fonte story, 463.
Savona, 89, 90; archives, 89; alleged birthplace of Columbus, 84.
Savonarola, 131.
Savorgnanus, Pierre, 404, 410.
Sayri Tupac, 546; dies, 552.
Scandia, 472.
Scelta di curiosità letterarie, 162.
Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik*, 3.
Schedel, Hartmann, *Registrum*, or *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 34, 35.
Schefer, Ch., 105.
Scherdigers, Abel, translates Benzoni, 347.
Scherzer edits Ximenes, 415.
Schmeller, Dr., on the discovery of Madeira, 38.
Schmeller, J. A., *See-Karten*, 616.
Schmiedel, *Vera Historia*, 587.
Schoetter, M., on Vespucius, 179.
Schomburgk, R. H., *Barbadoes*, 226.
Schöner, Johann, *De nuper repertis insulis*, 118; reprinted by Varnhagen, 118; globe (1515), 118, 173; (1520) 119, 173; his *Luculentissima descriptio*, 118, 173; his note-book, 113; *Opusculum geographicum*, 176, 432; portrait, 117; references, 117.
Schonlandia, 437.
Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of North America*, 502.
Schott, Andreas, *Hisp. illust.*, 51.
Schott, Charles A., *Variation of the Compass*, 100.
Schott, T., *Columbus*, 69.
Schottus, A., 186.
Schumacher, H. A., *Petrus Martyr*, 110.
Scott, Winfield, his approach to Mexico, 375.
Scotto of Genoa, 441.
Scyllacius, Nic., *De insulis*, etc., 58.
Sea-manuals, *See* Navigation.
Sea of Darkness, 36.
Sechura, 516; desert of, 519.
Sedeño, Father, 282.
Sedentary Indians, 473. *See* Pueblos; Moqui; Zuñi.
Sédillot, *Les instruments des Arabes*, 94.
Seeley, J. R., *Expansion of England*, 45, 421.
Segni, on history of Florence, 154.
Segura, 372.
Segura, Father, 282.
Segura, Juan, 282.
Segura mission, 282.
Senaraya, 84.
Senarega, *De rebus Genuensibus*, 48, 90.
Seneca, his *Medea*, 26.
Sepulveda, opposes Las Casas, 314, 333; his career, 314; his book printed and seized, 315; dispute with Las Casas, 315; his *Democrates Secundus*, 315, 335; *Apologia*, 335; *Opera*, 335.
Serena, 524; founded, 531.
Serpent's mouth, 586.
Serrano, 194; murdered, 612.
Serrano, Juan, 606.
Serrano, Miguel Sanchez, 258.
Serraõ, 440.
Servetus edits Ptolemy, 127. *See* Ptolemy (1535).
Sessa, Duque de, 288.
Setebos, 597.
Seutter, *Atlas*, 467.
Seven Cities (islands), 36, 38; called Heptapolis, 177.

Seven Cities (towns in New Mexico), 473, 480.
Sevilla Nueva (Sevilla d' Oro) in Jamaica, 201.
Seville, annals of, 68 ; archives at, ii, viii ; cathedral of, 65 ; views of, 5 ; garden of Columbus, 5 ; notarial records of, ii.
Sforza, Ascanio, 57.
Sforza, Lud., 58.
Shapley, 462.
Shea, J. G., on the Remains of Columbus, 80, 83 ; on "Ancient Florida," 231 ; on the Segura mission, 282 ; on the Spaniards in the Chesapeake, 282 ; edits *Relacion* of Peñalosa's expedition, 504.
Shelvocke, *Voyages*, 467.
Sherer, *Researches*, 25.
Ship-language, 597.
Shipp, Bernard, *De Soto and Florida*, 290.
Ships, early (cuts), 6, 7, 10, 13, 18, 19, 159 ; method of building, 8 ; first one built on the North American coast, 240. *See* Vessels.
Sicard, Commodore, 352.
Siguenza, map of Mexico, 375.
Siguenza y Gongora, 288.
Silla, 491.
Silva, Miguel de, 227.
Silva, Pedro Malaver de, 585.
Silver Bluff (Georgia), 247.
Silvius, Willem, edits Zarate, 568.
Simancas, archives of, i.
Siméon, Remi, edits Sahagun, 417.
Simon, Pedro, *Noticias*, 582.
Simpson, J. H., *Coronado's March*, 502 ; *Journal of a Military Reconnoissance*, 502.
Sinacam, 383.
Sinaloa, 485, 499.
Singrein, Jean, 182.
Sirocco (southeast), 94.
Sismondi, *Literature of South of Europe*, 571.
Skolnus. *See* Szkolny.
Slafter, E. F., *Incorrect Latitudes*, 96.
Slave voyages, 215.
Slavery, African, in the Spanish islands, 304 ; counection of Las Casas with, 312 ; of Indians, 348 ; instituted by Columbus, 303 ; its character, 309.
Slaves captured at the Bahamas, 239.
Sloane, Hans, 460.
Sloane manuscripts, early map in, 432.
Smith, Buckingham, *The Captivity of Ortiz*, 245 ; on C. de Vaca's route, 287 ; memoir of, by Shea, 287 ; *Cabeça de Vaca*, 289 ; his *Coleccion*, 288, 498 ; his manuscripts, vii, 288 ; on De Soto's landing, 291.
Smith, J. J., *American Historical and Literary Curiosities*, 73
Smith, W., *Dictionary of Ancient Biography*, 164.
Smithsonian Institution, *Reports*, 502.
Smyth, William, *Lectures on Modern History*, 424, 578.
Snow, *History of Boston*, 463.
Sobrarius, *Panegyricum*, 62.
Socorro, 489.
Soderini, Piero, 145 ; addressed by Vespucius, 162, 163.
Solano, Fr., 570.
Solano, Juan de, 537.
Soligo, Christofalo, his chart, 38.
Solinus, bibliography of, 180 ; his *Polyhistor*, 122, 182 ; issued with Mela, 182, 186 ; edited by Camers, 122, 173.
Solis, Antonio de, *Conquista de Mexico*, 422, 575 ; continuation by Salazar, 422 ; account of, 422 ; portrait, 423 ; editions of, in various languages, 424 ; life by Goyeneche, 424.
Solis, Juan Diàz de, 191.
Solis de Meras, *Memorial*, 293.
Solomon Islands discovered, 552.
Solorzano, Juan de, *Politica Indiana*, 45, 571, 592.
Sonora, 486.
Sopete, 492.
Soria Luce, D. de, 511.
Sorie, Jacques, sacks Havana, 262, 275.
Sotelo, C. de, 535.
Sotil, Alonzo Fernandez, 238.
Soto, Domingo de, 315 ; his summary of the Las Casas controversy, 335.
Soto, Hernando de, 196, 200 ; his expedition, 503 ; in Florida, 244 ; crosses the Mississippi, 251 ; likeness of, 252 ; autog., 253 ; dies, 253 ; spot of his death, 294 ; in Peru, 288, 516, 517, 520 ; protests against Atahualpa's death, 518 ; authorities on, 288 ; *Relaçam verdadeira*, 288 ; B. Smith on, 287 ; Knight of Elvas, 288 ; Biedma, 289 ; Garcilasso de la Vega, 290 ; Ranjel's narrative, 291 ; Soto's own letter, 291 ; opinions as to his route, 291, 296 ; its northerly limit, 292 ; his will, 291 ; his route in Delisle's map, 294, 295 ; other maps of the route, 295.
Sotomayor, Alonso de, governor of Chili, 561 ; portrait, 562.
Sotomayor, Juan de V, *Provincia de el Itza*, 429.
South America, cartographical history of, 617 ; maps, 434, 437 ; (Ortelius) 472 ; (1601) 460 ; (Martines) 450 ; (*Mundus novus*) 450 ; (*Terra Sanctæ Crucis*) 122, 123. *See* America ; Mundus novus.
South Sea. *See* Pacific.
Southern Cross, 41, 169.
Southern Literary Messenger, 292.
Southey, Robert, *Expedition of Orsua*, 582, 583 ; *History of Brazil*, 589.
Southron, The, 296.
Southwell, Sir Robert, 464.
Souza, Lopez de, *Diario*, 155.
Spain, arms of (cuts), title, 6, 413 ; chroniclers of, 68 ; permits various early expeditions, 132 ; its government suppresses maps, 113. *See* Spanish ; Spaniards.
Spalding, Archbishop, on Prescott, 427.
Spangenberg, 469.
Spaniards, administrative and judicial system, 348 ; regulations regarding slavery, 348 ; their rapacity and cruelty, 301, 306, 319, 326, 327, 343, 417 ; and the Indians, 299 *See* Spain.
Spanish arms, 334, 344, 406 ; with quarterings, 565.
Spanish maps, earliest, 93.
Spanish voyages to the Northwest, 469.
Sparks, Jared, *Ribault*, 293, 298 ; on Vespucius, 139.
Speed, John, his *Prospect*, 462, 464 ; maps (1651), 466.
Sphericity of the earth, 24. *See* Earth ; Globe.
Spice Islands, 441. *See* Moluccas.
Spitzer, F., 445.
Spotorno, G. B., *Codice dipl. Colombo-Americano*, and editions of, iv, 68 ; on Columbus' birthplace, 84.
Sprengel, M. C., on Ribero's map, 221 ; *Beyträgen*, 615 ; his version of Muñoz, iii.
Squier, E. G., *Collection of Documents*, vii ; manuscripts, 578 ; map of New Mexico, 501 ; on New Mexico, 501 ; plan of Inca fortress, 521.
Stadius, 96.
Stamler, J., *Dyalogus*, 62.
Stanley, H. E. J., 44 ; edits Morga's *Philippine Islands*, 616 ; life of Magellan, 617.
Stapfer, J. J., 410.
Steelsio, Juan, publisher, 412.
Steinhauser, A., 222.
Stephen, a negro, 475 ; killed at Cibola, 479 ; tradition of his death, 483.
Stevens, Henry, on the ancient geographers, 181 ; *American Bibliographer*, 19 ; his opinion of Clavigero, 425 ; on early Spanish laws, 347 ; on Harrisse, 66 ; his prints of Las Casas' writings, 337 ; his notice of Lud, 162 ; on Ortelius, 471.
Stevens, John, translates Herrera, 68 ; Cieza de Leon, 574.
Stevens, *History of Georgia*, 291.
Stobnicza, his introduction to Ptolemy (*see* Ptolemy) ; his map, 116, 121.
Stocklein, *Reise Beschreibungen*, 589.
Stoeffler, Johann, *Elucidatio Astrolabii*, 99 ; editor of Proclus, 99.
Stormy Cape, 41.
Strabo, 24 ; *De situ orbis*, 25 ; on the sphericity of the globe, 104.
Studi biografici e bibliografici, 155
Stukely projects an English settlement in Florida (1563), 262.
Stüven, *De vero novi orbis inventore*, 35.
Suarez de Figueroa, Cristóval, *Hechos de Mendoza*, 572.
Sugar-cane, 597.
Suma River, 519.
Sumner, Charles, *Prophetic Voices concerning America*, 25.
Sumner, George, 65 ; on Columbus at Barcelona, 56.
Sun, eclipse observed by Magellan, 604.
Sun-worship, 551.
Surco, 543.
Susquehanna, early Indian history of, 283.
Suya, 491.
Sweet potato, 597.
Sylvanus, B., edits Ptolemy, 122, 123, his map, 122. *See* Ptolemy (1511).
Szkolny, John, 34.

TABASCO, 203, 352, 353, 384.
Taboga, 507.
Tacatacura (St. Mary's), 280, 282.
Tacuba, 374.
Tafur, Pedro, 510.
Taisnier's *Navigatione*, 98.
Talavera, 57, 91, 210 ; pirate, 191, 193.
Talcahuano, 549.
Taliepatua, 250.
Talladega River, 248.
Tallasehatchee River, 248.
Tallise, 248.
Tamarique, 218.
Tambo River, 519.
Tamizey de Larroque, 298.
Tampa Bay, 246, 288, 295 ; its various names, 288.
Tangarara, 515.
Tanguijo (Bahia), 203.
Tanstetter, Georg, edits Albertus Magnus, 173.
Taos, 495.
Tapac, Amaru, his flight, 589.
Tápia, Andrés de, his *Relacion*, 398.
Tapia, Cristóbal de, 237 ; ordered to New Spain, 380.
Tapir, 600.
Tascalousa, 278, 295.
Taschereau, 298.
Tastaluza, 248, 249.
Taylor, Alexander S., his version of the *Relacion* of Cabrillo's voyage, 445 ; *First Voyage to California*, 445.
Tehua, 495.
Tehuantepec, 228, 441, 384, 393 ; (Tequantepeque) 229.
Tehuelches, 603.
Tejada, 537.
Tejera, E., *Los restos de Colon*, 82, 83.
Tejos, 473.
Tellez, F., *Oratio*, 62.
Temixtitan, 365, 432. *See* Mexico.
Temporal, Jean, 163.
Tendilla, 57.
Tenochtitlan, 365. *See* Mexico.
Tepeaca, 358.
Tepeacans, 372.
Tepeyacac, 376.
Tequeste, 279.
Ternate, 591.
Ternaux-Compans, Henri, 427 ; his manuscript collection, iii ; his *Voyages*, vi ; his library, vi ; his *Ar-*

chives des voyages, vii, 498, 499, 576; *Recueil de documents*, vii; *Pièces sur la Floride*, 297; his collections on Mexico, 417; publishes part of Oviedo, 346.
Terra Esonis, 467.
Terra Ferma, 223. *See* Tierra.
Terra Sanctæ Crucis, 169.
Terrarossa, 89.
Terrazas, Francisco de, 397.
Testu, G., his map, 230.
Teucaria (river), 494.
Teutsch, G. D., on Honter, 122.
Texcoco. *See* Tezcuco.
Texcuco, kings of, 417.
Texeira, explores the Amazon, 589; map of Pacific coast, 466.
Teyas, 493.
Tezcuco, 358, 369, 374.
Tezcuco en los ultimos tiempos, 418.
Tezozomoc, F. de A., *Cronica Méxicana*, 418
Thesóro de virtudes, 408.
Thevenot, map (1663), 463.
Thevet, André, *Le grand insulaire*, 105; *Select Lives*, 389; and Laudonnière's papers, 297; *Portraitures and Lives*, 516, 603.
Thomassy, Raymond, 614; *Les papes géographes*, 27, 62.
Thorndike, Israel, 73.
Thottiana, 58.
Thule, 37; (Iceland?) 33.
Thyle, 446.
Tiburon (cape), 188.
Ticknor, George, criticises R. A. Wilson, 427; *Life of Prescott*, 426, 427; *Spanish Literature*, 68; catalogue of his Spanish library, 47.
Tidor, 591.
Tierra del Fuego, 435, 450, 459; explored by De Fonta, 462; named by Magellan, 607.
Tierra firme, 169, 189, 209, 218; trading-voyages to, 208. *See* Terra.
Tiguex, 485, 488, 493, 495.
Timor, 612, 613.
Tiraboschi, 65; *Letteratura italiana*, 83; *Storia*, 30.
Tiran, *Archives d' Aragon*, ii.
Titian, head of Cortés, 424.
Titicaca, Lake, 519, 558.
Titu Atauchi, 516, 520.
Titu Cusi Yupanqui, 552, 553.
Tizon River, 486.
Tlacopan, 376.
Tlalpan, 358.
Tlascala, 358, 359, 362; Cortés' retreat to, 370.
Tlatelulco, market of, 376.
Tobar, Pedro de, 484, 496.
Tobia, Cristóbal de, 285.
Toboga, 509.
Toledo, Fernando Alvarez de, 573.
Toledo, Francisco de, governor of Peru, 552; his *Libro de Tasas*, 556, 570; returns to Spain, 557; *Ordenanzas*, 570.
Toledo, Luis de, 549.
Tolm, 459, 472.
Tolosa, Diego de, 255.
Tolosa, Juan de, 503, 581.
Toluca, 358.
Tome, Rio, 259.
Ton, English, as compared with the Spanish *toneles*, 594.
Tonikas, 294.
Tonnage of ships, 7, 594. *See* Ships; Vessels.
Tonti, his route (1702), 294.
Tontonteac, 459.
Tontonteanc (river), 449.
Topira, 438, 480, 500.
Tordesillas, convention of, 14, 45, 592.
Toreno, Nuño Garcia de, 224; part of his map, 220, 221.
Toribio de Benavente. *See* Motolinia.
Toribio de Ortiguera, 584.
Toro, Alonzo, 538.
Torquemada, Juan de, 460; *Monarquia Indiana*, 421, 422; account of, 421; edited by Barcia from the manuscript, 422; on Xuares, 287.
Torre, G. B., *Scritti di Colombo*, iv, 46, 52, 65.
Torre, Juan de la, 510.
Torre do Tombo. *See* Lisbon.
Torres, Antonio de, 17.
Torres y Portugal, Fernando de (Conde de Villar don Pardo), 560.
Tortugas, 278; (1529) 221; (1542) 226; discovered, 233; on maps, 234.
Tory, Geofroy, edits Mela, 181; account of, by Bernard, 181.
Toscanelli, 2, 3, 30; his views, 25; correspondence with Columbus, 30, 31, 90; map, ii, 38, 101; restored, 103.
Tosinus, publisher in Rome, 120.
Tosti engravings, 73.
Totonacs, 359.
Totonteac, 477, 480.
Tototeac, 472.
Toulza, P. de, translates Solis, 424.
Tour du monde, 298.
Tournee, R. de la, 224.
Touron, *Hist. de l'Amérique*, 256.
Tovar, Juan, 420.
Town, building of a, 522.
Townshend, Thomas, version of Solis, 424.
Tozen, E., *Entdecker der neuen Welt*, 35.
Trafalgar (Hatteras), Cape, 221, 285
Tramont (north), 94.
Transylvanus, Maximilian, *De Moluccis insulis*, 615; *De Hispanorum navigatione*, 615.
Triango Island, 92.
Tribaldo, Luis, 504.
Trinidad, 133, 137, 221; (Cuba) 353; discovered, 20; map, 586.
Triste noche, 369; tree of, 370.
Trithemus, Johannes, 121; *Epist. fam.*, 121.
Trivigiano, Angelo, 106.
Trivulgio Library, 51, 58.
Tross gores, 120, 173.
Trugillo, Sebastian, 341.
Trujillo, 385.
Truxillo, Diego (or Alonzo), 511.
Truxillo, 558; founded, 523; (Peru) 519.
Tschudi, *Antiquedades*, 515.
Tucapel, 524, 548.
Tucson, 477.
Tulla, 251.
Tumaco, 505, 509.
Tumbez, 223, 508, 509, 511, 514, 519, 558.
Tupac Amaru, 552; captured, 553, 570; executed, 553; documents on, 576.
Turin, *Mém. de l'Académie*, 84.
Turner, Sharon, 3.
Turner, W. W., *Pacific R. R. Reports*, 502.
Turquoise mines, 488.
Tusayan (Moqui), 484, 485.
Tutahaco, 487, 489.
Tuzulutlan, 313.
Twiss, Sir Travers, *Monograph on Burial-place of Columbus*, 82; *Oregon Question*, 455.
Tylor, E. B., *Anahuac*, 428; confirms Prescott, 428.
Typographical errors in early books, 153.

Uaupe Indians, 581.
Ucayali River, 519.
Uçita (Indian), 245.
Uguina, Antonio de, his manuscripts, iii.
Uillac Umu, 524.
Uira-ccocha, Inca, 520.
Ullibahali, 248.
Ulloa, Alfonzo de, 65, 568.
Ulloa, *Carlo V.*, 421.
Ulloa, Francisco de, explores in the Pacific, 395, 442; his charts, 449.
United States Naval Institute, *Proceedings*, 54.
Univers pittoresque, 36.
Urabá (gulf), 189, 509.
Urano, C. M., translates Bossi's *Colombo*, 68.
Urdaneta, Andres de, 445, 454.
Uricoechea, *Mapoteca Colombiana*, 93.
Ursua, Pedro de, in Bogota, 581; founds Pampluna, 581; quells the Cimarrones, 582; seeks Eldorado, 520, 582; murdered, 582; account of, 582.
Uspallata, 561.
Utatlan, 383.
Uzielli, Gustavo, *Scelta*, etc., 51; *Atlanti*, etc., 93; on the early maps, 155.

Vaca, Cabeza de, with Narvaez, 243; his journey overland, 244; his *Relacion*, 286; *Naufragios*, etc., 286; in South America, 286; autog., 287; memoir by T. W. Field, 287; his route, 287. *See* Cabeza de Vaca.
Vaca de Castro, defeats Diego Almagro, 536; governor of Peru, 537; imprisoned, 537; escapes to Panama, 538; likeness of, 535; sent to Peru, 536.
Vacapa, 477.
Vadianus, adopts the name of America, 173; edits Pomponius Mela, 173, 182; his likeness, 181; bibliography of, 180; his true name Watt, 182; letter to Rudolphus Agricola, 182; his *Epitome*, 176, 184, 186; its map, 184.
Valdés, 469.
Valdivia, Pedro, 193, 194; leads Pizarro's infantry, 527; starts to complete conquest of Chili, 528; likenesses of, 529, 530; proceeds against Gonzalo Pizarro, 534; joins Gasca, 541; goes to Valparaiso, 548; killed, 549; his letters, 572; accusations against, 572.
Valdivia (town), 524, 548.
Valerius, Cornelius, *De sphæra*, 176.
Valfermosa, 189.
Valladolid (New Mexico), 495.
Vallard, Nicholas, his map, 226.
Valori, Baccio, 163.
Valparaiso, 524; named, 525; name confirmed, 531.
Valsequa, Gabriel de, his chart, 38, 174.
Valtanas, D. de, *Compendio*, 84.
Valverde, V. de, 512; bishop of Cusco, 520, 566; death, 566; *Carta-relacion*, 566.
Van Brocken, *Colomb*, 69.
Van Heuvel, J. A., *Eldorado*, 589.
Van Hulst, Felix, on Ortelius, 471.
Van Kampen, *Levens van Nederlanders*, 460.
Van Loon, *Zee-Atlas*, 463, 466.
Van Raemdonck, his *Mercator*, 471; *Gérard de Cremer*, 471.
Van Richthofen, *China*, 119.
Vancouver on the northwest coast, 470.
Vander Aa, *Versameling*, 289; *Zee- und Landreizen*, 289. *See* Aa.
Vandera, Juan de la, 278.
Varenius, 470.
Variation-charts, 100.
Variation of the needle, 45. *See* Needle.
Varnhagen, F. A. de, on the name of America, 178; his *Schöner e Apianus*, 183; *Carta de Colon*, 47; publishes Columbus' notes on D'Ailly, 29; prints a Columbus letter, 47; *Das wahre Guanahani*, 55, 56; *Verdadera Guanahani*, 91; edits Lopez de Souza's *Diario*, 155; his *Hist. do Brazil*, 155; his *Amerigo Vespucci*, 131, 155; his track of Vespucius' first voyage, 155; his various publications on Vespucius, 156; on Vespucius' voyage (1497), 231.
Varthema, *Itinerario*, 215; copies of, 215.
Vasari, *Lives of the Painters*, 72.
Vasconcellos, *D. Juan al Segundo*, 90.
Vasquez, Alonzo, 291.

Vasquez de Aillon, Lucas, sent to Mexico, 365, 367.
Vasquez, Fr., his account of Aguirre, 582; *Chronica*, 419; *Guatemala*, 399.
Vasquez, Pedro, 212.
Vasquez, Tomas, 543, 545, 546.
Vattemare, H., 411.
Vaugondy, his map, 468; *Observations*, 463.
Veer, Gustav de, *Prinz Heinrich*, 40.
Vega, Gabriel Lasso de la, *Cortés valeroso*, 430; *Mexicana*, 430. *See* Lasso.
Vega, Garcilasso de la, bibliography of, 575; *Commentarios reales*, 575; *Hist. general del Peru*, 570, 575; Rycaut's *Royal Commentaries*, 575; Markham's version, 575; other versions, 575; *Florida del Inca*, 290, 575; *Conquête de la Floride*, 290; *Eroberung von Florida*, 290; English version in Shipp's *De Soto*, 290; at school in Cusco, 547; deserts Gonzalo Pizarro, 541; as a writer, 569.
Vega, Garcilasso de la (father), 521.
Vega, Lope de, *Marquez del Valle*, 430.
Vega, M. de la, gathers documents in Mexico, viii; *Historia*, 20.
Velarde, Luis, 467.
Velasco, Juan de, *Hist. de Quito*, 576, 584.
Velasco, Luis (an Indian), 279, 282.
Velasco, Luis de, 454; anxious to conquer Florida, 256; father of the Indians, 256.
Velasco, Luis de (Marquis of Salinas), 561.
Velasco (river), 463.
Velasquez (judge in Peru), 534.
Velasquez de Cuellar, Diego, governor, 349; portrait, 350; his adherents, 355; his intrigues against Cortés, 356, 357; sends Narvaez against him, 365; his expedition to Cuba, 201, 237, 305; death of, 214.
Velasquez de Leon, 351, 366, 367.
Velez de Medrano, Juan, 277.
Velsers, 579.
Venegas, *Noticia de la California*, 461; bibliography of, 461.
Venereal diseases in America, 329.
Venezuela, 187, 190, 410; colonies on the coast of, 579; history of, 584.
Venice, archives of, viii; plundered by the Austrians, viii; *State Papers*, viii; Columbus at, 90.
Ventura de Raulica, *Colombo*, 69.
Vera Cruz (Mexico), 203, 358; founded, 355, 356; site shifted, 356.
Vera Paz, 254.
Veradus, C., 50.
Veragua, or Veraguas, Duque de, 65, 87, 88; his collection of papers, iii, viii, 89.
Veragua (town), 21, 198, 509.
Vergara, Juan de, 189, 207, 527.
Vermejo River, 483.
Verne, Jules, *Découverte de la terre*, 30, 71.
Verrazano, supposed pirate, 382.
Verscheyde Oost-Indische Voyagien, 460.
Vespucci. *See* Vespucius.
Vespucius, Americus, chapter on, by S. H. Gay, 129; an Italian, 2; spelling of the name, 129, 179; his forename of German origin, 137, 179; notices of (Gay), 129; (Navarrete) v; (Winsor) 153; account of his voyages collectively, 142, 145; in the *Cosmog. introd.*, 145; *Quattuor navigationes*, 166; his relations with Saint-Dié, 174; his alleged first voyage, 137, 140, 155; his second voyage, 149, 150, 153; with Ojeda, 144, 149, 153, 187; his third voyage, 145, 150, 156; in the Portuguese service, 146; his fourth voyage, 151; his letter to F. de Medici, 156; his letter to Soderini, different texts of, 163; editions of the *Mundus novus*, and translations, 157; fac-similes of pages, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161; *De Ora Antarctica*, 159; his connection with early maps (Ruysch), 220; (missing map) 156, 174; as a mariner, 148; with Coelho, 162; his character, self-praising, 169; charged with deceit, 144, 176; an impostor, 154; a charlatan, 142; claims to have discovered the main, 153; was he on the Florida coast? 231; named in the *New Interlude*, 62; the first to describe the cannibals of Brazil, 598; thought America was Asia, 167; personal relations with Da Vinci, 172; with Columbus, 131, 149, 178; with Cabot, 154; mentioned by Oviedo, 154; not mentioned in the Portuguese archives, 137, 154, 155; appointed pilot-major, 152; his later voyages, 152; his death, 152; his portrait, 72, 74, 75, 140 (Bronzino) 139; (Parmigiano) 140; (Peale) 140; (Montanus) 141; his autog., 138; fac-simile of letter, 130; his descendants, 131.
Vespucius, Giorgi Antonio, 129.
Vespucius, Jerome, 129.
Vespucius, Nastugio, 129.
Vessels, size of early, 205, 594; picture of, 267. *See* Ships; Tonnage.
Vetancour, *Teatro Mexicano*, 399.
Vetancurt, Augustin de, *Teatro Mexicano*, 422; account of, 422.
Vetter, Theodor, 179.
Veytia, Mariano, *Hist. antigua de Mejico*, 418; *Tezcuco*, 418.
Vianello, 152, 156.
"Victoria," ship, 594; her fate, 613; commemorated by the Hakluyt Society, 613.
Vienna, geographers at, 173, 181; presses at, 184.
Viera y Clavijo, *Islas de Canaria*, 36.
Vigel, *Biblioteca Méxicana*, 340, 418.
Vilcabamba, 526, 546.
Villa Rica. *See* Vera Cruz.
Villa Riga (Chili), 524.
Villacuri, 519, 543.
Villafañe, Angel de, 256; in Florida, 259; at Santa Elena, 260
Villagra, F. de, 548; governor of Chili, 549; defeated at Mariguanu, 549; in Chili, 551.
Villagran, F. de, 528.
Villalobos, Lopes de, voyages, v; on the Pacific coast, 448.
Villalta, José Garcia de, translates Irving's *Columbus*, 68.
Villault de Belfond, *Costes d'Afrique*, 39.
Villroel, Gonzalo de, 273.
Vincent, *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, 41.
Vincenzius of Beauvais, 28; his *Speculum*, 28.
Vinci, Da, acquaintance with Columbus, 31; his alleged map, 124-126. *See* Da Vinci.
Viranque, 251.
Viraratu, 582.
Virchow and Holtzendorff, *Verträge*, 69.
Virgil on western lands, 25.
Virginia richly valued, 289.
Viscaino, Seb., 504; his voyage, 460; his map of the Pacific coast, 461.
Visscher, his map of Pacific coast, 466.
Vitet, *Anc. villes de France*, 39; *Hist. de Dieppe*, 34.
Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Hist. de la géog.*, 472.
Vizcaino, Juan. *See* Cosa.
"Vizcaino," ship, 20.
Volafan (*see* Varnhagen), 47.
Von Murr, C. G., *Ritter Behaim*, 105; *Memorabilia*, 96.
Vopellio, Gaspar, his map, 438, 448; fac-simile of his map, 436.
Vorsterman, W., 158.
Voss, *Nachricht von dem neuen Welt*, 162.
Voyages au nord, 294.
Voyagie ofte Schipvaert, 460.

WAGENSEIL, J. C., *Sacra parentalia*, 35; *Historia*, 35.
Wagner, *Colombo und seine Entdeckungen*, iv.
Walckenaer, dies, 107.
Waldseemüller, Martin (Waltzemüller, Hylacomylus, Ilacomylus), 113, 147, 220; his *Cosmographiæ introductio*, 145, 148; at Saint-Dié, 164; edits Ptolemy, 264; bibliography of his *Cosmographiæ introductio*, 164, etc.; his maps, 125.
Wallace, *Amazon and Rio Negro*, 585.
Waltzemüller. *See* Waldseemüller.
Warburton, *Conquest of Canada*, 298.
Warden, *Chron. hist. de l'Amérique*, 296.
Warwickshire Historical Collections, 466.
Washburn, J. D., reviews Wilson's *New History*, 427.
Washita River, 251.
Water-clocks, 101.
Wateree River, 240; (Guatari), 285.
Watling's Island, 54.
Watson, Paul Barron, *Bibliography of Pre-Columbian Discoveries*, 34.
Watson, R. G., *Spanish and Portuguese South America*, 578.
Watt, Joachim. *See* Vadianus.
Weimar globe, 118.
Weinhold, Moritz, "Federmann's Reise," 580.
Weise, A. J., *Discoveries of America*, 94.
Weissenburger, 182.
Weller, *Repertorium*, 159.
Wells, Edward, *New Sett of Maps*, 467.
Welt-Kugel, Der, 171.
Werner, John, of Nuremberg, 101.
West Indies, when named, 169.
Wheat introduced into Peru, 518, 547.
Wheeler, George M., 504; *Report of Survey*, 443.
Whiddon, Jacob, explores the Orinoco, 586.
Whipple, A. W., *Pacific R. R. Reports*, 502.
White Sea (South America), 589.
Whitney, J. D., 446; on California, 443.
Wiesener, *Vespuce et Colomb*, 178.
Wieser, Franz, *Magalhâes-Strasse*, 617; *Der Portulan des Königs Philipp*, ii, 178, 222.
Will und Nopitsch, *Lexicon*, 117.
Williams, Helen Maria, 206.
Williams's *Florida*, 296.
Wilmer, L. A., *Life of De Soto*, 296, 427.
Wilson, R. A., *New History of the Conquest of Mexico*, 427; *Mexico and its Religion*, 427; *Mexico, its Peasants and its Priests*, 427; *Mexico, Central America, and California*, 427; criticised by George Ticknor, 427; by Kirk, 427; by J. D. Washburn, 427.
Winds, names of, 94.
Winnepeg, Lake, 469.
Winsor, Justin, "Columbus," 1; "Cortés and his Companions," 349; "Discoveries on the Pacific Coast of North America," 431; "Documentary Sources of Early Spanish-American History," i; on editions of Cieza de Leon, 573; on Garcillasso de la Vega, 575; *Kohl's Collection of Early Maps*, 94; on Las Casas, 343; "Sources of information" about Magellan's voyages, 613; "Vespucius and the naming of America," 153; *Bibliography of Ptolemy's Geography*, 28, 438; "Early Cartography of the Gulf of Mexico," 217; "The Amazon and Eldorado," 579.
Wolfenbüttel map, 222.

Wood, W. M., 66.
Wright, Edw., *Certain Errors of Navigation*, 466, 470.
Wuttke, Heinrich, *Gesch. der Erdkunde*, 40, 224.
Wyse, Lieutenant, 352.
Wytfliet, Cornelius, 472; *Descriptionis Ptolemaïcæ augmentum*, 457; map of California, 458; map of America, 459; his map of Peru, 558; of Chili, 559; *Rerum Danicarum historia*, 34.

Xaba, 492.
Xahila, E. A., *Tecpan Atitlan*, 419.
Xalisco, 228.
Xaquixaguana, war of, 574.
Xauxa, 520, 558; (river) 519.
Xeres, Francisco de, with Pizarro, 564; *Verdadera relacion*, 564; title of Venice (1535) edition, 565; a version by Jacques Gohory, 345; *L'histoire*, 345.
Ximenes, Cardinal, 307, 311; opposes African slavery, 312.
Ximenes, *Origen de los Indios*, 415.
Ximenes, pilot, killed, 442.
Xivrey, B. de, *Des premières relations*, 68.
Xlicia, Mark de, 320.
Xoloc, 369, 376.
Xualla, 247.
Xuarez, Father Juan, 242, 244; likeness of, 287.

Yaguna, 233.
Yanez, picture of Columbus, 72.
Yazoo River, 250.
Yça, 519, 543.
Yemassee, 295.
Yéméniz, Nic., his sale, 166.
Yncas, Empire of. *See* Peru.
Yncas, likenesses of, 515.
Young, Alex., on Ternaux, vi.
Yucatan, 109, 177; its name, 220; (Iucatan) 220, 221, 223; (Lucatan) 225; (Luchatan) 219; (Iuchita) 219; coasted, 203; Cordoba at, 214, 217; discovered by Pinzon, 209; authorities on, 429; maps of, 220, 231, 353, 384, 404; as an island, 128, 220; *Trois lettres sur la découverte*, 402.
Yucay, 524, 547.
Yupaha, 246.
Yuque-Yunque, 495.

Zaballos, 280.
Zacalula built, 380.
Zacatula, 439, 441.
Zach, *Correspondance*, v, 84, 221.
Zalango, 509.
Zaltieri, map, (1566), 449; fac-simile, 451.
Zamacois, N. de, *Hist. de Méjico*, 428.
Zamal, 612.
Zamudio, 193, 194.
Zapata y Mendoza, J. V., *Cronica*, 481.
Zaragoza, Justo, 419.
Zarate, Aug. de, 537; career, 567; his *Historia*, 568; translations, 568; *Conquista de México*, 430; *De Wonderlijcke ende Warachtighe Historie*, 512.
Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde, 404.
Zeitschrift für wissensch. Geog., 55.
Zeni explorations and Columbus, 33; their map, 28, 437, 472.
Zeri, Augusto, *Tre lettere di Colombo*, etc., ix.
Zhaual, 576.
Ziegler, Alex., *Regimontanus*, 96.
Ziegler, his *Schondia*, 433; map, 434.
Ziletti, 574.
Zoa-na-me-la, on Reisch's map, 114.
Zorgi, Alessandro, 117.
Zuazo, 385. *See* Cuaço.
Zuazo, Diego M. de, 213.
Zucatepec, 383.
Zumarraga, Bishop, 400.
Zuñi, 501, 502; pueblos of, 483.
Zúñiga, *Anales ecles.*, 65, 68.
Zuñiga y Velasco, Diego Lopes de (Conde de Nieva), Viceroy of Peru, 547.
Zurla, *Fra Mauro*, 31; *Di Marco Polo*, 30.
Zurita, 256; on New Spain, 417.
Zurotus, 180.
Zutugils, 383.

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